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Thomas Mc Hale

JOHN MAC HALE,

Archbishop of Tuam.

HIS LIFE, TIMES, AND CORRESPONDENCE.

BY

RIGHT REV. THOMAS O'NEILL, D. D., D. LIT. HON.

Assistant Bishop of the Diocese.

"The following are important passages from the correspondence and address above, which, together with the biographical notices, form a complete history of the life of the Archbishop, and are of great value to the reader."

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VOL. II.



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W. H. H.

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Archbishop of Tuam.

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BY

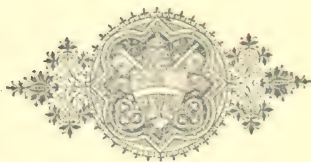
RIGHT REV. BERNARD O'REILLY, D. D.; D. LIT. LAVAL.

Domestic Prelate of His Holiness.

"Pro Ecclesie Dei libertate, populiq[ue] Hibernie incolumitate, haud modicum laboravi; hominesque fictos, fucatos, simulatos pro merito tractavi;—propterea meritis diris aerumnis affectus, infractus tamen et ornatus."

"For the liberty of the Church of God, and for the preservation of the Irish people, I have labored not a little; the false, the hollow, the hypocrite I treated as they deserved:—therefore do I die amid bitter trials, yet unconquered and exalted by them."

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Printer to the Holy See and the S. Congregation of Rites

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PART FIRST.

DIRECTING THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE AFTER THE DEATH OF O'CONNELL.

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PART FIRST.

DIRECTING THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE AFTER THE DEATH OF O'CONNELL.

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WE left the Archbishop of Tuam, on May the 22d, 1847, plunged in grief at the tidings just brought to Ireland from Genoa, where, a week before, O'Connell had ended his earthly career, dying, as he had lived, the faithful son of the Catholic Church ; seeking, as the shadows closed around him, light and comfort and the pledge of life eternal from the hands of that great Mother. He had looked forward to his visit to Rome as to the coming to her home, and to the prospect of seeing her face to face and of feeling the mighty and loving motherly arms around him. He should have returned to stricken Ireland and her people with recovered health of body and spirit, and with another decade of years added to the fifty already spent in struggling for creed and country.

Such hopes cherished he as he journeyed on his pilgrimage towards the shrine of the Holy Apostles,—the sanctuary of peace, where so many exiles from Erin had found a refuge in life and death. But when he felt that the end was nigh, he directed that his heart should be borne thither,—an homage of love undying to the Rome of the Popes and Apostles.

"Some of O'Connell's countrymen," wrote Frederick Lucas, "find it hard to understand why he should bequeath his heart to Rome, and surrender his body only to the Irish

soil. They even murmur at the bequest, and ask themselves whether the first and foremost thing in his heart was not Ireland,—whether he was not an Irishman above everything; and they count it almost an act of treason in him to have given such a preference to Rome.

“What a view of O’Connell’s character do these questions imply! First of all, and before all, O’Connell was a CATHOLIC,—a Roman Catholic. His allegiance to God came first. This was his first love, and to this every other love was subordinate. . . . He loved Ireland more because he loved Rome most.”¹

The Archbishop of Tuam needed no interpreter to unfold to him the yearning of O’Connell’s heart to rest in the sacred soil which had drunk the blood of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the parents of the Christian world, and whose shrine on the Vatican is the centre of Catholicity. If the long battle which John Mac Hale was destined to fight, even after O’Connell was laid to his rest, was a battle with those who labored hard and with formidable means of success to extinguish Catholicity in Ireland,—the aim of the Liberator in restoring the life of his nation was to keep that nation Catholic in the majority of her people.

This unity of purpose inspired the life-work of both of these illustrious men. They were CATHOLICS before and above all else, as their nation had been ever since the days of St. Patrick; and the life-work of each in his own sphere was devoted to the one aim of keeping the Irish people Catholic.

The Archbishop of Tuam lost no time in paying to the memory of the great national leader a solemn tribute of such respect, gratitude, and affection as religion and patriotism dictated.

He issued the following Pastoral Letter, which went to the hearts of his people, to that of all Ireland:

“To the Very Reverend and Reverend the Clergy of the Diocese of Tuam.

¹ Quoted in “Life of Frederic Lucas,” vol. I., p. 261.

"St. Jarlath's, Tuam, Trinity Sunday, 30th May, 1847.

"Dear and Reverend Brethren :—You are doubtless yet scarcely recovered from the sudden shock which, in common with the entire people of Ireland, you have received from this fresh calamity fallen upon our afflicted nation by the death of O'CONNELL, its beloved Liberator.

"This is no time for dwelling on the genius, the virtues, the services and sufferings of our great departed countryman, who 'avenged his nation and the sanctuary.' "

"Instead of indulging in excessive grief, now, alas! unavailing, or in the grateful tribute of well-earned eulogies, ours is a duty far more consoling to his departed spirit, and one more congenial with the sacred ministry of God's altar.

"Those altars the illustrious champion, now no more, was instrumental in setting free. He gathered the people of our Israel 'out of the lurking holes into which they were driven', heating, fusing, moulding the immense masses with the fire which he had instilled into them. He encouraged the faithful and hereditary Levites to go and search for 'the cave in which the Ark and the Altar were hidden, when the sanctuary was trodden down,' and enabled them to enjoy the consolation of bringing 'the sacred fire out of the valley in which it was at once chilled and dimmed, and lighted up' again in our free and magnificent temples.

"To such a benefactor the choicest liturgies of those emancipated temples are due. It is a soothing reflection, in the midst of all our country's calamities, that it is not with us as with 'those who have no hopes,'—that our hearts echo the beautiful sentiments of the inspired language, 'that it is a holy and a wholesome thought to pray for the dead,' and that the grave shuts not out those merciful consolations which may be brought to our benefactor's soul by his surviving brethren.

"You will, then, in your respective deaneries, take the earliest opportunity of assembling which the overwhelming pressure of your respective duties will allow you,—and

¹ I. Machabees.

offer up the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass for the repose of the soul of the late dutiful child of the Catholic Church and her heroic champion,—the champion as well of that sacred freedom and protection which she is anxious to extend, in every clime and country, to the whole race of Adam.

“The peculiar days and churches to be allotted to this holy service we feel necessary to leave to your own convenient selection, knowing the condition of the priesthood of Ireland at this moment, harassed with cares and duties above the strength of human nature, and distracted between the alternate function of being at the same time the temporal stewards and spiritual ministers of the necessities of the people.

“In their anxiety to succor the poor, whilst laboring themselves under the severest privations, they recall the picture of St. Paul, ‘exhibiting ourselves as ministers of God in much patience, in tribulation, in necessities, in distresses, in labors, in watching, in fastings, in chastity, in sweetness, in the Holy Ghost, in charity unfeigned; as dying and behold we live; as chastised and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as needy, yet increasing many; as having nothing, and possessing all things.’

“As soon, then, as you can have a respite from your severe labors, you will take occasion to manifest your piety and gratitude by the celebration of High Mass for the soul of the Emancipator of our country. Through the prayers of the Church he was delivered from the prison in which he was immured, on the 30th of May (1845), this anniversary. By the prayers of the same Church, and the oblation of the unbloody Sacrifice of the Altar, his soul, if detained on account of venial or unexpiated guilt, will be freed from prison from which there is no liberation, till ‘the payment of the last farthing’ due to the Divine Justice.

“When that last sad and solemn office is accomplished, you will address the stricken people, bowed down under a twofold calamity, and console their sufferings and sustain their hopes by your seasonable exhortation.

"The life of their great and peaceful leader has been disposed of according to the wise and merciful dispensation of HIM who gave it. This is sufficient to reconcile them to His inscrutable decrees.

"On such an occasion you will be naturally reminded of the words of the divine messenger: 'Why stand you here idle?' They cannot show a more grateful or reasonable homage to the spirit of the lamentable dead than, while engaged in the prosecution of the great and beneficial work which he bequeathed to them, to practise the lessons of peace which, in imitation of his Divine Master, he made the perpetual theme of his exhortation to all the associates of his labors.

"With this peaceful spirit they will unite, at the same time, his unconquerable energy and untiring perseverance, not forgetting that unsleeping vigilance which will direct their eyes to the false and flitting lights so often set up to mislead them, to distinguish those which would beckon them to the breakers, instead of guiding them to the shore."

We cannot sufficiently admire the strong restraint which the Archbishop knew how to maintain over his own feelings while thus addressing his clergy. It is evident that he feared to yield to his emotion, and, therefore, lingered on the details of the ritual to be followed in celebrating the memorial services for the Liberator.

If in the last paragraph which we quoted the Archbishop really alluded to some things written in the *Nation* by correspondents most unhappily inspired,¹ we cannot help

¹ "The Confederates took the lead in respect for the dead; they resolved to wear a badge of mourning for a month, and to attend his funeral in a body. The writers of the *Nation* treated his memory with generous respect, without recanting the censure which his alliance with the Whigs had wrung from them."—*Four Years of Irish History*, p. 395.

"A just measure of his capacity is the immense influence he produced in Europe. Balzac, in his visions of successful ambition, declared that his aim was to add a fourth to the band of illustrious men the century had produced: Napoleon, Cuvier, and 'the incarnation of a people, O'Connell.'

— "As the incarnation of a people he taught two generations, the heirs of sorrow and slavery, to assert themselves like freemen" — *Ibidem*, pp. 400, 401.

"Father Kenyon wrote a letter to the *Nation*, fiercely refusing to be a party to

praising and blessing the strong man, who all through the deplorable dissensions of that year never wrote or published a line which might fan the flames of discord.

In the second part of this pastoral letter, John of Tuam once more takes up the office of the guide and leader of the Irish people, even in politics, until such time as Providence had raised up one to fill the place of O'Connell.

He thus returns to the Repeal of the Union:—

“The evils, the unspeakable evils of the Legislative Union are now placed beyond the reach of doubt or controversy. They are attested by the graves of the dead and the skeleton forms of the living, the accusing monuments of that cruel policy which has systematically consigned the people of Ireland to a food as precarious as that of men in a savage state. It has forbidden them, in order to support alien luxury and monopoly, to taste of the abundant harvests and numerous flocks with which the land teems, the produce of their own peaceful and skilful industry.

“On the exclusive use of the same treacherous esculent would our people again be thrown, were the potato to recover its healthy growth, if the same policy were persevered in. Then, after a few seasons of delusive plenty, we should find ourselves pierced to death by the broken reed on which we were forced to lean for sole support.

“And thus would Ireland have to revolve in a perpetually returning cycle of scarcity, of famine, of pestilence, and of death.”

As the reader will perceive, it is John of Tuam ever battling for the life, the very existence of the Irish people. And, as we shall see presently, his brother-bishops trust to him to lead them and the people in that fearful and desperate struggle against extermination. Now come the results of the famine.

it (attending O'Connell's funeral in a body). He denied that O'Connell's death was any loss whatever, or that a tribute of respect was due to him.”—*Ibidem*, p. 402.

Such a letter never should have appeared in the *Nation*. It confirmed the opinion which had gone abroad, that the Young Irelanders had hastened O'Connell's death.

"We need not remind you," the Archbishop continues, "of the havoc made by such national or rather *political* calamities, not only on the lives, but on the virtue, the morality, and the religion of the people. There are evils which, often recurring, would defy all the influence of an apostle to heal, nay, hardly to mitigate. These would infallibly, and in spite of the efforts of the most zealous clergy, throw any civilized society into a state of disorganization.

"Such, almost, is the condition of society in our unfortunate country at the present moment. It threatens to fall asunder from that extreme physical privation which is wasting all our vigor. Every spark of vitality should long ago have been extinguished, were it not that it was kept alive by that sustaining spirit breathed into the people by the ministers of religion; because in true religion alone are found the recuperative principles of society."

Now the Archbishop reminds his people of O'Connell's priceless services to the nation.

"It was by following those principles," he continues, "that the great leader for whom you are invited to offer your prayers so raised the lowly condition of the people that the fame of his glory extended to the ends of the earth.

"We must not suffer that people to relapse into the same or into a worse condition, by abandoning them to the control of a different class of teachers. Though almost all are now agreed that the goal to which he aspired, and for which he strove with a giant's strength, until he sank exhausted in the course, is the only one worth struggling for, we must keep a steady eye on the sacred principles of allegiance to the throne and fidelity to God, which uniformly guided O'Connell's extraordinary career.

"We must keep aloof from the councils of those who, whilst they are clamorous for civil liberty, would cheerfully bind in fetters the freedom of the Church. It was by rescuing religious freedom from the political tyranny which oppressed it, that he succeeded in obtaining civil liberty for the people. It is by the unholy endeavor to fasten on the

Church the chains which he unloosened, that the open or disguised enemies of the people hope once more to sink them into the thralldom from which they were rescued by his mighty energies.

“Among these enemies there are some professing our own creed, worthless and venal self-seekers, foes of the freedom of the temple and of the freedom of the school; men striving to subject man’s immortal soul to the same political discipline by which his body is governed; to reduce our hierarchy to a courtly and political vassalage, instead of an unshackled dependence on the Rock of Peter, as if the divine Word had issued from the palaces of king’s instead of the bosom of the Almighty! or as if those whom He sent to teach, to instruct, to educate, and to form the Christian society had received their mission from a motley sanhedrim of Pharisees and Sadducees, of such foreign sectaries as were assembled in the Court of Herod and were controlled by his counsels, rather than from Him Whose kingdom is not of this world, and Who liveth aloof from the snares of political corruption!

“These are our greatest enemies in the present awful crisis of Ireland’s weakness and Ireland’s widowhood,—the men who would give a secular and political form to the divine Spouse of Christ, and so fetter and embarrass her with anti-Catholic connections as to make her lose much of the dignity of her freedom and her beneficent power.

“You have such men among those sent to represent us in Parliament. You have them in the cities, in the towns, in the counties; men who, for their own selfish purposes, would hand over their Church and its ministers bound to the triumphal car of any hostile statesman; men who requite the services of those who pushed them into an eminence their own efforts could have never gained, by striving to make and exhibit the Catholic Church and her priesthood as slaves and captives, bound and shorn of their strength, and become the sport of their enemies.

“Such was not the course pursued by him for whom you are now asked to have the most solemn services of the

Church performed. Therefore did he earn their immitigable hatred; but for this, also, he earned the benedictions of his country, of our age, and of all posterity.

"It will be our duty, then, if unable to recall these erring men from their dangerous paths, at least to keep our people from giving them any portion of their confidence. For we uniformly find that the Castle officials of an anti-Catholic Government, far from securing any protection to your religion, only aggravate the oppression it endures.

"The Catholic Church knows not that one-sided liberty of ancient states so much vaunted, and by modern men, too, which cannot shed its beams upon the free without turning its dark phases on the victims of slavery.

"No, like the sun in the heavens, the Church is destined to shine upon all. Hence the necessity of safely guarding its entire freedom, that it may impart to all its light and heat.

"The labors of your ministry will be much increased in consequence of the removal of the venerated chief, whose influence contributed so much, conjointly with your ministrations, toward the preservation of public order. There is little danger of any injury to society or themselves, if the people shun the lessons of seduction.

"By Emancipation the great leader brought them out of the land of bondage. By the restoration to this country of its native parliament, he would have completely achieved his mission, and rested from his labors. The people, however, are still exposed to the same physical hardships, fearfully aggravated in this terrible season by experiencing the periodical failure of the (only) food to which they have cruelly been doomed.

"They are in danger of breaking out into dreadful deeds of sedition, or of perishing in the desert through these successive famines. It will be your duty to console, to guide, and to sustain them, until the surviving remnant reach that term of their labors within view of which their great leader had brought them, but of which, like the great Liberator-Prophet, his prototype, a mysterious Providence had forbidden him the enjoyment."

To the Prime Minister, as "Black 47" wore on, the Archbishop of Tuam addressed letter after letter on the dreadful condition of his people, letters which were not mere invectives, no matter how well justified by circumstances, but letters full of that true, statesmanlike wisdom, which clearly pointed out a ready and efficacious remedy for every public evil Government left uncared for.

But how, the reader may ask, was Dr. Mac Hale's advocacy of the popular cause appreciated and sustained by his brother-bishops?

There exist among the voluminous correspondence bequeathed to us by the Archbishop of Tuam several most precious and most eloquent letters from him who was called "the Fénelon of the North," the Right Rev. Edward Maginn, Administrator Apostolic of the Diocese of Derry. This gifted prelate died in 1848, just as the long midnight-darkness over Ireland seemed to brighten toward the dawn. He had been raised to the episcopal dignity in the hour of his nation's sorest trial, and his brief career was like that of the morning star breaking through the surrounding darkness and gladdening men's eyes and hearts with the promise of approaching day.

From one destined, had he been spared, to the highest rank in the Irish hierarchy, we select some letters, which will tell of themselves what opinion the writer entertained of Dr. Mac Hale's place in the esteem of the nation, and when O'Connell's death left Ireland distracted, despairing, and leaderless.

"BUNCRANA, Sept. 25th, 1847.

"MY DEAR LORD:—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's esteemed favor. Your still more valuable favor to the public I read with feelings of pride and exultation, deeply thankful to Providence for having left us,—since he has taken to himself our beloved Liberator,—your Grace's gifted pen to expose error and political profligacy, and to defend the liberties of religion and country against both its disguised and open enemies.

"I sincerely congratulate your Grace and the Irish public on the appearance of this magnificent and truly telling production. It must do infinite good in those perilous times, when even the oldest children of the Church are turning on their Mother, and dare to lay violent hands on her sacred head, seizing on the very ROCK to which the Bark of Peter is anchored.

"We had your admirable letter at our conference; and I need not say that it was read with rapturous delight, and "long life and health, and enduring victory" to its author toasted amidst acclamations of the assembled clergy.

"It would be well if your Grace,—I say it with all deference,—turned your attention to some form of a general address to His Holiness to be adopted in each parish throughout Ireland. An expression of feeling of this description is still required, and, if I mistake not, looked for and expected at least from us, at Rome.

"Should your Grace consent to give us a form of address, I promise you that we of this diocese shall subscribe to its every sentiment, even were it written with a pen of steel and replete with all the fire which your Grace's utmost power of thought may breathe into it.

"Wishing your Grace long life and many happy days to serve your creed and country, I have the honor to be,

"Your most faithful and devoted servant,

"EDWARD MAGINN.

"THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE."

Here is another in the same spirit. It suggested a course of action needed alike, in 1847, by the circumstances of the Irish Church and people, and by the condition of Italy and the Papal States. Assuredly the need of such action in both countries is greater than ever in 1890.

"BUNCRANA, 8th Oct., '47.

"MY DEAR LORD:—I have just received your esteemed favor, and with it the *Freeman's Journal* publishing your admirable *Resolutions* with the *Queries*,—the beneficial result of your meeting at Loughrea.

“It would be well if your Grace had a lengthened *exposé* of your views, put into the form of a memorial or petition to be subscribed to by us, and immediately forwarded to the proper quarter. It would prevent confusion, abridge the time of our meeting, and make us appear before the public as we should always appear, in a manner creditable to the body. Things of this sort cannot be properly done amidst the bustle and confusion of a large meeting, when men’s minds are being distracted by a variety of subjects, and they are much more anxious to get home than to do anything else.

“The original rights of property and its duties; the manner in which the people of Ireland have been treated; the law of nature as it regards them placed in abeyance; the claims of the lords of the soil made *sacred* by positive law, and the Eternal Law of God, which makes *life sacred even at the expense of every property*, set at defiance. On these subjects it would be well to touch with your usual master-hand. Coming from you, and bearing the signatures of the entire Irish prelacy, such a document must tell not only in these kingdoms, but throughout Christendom.

“I had a letter from the venerable Dr. Cullen, in which he expresses his anxiety to have a pastoral address on the subject of His Holiness’s troubles, proceeding from the Bench of Bishops to the people of Ireland,—in which the characters of the Primacy, with the rights of the Holy See; the sacredness of the Papal States, with the advantages of preserving them inviolate to religion; and the necessity of the independence of the Vicar of Christ, would be set forth in the strongest terms.

“He suggests, moreover, that the prayers of the people should be solicited, and assistance from them in every way they can afford to give it.

“This would also be a subject on which your Grace’s wonted ability could be most beneficially exercised. If it be not done by your Grace, I am much afraid that it will be left undone till the day of our meeting, when it will be impossible to do it well.

"Should your Grace not have turned your attention to the Latin Address to His Holiness, by dropping me a line on the subject, I shall turn my attention to it, and draft the form, subject in the hereafter to your amendments.

"We have fallen upon unhappy times. God alone can save the people and the people's faith amid the trials they have to endure and the perils with which they are beset.

"Sincerely hoping to find your Grace in the enjoyment of good health at our approaching meeting, I have the honor to remain, etc., etc.,

"E. MAGINN."

The suggestions made in this letter were attended to by the Archbishop. The unceasing calls upon his time made during these eventful months left him, apparently, but little time to give to such compositions as those mentioned. But they were deemed by him to be, under the circumstances of his Church and country, an essential part of his duty. The manuscript copy among the MAC HALE MANUSCRIPTS of the Address of the Irish Hierarchy to Pius IX. is evidently not the work of Dr. Mac Hale.

But the letter to Cardinal Frasoni, which accompanies the Address, is by the Archbishop of Tuam, who writes in the name of the entire hierarchy. It is a masterly document, dated "Dublin, October 27th, 1847," written in the Archbishop's classical Latin, and dwells on the condition and prospects of Ireland, the general feeling of gratitude with which the first Rescript on the Queen's Colleges had been received by both people and clergy; it mentions the determination of the bishops to carry out the design of erecting a Catholic University, as well as the efforts made to mar this project by getting the Government so to amend the Statutes of the Queen's Colleges as to make the latter unobjectionable to Catholics.

The second part of the letter dwells on the renewed attempt of the Imperial Government to establish diplomatic relations with the Court of Rome.

"With regard to this matter," the Archbishop says, "it would be absolutely necessary to write more at length, in

order to enable you (in Rome) to understand the true state of affairs here, the condition in which our Church is placed, and to set forth clearly the weighty reasons which we all have for looking with suspicion on the schemes of the British Government, whenever these bear in any way on Irish ecclesiastical affairs or on the rights of our Church in this kingdom.

“I shall, at present, merely mention a few things which will throw light on the reasons we have for being alarmed. In the first place, no lapse of time can blot out from our memory all that, during the last three hundred years, has been done against the Church in Ireland. We cannot repose any trust in those who have confiscated the property of Catholics, or transferred it to Protestants, and who have persecuted to the death our people. To be sure, the penal laws enacted during that period have been partially repealed; but the spirit which enacted them is still alive and active. What shall I say of the systematic exclusion of Catholics from nearly all public offices, and of the bestowal of these on the Protestant minority? What shall I say of the schools opened in the Colonies for the education of the orphan children belonging to the army and navy, and in which the children of Catholic parents are brought up in the Protestant religion? What shall I say of the efforts made, during these last years, under the patronage of the British Government, to destroy the very existence of the Catholic Church, to strip her of all liberty, and to open the flood-gates of all religious errors, in the Kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, as well as in other countries?

“These are things which excite our just alarm, lest religion should also be ruined in the country placed under the paternal sway of the Holy See, and by the intrigues of British agents. It would not be possible to introduce into the Papal States the constitutional forms familiar to the British Empire, without grievously wounding the rights of the Church and of her supreme head on earth. The experience of countries which admit British ambassadors goes to demonstrate that these are perpetually endeavoring

to introduce there British institutions. Hence the rebellious movements continually excited against the legitimate sovereigns."

The Archbishop then enumerates the barbarous and fanatical acts of religious persecution against Irish Catholics during the last twelvemonth:—the destitute poor allowed to die of starvation unless they consented to conform to the Protestant Church, and the very alms collected from indiscriminate charity exclusively employed to pervert the souls of the famishing.

He concludes by enumerating the outrageous relics of the Penal Laws which still disgrace the Statute Book, and the blasphemous form of oath imposed upon all public officials.

"I have written all this to your Eminence," Dr. Mac Hale says, in concluding, "in order that with your ordinary kindness you may take on yourself the care of protecting our Church from every hostile intrigue, and, should you deem it needful, that you also make known our fears to His Holiness, and that he should use his supreme authority to prevent British agents or other Englishmen from interfering with our Church affairs."¹

Of the suggested memorial to the Lord-lieutenant, touching especially on the Irish Land-laws, and the rights of property *versus* the right to live, the Archbishop was not unmindful. We shall speak of it and of his correspondence with Lord Clarendon further on.

In the midst of the despair and gloom of that memorable autumn and winter of 1847, the British Government were busy,—profiting by the prostration of the people, and the lamentable divisions existing among their political and religious guides,—to push forward with redoubled activity their plans for University Education and the renewal of Diplomatic Intercourse with Rome. The Government, as we shall see, were but too actively seconded in these intrigues,—in this conspiracy, rather,—by some members of the hierarchy and others of the inferior clergy.

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

But such men as Drs. Mac Hale and Maginn were fully conscious of the danger, and fully impressed with the necessity of warding it off by every means in their power.

In the last days of that fateful year, Dr. Maginn wrote as follows to the Archbishop:—

“BUNCRANA, 28th December, 1847.

“MY DEAR LORD:—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed favor of the 23d inst., and to express to your Grace my high gratification at finding that my hurried address to Stanley¹ has met with your approval. Had I understood that your Grace was coming out on the same subject, I should not have ventured to write upon it. But, not seeing any notice taken of the cool, deliberate calumnies ushered into the world with all the weight and authority of such a man as Stanley, I believed it to be a duty not to allow them to pass unnoticed.

“Your beautiful, forcible, and convincing letters to Lord Arundel and Surrey, and to Lord John Russell, were more than sufficient to remove the unfavorable impressions produced by our calumniators on the public mind in England, if English prejudice against Catholic Ireland could be removed by any amount of truth or argument.

“Our lot, your Grace, is being cast on truly perilous times. The most insidious, crafty, unprincipled Government that ever swayed the destinies of this empire, playing into the hands of the inveterate foes of our country,—both influenced by the same malicious feeling towards our people and our religion; the prostrate energies, moreover, of our country,—all conspire to make the present times more pregnant with danger to the independence of our Church and the remaining liberties of our people than any period in the sad annals of Ireland.

“Unfortunately we are forced to meet them with broken ranks, when we should be united against the common foe. Division in Church and state; treachery within and with-

¹ A most eloquent letter addressed by the Prelate to the then Secretary for Ireland.

out; our mock patriots selling themselves to the highest bidder; and even traitors in the very sanctuary to applaud the onslaught made upon our people, and to extol to the stars the benevolence of our truculent rulers:—such a state of things has not existed in almost any land since the siege of Jerusalem under Titus.

“God, however, who has hitherto permitted such things, can, in His own good time, bring order out of this chaos, and frustrate the new but too high hopes of our enemies.

“Would it not be well, your Grace, to force a meeting of the prelates, and have a deputation from and representing each diocese to give to the world a statement of the wrongs that Ireland endured for centuries and is still enduring, with an authentic refutation of the calumnies of which we are being made the victims?

“I should like to hear from your Grace on this subject. I am afraid that a deputation to the Queen would meet with anything but a good reception. The state of feeling in England against us is such that the Ministry would take advantage of it to have those whom they abominate insulted. The answer we should receive would be the Ministers' answer, not the Queen's. And I should not be astonished if it were couched in such language as would tend to confirm the nations of Europe in the bad opinions they have been induced to form of us by the British press,—coming to them, as it would in these circumstances, sanctioned by the Queen's name.

“A meeting of the Irish clergy, bold and frank, would, in my mind, silence Lord John and his menagerie.

“Praying that the Lord may preserve your Grace long in good health and spirits to our Church and Country, I have the honor to be,

“Your most faithful and devoted servant,

“E. MAGINN.”

The letter to Lord John Russell mentioned above by Dr. Maginn is one of the most telling ever written by the Archbishop of Tuam, all the more so, indeed, that the

writer is careful to be brief, direct, and outspoken. It is dated December 17th, 1847.

"My Lord," says the Archbishop, "for not seasonably providing against the rapidly progressing famine of this year, Ministers cannot offer the specious but feeble apology of a sudden and unforeseen calamity. No—it was early foreseen; it was felt before the consequences of the last had disappeared; or, rather, it formed but a link to connect the two disastrous seasons.

"The details of *destitution*, the sure precursor of its approach, especially in this province (of Cannaught), had been laid before the public with an accuracy and minuteness that were beyond the reach of refutation.

"The bishops of Ireland, assembled, called, through a deputation of their body, the attention of the Irish Government to the frightful state of misery under which the people were suffering, and implored the timely aid of their rulers to avert the evils of a *famine* which had already invaded more than one diocese.

"The crimes which disgraced the country they deplored and reprobated. To the cruel and heart-rending evictions of the poor which stimulated to such atrocities, the bishops applied the inspired language of Scripture uttered in condemnation of similar inhumanities. And, as mediators between the throne and the people, as the protectors of order and the fathers of the poor, they besought speedy measures of relief coextensive with the evil, to avert from society the disorganization with which it was threatened.

"And yet, after these recent acts,—*public, solemn, and unanimous*,—by which the prelates recorded their condemnation of crime, and *their anxiety to check it by drying up its fountain*,—it has been asserted that *we, the bishops*, have been silent on these public delinquencies!

"No, my Lord, we have not hitherto been silent, nor shall we be so, whenever our sacred duty requires us to denounce such fatal disorders. The shedding of human blood is a crime which shall ever, as in the case of the first murderer, cry to Heaven for vengeance. Probably the

reason why the Catholic clergy are arraigned is not because they have omitted to inculcate the commandment not to kill, but because they have explained with too much of logical accuracy the variety of ways in which people may kill. . . .

"Your Lordship, then, will not be surprised to learn that we have listened with more of pity than of anger to the real or affected astonishment of some Members of Parliament,¹ that we did not interpose by issuing some further pastoral instructions to our clergy.

"Those who will not believe without miracles are always looking for more. Is it to be supposed that an additional miracle, wrought in the Court of Herod, would have influenced that monarch more than all the miracles of our Redeemer's life?

"A Bishop's exhortation to his clergy to fulfil their duties during the awful season of famine would, no doubt, have brought conviction to the minds of those whom the spectacle of *hundreds of clergymen laying down their lives as holocausts for their flocks* could not have rebuked into reverence for such heroic sacrifices?

"The cruelties committed in Ireland on the starving people are scarcely equalled under the sun. Hence the hideous deeds of retaliation, which we all deplore and execrate, and against which the voice of the clergy has been raised with zealous energy.

"Your Lordship may boast of your police and stipendiary officers; you may rely, as if they were to be a panacea, on your recent measures of coercion. You might marshal those and many such agencies for the preservation of the peace. But in justice to the calumniated clergy of Ireland it is but right you should know that, however sparing of their publication, the exhortations made from the altar by the clergy have done more for the protection of society than the whole of your salaried functionaries together.

"And yet the men who thus preserved life are accused of being accessories to murder! The protectors of the law

¹ He pointedly alludes here to Lords Stanley and Farnham.

are held up as guilty of law-breaking! This reminds one of the charge brought against the lamb in the fable, that he was disturbing the lower stream at which he drank, whereas the wolf, who accused him of troubling the water, stood far higher up.

"We should not, however, be surprised at such accusations coming from such a source.

"Let our accusers but believe the famishing people, and they may slander the clergy without measure or remorse. We are not unaccustomed to requitals of this nature from the world around us; and whilst some Members of Parliament speak all manner of evil against us, we are prepared by the prophetic warnings of Our Lord to rejoice in the blessedness of such revilings."

He concludes with the following terrible arraignment of the policy of COERCION, which after seven centuries of continuous experiment has been at length, under the Marquis of Salisbury, and in Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee year, placed on the Imperial Statute Book as A PERPETUAL REMEDY for all the evils of Irish discontent!

"It would no doubt be amusing," the Archbishop dares to say to the Prime Minister, "if the subject were not so melancholy, to trace the exact analogy between the recent reports of the Parliamentary debates and the corresponding records of by-gone times. A Pythagorean would have imagined he had found in the coincidence a proof of his theory of the transmigration of souls, so exactly are the sentiments of former coercionists suited to the words and policy of their successors!

"No matter what may be the amount of the people's sufferings or privations; no matter by what cruelties these sufferings are aggravated; no matter that the sufferers wrung from their bitterest enemies the praise of being kind and of loving justice, and that the worst features in their character have been formed by the Laws which moulded them—still the uniform cry for seven centuries has been: *First*, COERCION, and *then* measures of amelioration.

"To the first part of this policy the rulers of the day

have ever been faithful; the second portion they generally contrive to leave as a legacy to their successors.

“*First Repression; then, a sanatory policy.*

“This *second* has been so long delayed that it is no wonder if, by the repeated and inexorable applications of the *first*, during a period of 700 years, with but few intermittent intervals,—*the patient should have been entirely exhausted.*

“Yet, with a singular self-complacency, we find successive statesmen applauding *the benevolence* which characterizes their own times, and lamenting the tyrannical and *coercive* policy of their predecessors!

“With a full and applauding Senate the Prime Minister of 1847 introduces measures *exclusively coercive*, and with some ‘discreet’ professing Catholics to second his policy, these measures are ushered in amidst invectives against the Catholic clergy which the Covenanters of 1647 would have hailed with delight, whilst he reserves *the oft untried counterpart of justice and conciliation* to the Kalends of next year!

“The Kalends of January 1848 will soon come. And yet,—though numbers (multitudes, rather) of the poor evicted tenantry are perishing of hunger and cold during the inclement season, amid the morasses into which they are cast without a shelter,—any *just measure* for their protection from a similar treatment in future will in all probability be forgotten.

“Thus COERCION is always for *to-day*;—a healing policy becomes the reversionary inheritance of *a to-morrow* which never arrives. The Kalends of next January, in so far as mercy and justice to the people are concerned, will mean the *Greek Kalends*.

“The observer of Irish events for centuries to come may, so far as your performances go, find in the doings of the Parliament of 1847 a model policy for every Prime Minister for the time being, who shall thus proclaim solemnly that the Irish People must be first taught by COERCION to feel all the terrors of pitiless Law, before they are suffered to partake of the blessings of a wise, just, and beneficent legislation!”

Surely, the fearful sufferings of the people, to which there seemed no likelihood of any human remedy, should have induced the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin to forget all differences of opinion, all personal soreness of feeling, to unite with their brother prelates of Cashel and Tuam, with the majority of the hierarchy, in fact, to urge upon the government to try *justice and simple humanity* instead of coercion.

A united episcopacy, standing firmly together in the hour of Ireland's extremity, and pleading with one voice and perseveringly for JUSTICE *and conciliation*, could not have been disregarded by any Ministry, Whig or Tory.

But let us mention here what was done by the Archbishop of Tuam and those who stood faithfully by him, in the name of the entire body, and in fulfilment of such wishes as we have heard expressed by Dr. Maginn.

We have before us an authenticated copy of the memorial presented to the Earl of Clarendon, Lord-lieutenant, on October 21st, 1847, and signed in the name of the hierarchy by the Archbishop of Tuam and Dr. Derry, Bishop of Clonfert.

The memorial first states that the prelates "are filled with grief and alarm at the FAMINE which, for want of a sufficiency of food, has set in in some of the Western and Southern, and in several other districts of Ireland, threatening a recurrence of the horrors of the last season. . . . They (the prelates) are not without anxious solicitude for the deep distress which, for *want of sufficient employment*, is almost universally felt throughout the country."

"It would be useful," they say, "with a view of promoting vigorous and effective remedies, to refer to the CAUSES from which have sprung the evils of our present condition.

"These causes are found in the unjust and penal enactments which, in other days, deprived the great bulk of the people of the rights of property, thus discouraging industry by debarring them of its fruits. . . .

"It is to the violation of the Principles of Justice and of Christian Morality from which these enactments had

sprung, and not to any innate indolence of the people, that we may trace their depressed social condition, which, sinking gradually into still greater misery, terminated last year, by the failure of the potato crop, in the famine so tremendous in its havoc, and of which the present season threatens the appalling recurrence."

This is stating the great central fact in the history of chronic Irish distress and unrest; and the statement was intended to enlighten the entire civilized world on the monstrous relations between the landlord class and the rural population in the Green Isle, relations unique in the whole history of nations.

"If the laborer is worthy of his hire," the bishops say, "an axiom of Natural, as well as of Revealed Religion; and, if doing to others as we should be done by be the golden standard of Christian morality, it would be a violation of those sacred maxims to appropriate the entire crop of the husbandman without compensating him for the seed or the labor expended in the cultivation of the soil."

"Yet laws sanctioning such unnatural injustice, and, therefore, injurious to society, not only exist, but are extensively enforced with reckless and unrelenting rigor, while *the sacred and indefeasible rights of LIFE* are forgotten, amid the incessant reclamation of the subordinate rights of property!

"The legitimate rights of property, so necessary for the maintenance of society, we have ever felt it our duty to recognize and inculcate. The outbreaks of violence and revenge which sometimes, unfortunately, disgrace the country, we deplore and reprobate; but, in justice to their general character and habits, we feel it our duty to declare our conviction that there is not on earth a people who exhibit more respect for law and order, under such unheard of privations, than the people of Ireland.

"Hallowed as are THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY, those of LIFE are still more sacred: they rank as such in every well regulated scale which aims at adjusting the relative possessions of Man. If this scale had not been frequently

reversed among us, we should not have so often witnessed, in the heart-rending scenes of the eviction of tenantry, *the oppressions that are done under the sun, the tears of the innocent having no comforter and unable to resist violence, being destitute of help from any*, which made the Wise Man '*praise the dead rather than the living.*' "

Here is the case of Ireland in a nutshell.

The miserable inadequacy of the existing poor-laws and of the relief enactments just passed by Parliament is then set forth.

"In such an awful crisis," the memorial continues, "which threatens such destruction of human life, the memorialists, anxious to preserve the souls of their flocks from crime, and society from the danger of disorganization, implore your Excellency to use your influence with Her Majesty's Government to procure measures of relief commensurate with the magnitude of the calamity."

The Archbishop of Tuam, who had drawn up this memorial, then briefly states, with the clear-sightedness of a true statesman and economist, the measures so often, in the years past, urged by him upon the rulers of the land, but always urged in vain. They would have been the salvation of the people; and they could still, at the beginning of 1848, save the Irish masses, if Lord John Russell and his associates had been sincere in their wish to save. . . .

Instead of "gratuitous relief," the bishops ask for employment of a productive and remunerative nature for all the able-bodied who are without food. "Gratuitous relief has a demoralizing tendency. It may be perverted, as a large portion of the public charities has been perverted by many, into means of proselytism, an abuse of charity which demands our strongest reprobation."

As to the "prospective measures calculated to check the recurrence of famine and promote the prosperity of the country," the memorialists "remark that an equitable arrangement of the relations between landlords and tenants, founded on COMMUTATIVE JUSTICE, appears to them so

necessary, that, without it, they despair of seeing the poor sufficiently employed and protected, the land sufficiently cultivated, or the peace and prosperity of the country placed on a secure foundation. Large tracts of land capable of cultivation are now lying waste; the coasts abound in fish which would give a large supply of food: encouragement to work these and other mines of wealth with which the country is teeming would be well worthy of the solicitude of Her Majesty's Government.

"The poor are patient and long-enduring, though suffering grievously; they are looking with hope and confidence to Her Majesty's Government for relief; a prompt and humane attention to their wants will save the lives and secure the lasting gratitude of Her Majesty's most faithful people."¹

On Lord Clarendon we wish to pronounce no judgment save that which will force itself on the reader after a perusal of that statesman's acts as recorded in our narrative.

We have now before us the very manuscript from which he read his answer to the above memorial.

The first paragraphs echo, one after the other, the corresponding passages in the episcopal address.

"In common with your Lordships I deeply commiserate the distress of the people, and fear that in many localities the means indispensable for the maintenance of the destitute are lamentably deficient."

And who is to blame, O Viceroy, if the terrible experiences of the two preceding years failed to make you and your associates in the Government provident and careful of the lives of your starving millions?

Were you not warned publicly, solemnly, repeatedly by more than one of the prelates who stood around John of Tuam, as well as by this watchful and courageous prelate himself?

"We should indeed study the history of Ireland to little purpose," he continues, "if we failed to draw from past experience lessons for our future guidance, and, by ana-

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

lyzing the causes of evils, to learn how their remedies can be most effectually applied.

"The eternal principles of justice and Christian morality can never be violated with impunity; and the unrighteous legislation of by-gone times has left traces which must be long and severely felt. By penal enactments, doubtless, industry was discouraged, property was unequally distributed; the growth of a middle class was retarded; the people were demoralized, and the whole fabric of society was (made) hollow and insecure."

This is not a fair or truthful statement of the revolution effected gradually and successively in the ownership of property in Ireland, by British conquest and legislation. The lands of Ireland and all that bore the name of property were transferred from the Celt to the Saxon, from the Catholic to the Protestant. It was "an unequal distribution of property" indeed! And we know that this utter confiscation, together with the penal persecuting laws destined to secure to Protestants the exclusive possession of all property, did not merely "retard" the growth of a middle class, especially of a Catholic peasant-proprietary class, but made such a growth impossible.

We dare say Lord Clarendon believed himself very *liberal* in these avowals.

"The remedy for such a state of things," he says, "has of necessity been slow and difficult; but it is for the Legislature, the Government, and for all those who, living in better times and exercising authority, have at heart the true interests of Ireland, to efface the memory of the past, and by equal laws, impartial justice, and forbearing patience steadily to carry on the work of social regeneration, and place the people of this country in the position they are entitled to occupy."

There was no likelihood that, in replying to what was said of the cruel lot of the Irish tenantry, a great landlord, like the Earl of Clarendon, would side with the tillers of the soil as against its proprietors.

"If the laborer was always worthy of his hire"—this is

the way Lord Clarendon puts the case ; “if all classes of men did to others as they would be done by, much misery and a great many evils might have been averted. If the entire crops of the husbandman be appropriated without compensating him for the seed or the labor expended in the cultivation of the soil,—that is to say, if an exorbitant and disproportionate rent be cruelly exacted,—those sacred maxims are unquestionably violated.”

But now see how the great landed proprietor pleads for *the right of evicting*.

“But on the other hand,” he continues, “if the owner of the soil, who is as much dependent upon it as the occupier, be deprived of his fair and reasonable share of its produce ; if he can neither obtain rent nor the surrender of his land, and *is in fact dispossessed* of his property by a non-fulfilment of the conditions upon which he shared his rights with another, then beyond doubt a similiar infringement of the maxim occurs.”

We are in the year 1847,—when for two years at least in succession the land, in the case of the immense majority of farmers depending on the potato crop,—yielded no fruit to the tiller of the soil, and therefore yielded no rent, though never so “fair and reasonable,” to the proprietor.

Are the millions thus reduced to depend *on a single root* for sustenance and rent to be plucked up from the land, and cast forth from farm and cottage upon the highways, like so many weeds ?

And does the wretched cottager, with his family perishing around him of starvation, “infringe” the divine maxims of eternal justice, and the prescriptions of both the Old Law and the New,—if he clings to his cabin,—the cabin reared by himself or his fathers,—and considers that he has *SOME right to LIVE* on God’s earth, or on the soil so long watered with his sweat ?

Lord Clarendon is careful to make no allusion whatever to the powerful statement of the Irish peasant’s *right to life*, as put side by side with the assertion of *the rights of PROPERTY*.

It is in vain that Lord Clarendon tells us that there is "no people on earth more eager for justice; for kindness none are more grateful than the Irish; and, assuredly, none have endured the cruellest privations with more exemplary patience and resignation."

Yet such a people's *right to live* is not to be mentioned when there is question of "the sacred rights of property."

The bishops had mentioned the ancient monastic institutions in Ireland as so many "asylums in which were treasured, in trust for the indigent, the accumulations of piety, cheerfully feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, educating the ignorant, and affording consolation under every infirmity that affects human nature."

Lord Clarendon, who has been roaming over Continental Europe and beheld everywhere the utterly ruined, suppressed, or impoverished monasteries and convents, will not admit the truth of Dr. Mac Hale's assertion. Revolutionary and sceptical Europe has but too faithfully copied the destruction wrought in England and Ireland by Henry VIII. and Cromwell. How could the pillaged and struggling monasteries of Spain, Portugal, France, and Italy do for the poor in the nineteenth century what their predecessors had done for them in the thirteenth?

Lord Clarendon thinks that the master-piece of modern public charity and state economy is the work-house. So, in his opinion, all the Irish poor should pass through the work-house in order to enable the Government officials to ascertain who is really destitute and who is not; who should be saved from starvation by State relief, and who allowed to perish if averse to the atmosphere of the work-house.

Property is yearly taxed upwards of ten millions and a half sterling in England to support the work-house; why should not property in Ireland be taxed in proportion for the support of the Irish destitute?

And the Government and Legislature having devised a good work-house system for Ireland, what more can be expected of them? This is how *they* harmonize the conflict-

ing claims of property with the absolute right of men to live by the work of their hands on the land which gave them birth!

As to the practical conclusion to which the Viceroy has come, here is all the consolation he can give the bishops:—

“Considering that the prospects of the winter were alarming, and foreseeing that scarcity would exist, and the means of procuring food would be insufficient, I have endeavored through every channel, private as well as official, to obtain accurate information. . . .

“I am sure your Lordships will agree with me that the full amount of exertion which duty prescribes has not yet been made here, and that without it, in justice to others, *no general claim to assistance can be established.*

“I am, however, painfully alive to the fact that in many districts there exists dreadful misery, which no amount of local exertion can relieve; and there the sacred and paramount duty of Government, *the preservation of human life*, will be performed. The Legislature has placed a large sum, under favorable conditions, at the disposal of the landowners, and I know that this will afford much employment to the poor in work really reproductive, and I trust that Parliament will see fit to sanction a measure which, while strictly guarding the rights of property, shall at the same time place the relations between landlord and tenant upon a footing more sound and satisfactory than at present.”¹

The letters which Dr. Mac Hale continued to address to the Prime Minister between the end of October and that of December tell us plainly enough how little the Government did or cared to do for the radical healing of Irish misery.

In the meantime arose the bitter controversy in the press about priestly instigation to violence and murder, of which we shall treat in one of the next chapters. In this controversy Lord Clarendon also interfered, as we see by the following letter to the Archbishop of Tuam. His praise of

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

the Archbishop and of the Irish clergy in general may well be opposed to the scandalous and unjustifiable accusations of the Catholic Earl of Shrewsbury.

“VICE-REGAL LODGE, Dec. 5, 1847.

“MY LORD:—I trust your Grace will permit me to address a few lines to you upon your letter to Lord John Russel, which was published in the *Freeman's Journal* of the 2d instant. I propose to do so in entire confidence, and in the spirit in which, when I had the pleasure of receiving your Grace here, I expressed a hope that communications might occasionally take place between members of the Catholic hierarchy and myself.

“I have read with admiration your Grace's eloquent and just defence of the clergy; for, speaking with some knowledge of Catholic countries on the Continent, I do not hesitate in saying that no clergy in Europe can be compared with the Irish for zealous, self-sacrificing, faithful performance of most arduous duties. Their conduct, generally, throughout the disasters of the last two years, has been beyond praise; and, as a body, I am convinced they will always be found the true friends of order and the unflinching advocates of loyalty and peace.

“But among a class so numerous, it is not to be expected that all should be equally good, that some should not be more passionate and less prudent than others; and thus, although perhaps unintentionally and without reflection on its consequences, that they should misuse the influence they possess.

“It is the language and the conduct of such men that are injurious to their brethren, and that have given rise to these aspersions upon the entire priesthood of which your Grace with so much justice complains. Their language and conduct become notorious; they are propagated through a thousand channels; they are grossly aggravated; the admonition or the punishment which those reverend persons meet with at the hands of their ecclesiastical superiors are secret, while the meek and Christ-like demeanor which

characterizes the clergy, and the admirable advice and exhortations to charity and kindness addressed to their flocks, are comparatively unnoticed or unknown. Thus the rare exceptions are taken for the general rule; the exercise of spiritual authority is doubted; and the Press asserts, and the public believes, that the Catholic clergy of Ireland are the irresponsible promoters of disaffection and disorder. . . . Under these circumstances, two things, in my humble judgment, appear to be wanting.

“ 1st. That the great body of the clergy should do justice to themselves; that the rules which govern their conduct should be made better known; and that the exhortations which they are in the habit of addressing to their flocks, inciting them to order, and industry, and good will, should be occasionally published. And I will answer for it that Parliament, the Press, and public opinion would gladly do justice to these excellent men, and that the calumnies with which they are now assailed would not be repeated.

“ 2d. The second, and to my mind far more important object, is that the opinions of the heads of the Church should be heard; . . . that they should publicly encourage and approve the clergy who walk in the path of duty, and publicly warn or punish those who, although faithful in the performance of their religious duties, may be heedless of their obligations to society. . . .

“ Such a course demands great judgment, decision, and moral courage; and it is on that account I address myself to your Grace, knowing that if your Grace should see fit to lead the way, others would not be slow to follow. But whether your Grace may think proper to give any effect to my suggestions, or may deem them impracticable or inexpedient, I shall consider this communication as strictly confidential between us.

“ I have expressed myself with unreserved frankness, in the assurance, if I rightly estimate your Grace's character, that you will not misconstrue my motives. And it only remains for me to hope that in thus addressing your Grace I have been guilty of no presumption.

"I have the honor to be with great respect, my Lord,
 "Your Grace's very faithful servant,

"CLARENDON."¹

The Archbishop at once returned a fitting answer to this appeal of the Viceroy's. It is evident that Lord Clarendon entertained the same opinion as Right Rev. Dr. Maginn on the foremost place in the hierarchy and in the nation held by John of Tuam.

The answer is in every way admirable.

"TUAM, December 9th, 1847.

"MY LORD:—On yesterday I have been honored with your Excellency's respected communication of the 5th inst. Although a large portion of the letter to Lord John Russell was devoted to the vindication of the Catholic clergy from unmerited aspersions, still, its chief object was to fix the Prime Minister's attention on the starving condition of the people in several districts, and the utter inadequacy of the means of relief now relied on for preserving their lives.

"As long as they are in such destitution, without any sure prospect of the mitigation of their sufferings, the peace and order of society will be exposed to imminent danger. And though the clergy should be unceasing, as they have hitherto been, in their exhortations to patience, it is to be feared that their exhortations will often lose their effect on men urged on by the impulses of hunger and despair.

"No matter; the clergy will continue their pious and peaceful exertions, knowing that they have a conscientious duty to perform; unawed by the many, and unseduced by the favors of the few, they will pursue the unostentatious tenor of their ministrations, without any reference but to Him Who will reward the good works done for His glory and in His name.

"Such persons, instead of addressing themselves to the prejudices of their hearers, will treat them rather as a good and wise parent treats his children, promoting their best interests in the very duty of thwarting their wayward incli-

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

nations. And if those disinterested ministers of religion were supposed to be under any other influence save that of duty, they would be regarded in the light of stipendiary functionaries; and that influence would be lost to the good order of society which now not only controls the exterior actions but reaches their very souls.

“It was for the purpose of awakening the timely attention of the authorities to this extensive destitution of the people, and of preventing by seasonable measures of relief the threatened derangement of society, that the episcopal deputation waited on your Excellency.

“At that time I was a witness to scenes of distress too intense as well as too extensive for the ordinary resources of that district to meet. I have since witnessed them in more aggravated forms. Yet, to my great surprise and sorrow, I find the Union of Tuam, with such a mass of unspeakable misery, placed beyond the pale of those districts which are deemed to require any extraordinary aid towards saving many of the people from starvation!

“Independently of all the wretchedness resulting from the want of the ordinary food of the potato, by which thousands in our poor lanes contrived to sustain themselves, our town swarms with crowds of paupers ejected by some of the neighboring gentry from their holdings; and the struggling people are burdened with the support of these outcasts from their homes.

“We have not been, I trust, wanting in turning your Excellency's attention to this frightful mass of pauperism beyond the reach of the Poor Rates to remedy,—and in urging most respectfully the necessity of Her Majesty's Government taking seasonable precautions to supply food or employment, and thus stopping the current of public disorders.

“It is not yet, I trust, too late. Without such relieving measures on a larger scale than that already before the public, coercive measures will irritate rather than heal, and the evils of our social system are likely to become more inveterate.

"Your Excellency has done justice to the zeal and labors of the Catholic clergy; and you generously lament the calumnies that have been heaped upon them. Were they animated with the zeal of apostles, they could not check every crime, with the frightful incentives to crime with which they are unfortunately surrounded.

"To render their zeal more efficient, therefore, and more productive of good, it is only necessary to adopt measures for satisfying the cravings of famine for the present, and to enter, for the future, on a new course of a more equitable and more sanatory legislation.

"Your Excellency has it in your power to render great service to Ireland. The very depression of our social condition throws into your hands a larger measure of power than usually falls to the lot of the representatives of Majesty.

"We have, in the first instance, applied to your Excellency, and laid before you the alarming condition of the country, in the hope that it would not be necessary for us to carry the wants of the suffering people to the foot of the throne. As yet, however, far from being able to accompany our exhortations to patience with those cheering promises of succor, which never fail to lift up the desponding,—we have only to offer them those arguments which are found in the consolations of religion alone.

"The communication with which your Excellency has honored me, I duly appreciate. And hoping that I have shown every desire to reciprocate your anxiety for the good name of the clergy and the well-being of the people, I have the honor to be, with great respect,

"Your Excellency's very faithful and obedient servant,

† "JOHN, Archbishop of Tuam.

"HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF CLARENDON, etc., etc."¹

The Archbishop of Tuam, in the autumn of 1846, when famine reigned throughout the West and South of Ireland, reminded the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, of the

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

glorious mission which he and his associates might then fulfil by saving a famishing nation.

"Your Lordship," the Prelate wrote, "has now a great destiny to fulfill,—the rescuing of an entire people from the jaws of famine; for nothing less than millions from the imperial exchequer can avert the doom which hangs over the Irish nation."¹

The timely appeal thus made to the Liberal Prime Minister was unheeded.

To the Liberal Viceroy, when famine and the wholesale emigration it produced had slain or driven from Ireland between one and two millions of inhabitants, the great shepherd of the West appeals anew for the lives of his flock.

"Your Excellency has it in your power to render great service to Ireland. . . We have laid before you the alarming condition of the country, in the hope that it would not be necessary for us to carry the wants of the suffering people to the foot of the Throne."

The Irish archbishops and bishops did the Viceroy too much honor in believing that he had intelligence enough to understand the condition of Ireland, or enough of the statesman to meet the terrible necessities of the hour.

¹ Letter of Dec. 15, 1846: "*Letters of John Mac Hale*" etc., First Ed., p. 623.

CHAPTER II.

DEFENDING THE IRISH CATHOLIC CLERGY AGAINST THEIR
CALUMNIATORS—LETTERS OF DR. MAC HALE TO LORD
CLIFFORD, LORD ARUNDEL AND SURREY, AND LORD
JOHN RUSSELL.

Not the least painful of the trials which the Archbishop of Tuam had to endure, in the midst of his struggles, were the public controversies arising from the attacks made on him, on his brother-prelates, and on the Irish priesthood in general, by members of the Catholic aristocracy in England. The letters from Dr. Cullen, published in the preceding volume, will have already told the reader how unceasingly persons belonging to this class besieged the Holy Father and the Sacred College with their complaints and misrepresentations.

As Dr. Mac Hale was ever foremost in asserting the political rights as well as in defending the religious interests of the Irish nation, so he was to these intriguers in the Eternal City as well as to their countrymen at home an object of special hostility.

We have already seen how warmly Lord Clifford supported the Bishop of Killala, Dr. O'Finan, and his vicar-general, Dean Lyons, in their unwise and unjustifiable proceedings against the clergy of that diocese. No doubt both the Bishop and his vicar-general did not scruple to impress Lord Clifford with the belief, which they studiously inculcated on all who approached them, that to the Archbishop of Tuam was to be traced all the mischief caused solely by their own imprudent and unpriestly course.

Lord Clifford, who was nearly connected by marriage with the venerable Cardinal Weld, had been quite active, in 1834, in aiding the English Government and its agents in

Rome in their efforts to prevent the promotion of Dr. Mac Hale to the metropolitan see of Tuam. The writer of the *Letters of HIEROPHILOS*, who, as Bishop of Maronia and Bishop of Killala, had been the fearless champion of Catholic Ireland, was painted to Gregory XVI. as a political agitator and firebrand. Gregory was not a man to be easily imposed upon by such misrepresentations. He knew Dr. Mac Hale well, and on this certain knowledge made him archbishop of Tuam.

When the saintly Cardinal Weld was called to his reward, and was succeeded in the sacred college by Cardinal Acton, Lord Clifford's hostility to the Archbishop of Tuam continued to be as bitter as ever. He, like too many others of his class, believed, or acted as if he believed, that bishops who espoused and defended, against the British Government and the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, the dearest temporal and spiritual interests of their flocks, were thereby injuring the Catholic name and disturbing the peace of the three kingdoms.

In 1840 and 1841, as we have seen, Dr. Mac Hale, with nine other Irish bishops, persistently urged the court of Rome to condemn the System of National Education which the British Government and a majority of the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland were zealously upholding. Lord Clifford, during this controversy, did yeoman's work in favor of the National System, which, though not then formally condemned, was formally put under episcopal surveillance and suspicion, and afterwards enveloped, indirectly at least, in the sentence issued against "mixed education."

The bitterness caused by the failure of the Government and its agents to obtain a formal sanction from Rome of their educational principles and methods was still further increased by the reopening of the Repeal Agitation in 1840-'41. We know the leading part which the Archbishop of Tuam took in this new movement. Lord Clifford thereupon issued a pamphlet in the form of a letter to Lord Alvanley (one of Dr. Mac Hale's old opponents), who had also written a pamphlet-letter on the same subject.

The Catholics of Great Britain professed to be most grateful, both to O'Connell and to Dr. Mac Hale, for their eloquent and efficient advocacy of Catholic claims previous to Emancipation. They had applauded the peaceful and energetic agitation set on foot in Ireland, and which led to the triumphant achievement of Emancipation in 1829.

Then no fault was found by Catholic peer or peasant in Great Britain with bishops and priests who stood by the side of O'Connell while pressing for the enfranchisement of their coreligionists and themselves. But in 1840-41, these same Catholic peers were blind to the fact that Dr. Mac Hale and O'Connell were only demanding the faithful fulfilment of the promises implied in the Act of Emancipation and solemnly held out by the Ministers who passed it; and that in agitating peacefully and legally for the restoration of their native Parliament, Irishmen were only using the same constitutional right which all British Catholics acknowledged in 1828 and 1829.

Dr. Mac Hale lost no time in taking to task his titled antagonists.

"Some new light," he says, "must have broken on the intellects of the English Catholic peers since the memorable period of the Catholic Association, when the Irish nation, laity and clergy, embracing almost the entire mass of the people, were leagued in one great constitutional confederacy, to wring from the injustice of England the rights of Emancipation.

"Were your Lordships' remonstrances then heard against the agitating spirit of the priesthood? . . . During this heroic struggle not a whisper escaped your lips about the existence of an 'irresponsible power,' or 'the necessity of controlling it.' But scarcely are you fixed in your seats, . . . than you turn upon those to whom you owe your seats and honors, and enter into overtures for an offensive alliance with our ancient foes to fee the Catholic clergy to keep her Majesty's peace! . . .

"When the Catholic peers and gentry, who, with a few noble exceptions, were the most tardy and inert in their



exertions for Emancipation, are put in possession of the advantages which they did not earn,—the people, who bore the brunt of the struggle, are to be abandoned! What was the most hallowed exercise of zeal in procuring for the aristocracy a feather or a bauble, must be a violation of the sanctity of their priestly office, if directed toward the improvement of the condition of the humbler classes."

This was turning the tables on Lord Clifford and the Catholic peers and gentlemen who threw up their hats for O'Connell the Emancipator, and called for chains and a prison to repress O'Connell the Repealer. The Archbishop of Tuam had dared to be present at the great Repeal Banquet in Tuam, and afterward at another in Galway, and there to advocate the restoration of Ireland to herself. On this Lord Clifford writes, evidently appealing to Rome against the Prelate's action.

"Never," he says, "was there an occasion in which a Catholic archbishop so foully and mischievously belied the sentiments of the head of the Church, as Archbishop Mac Hale belied the sentiments and feelings towards England of Gregory XVI., at the Galway dinner, where he flew in the face of the unanimous resolutions and of the published exhortation of *all* the Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland, in 1832. Had Gregory XVI. suspected, in the most remote degree, that the sentiments of Dr. Mac Hale would have been so diametrically in opposition to the sentiments of HIEROPHILOS, Dr. Mac Hale would never have been coadjutor-bishop, or afterward bishop of Killala, still less would he have been Roman Catholic archbishop of Tuam."

The noble lord little thought of the castigation he was to bring on himself by the mixed insolence and ignorance which mark these lines.

"Your prophetic anticipation of the future," the Archbishop answers, "is as illusive as your history of the past is erroneous.

"My sentiments now are not diametrically the opposite of those of HIEROPHILOS. Yours is an unfounded and gratuitous assertion.

"I was not at the meeting in 1832, either in person or by proxy; nor did I authorize any individual to attach my name to the resolutions or published exhortation. In this exhortation are passages which never had and never would have my sanction. I refer to the terms of extraordinary eulogy lavished on the Duke of Wellington for his exertions in our Emancipation. I consider him to have been a mere instrument in the hands of Providence to achieve a measure to which the whole tenor of his political life and sentiments were in direct opposition. . . . The Duke thus was what some other powerful and influential politician may shortly, in a crisis of great difficulties, be, to dissipate all the petty sophistries which now cloud the intellects of English lords regarding the Repeal of the Union, and to restore her own parliament to Ireland, in order to fix the stability of the throne and consolidate the strength of the empire.

"When the meeting of 1832 was held, I was in the Eternal City. There I had to labor to remove many erroneous and dangerous impressions which some officious gentlemen from your country endeavor to fix there, to the disparagement of the Irish hierarchy. Some of them, having no consideration at home, strive to make themselves important by an overweening officiousness in the business of their neighbors. . . . Because the infidels of France wore the mask and used the language of *liberality*, and because civil and religious liberty, in the mouths of the Revolutionists, meant anarchy and atheism, the Catholics of Ireland, laymen and priests, are accused of the same belief and the same revolutionary tendencies if, in the language of the first Christians, they claim civil or religious liberty. . . .

"Never in the annals of national hate and logical disingenuity have such discreditable artifices been resorted to, in order to mislead or to injure!"

What was true of the intrigues of officious British agents in Rome in the years 1832 and 1842, is literally true of the unholy doings of their congeners in 1889-1890. Never was a national cause so studiously, so systemically misrepresented by the Press, as that of Ireland is now by the

Tory and Unionist journals of Great Britain, and never were a people and their religious and political guides so foully, so shamelessly slandered.

The TIMES-Parnell-Commission is, while these lines are written (Tuesday, July 23d, 1889), continuing its solemn judicial farce.

But let us return to 1842 and to Lord Clifford.

The Archbishop of Tuam continues to expose the false statements of his slanderer. It was not, as the latter asserted, Gregory XVI. who had raised John Mac Hale to the episcopal dignity in 1825, but Leo XII., who created him bishop of Maronia and coadjutor-bishop of Killala, with the right of succession.

As to Gregory XVI.'s share in promoting John Mac Hale, become by this right of succession bishop of Killala, to the rank of metropolitan of Connaught, we already know how deliberately and advisedly the Sovereign Pontiff acted in the matter. But the Archbishop's reply to Lord Clifford throws new light on the part which this nobleman had in the unworthy intrigues authorized by Lords Melbourne and Palmerston.

"It is not necessary," Dr. Mac Hale continues, "to recall, to your Lordship's remembrance at least, that some officious persons did on that occasion exhibit, not my real sentiments, but a highly wrought caricature of them, and that an attempt was made to alarm the Propaganda from the promotion of a person who was represented as 'not averse to civil commotion.'"¹

"I shall forbear from entering farther into the history of that intrigue. . . . The busy intermeddlers were unheeded or rebuked; the legitimate channels were alone consulted; and in thus ruling a principle of suffering no interference, save that sanctioned by the Rescript of Rome itself, the Pope had, in despite of your Lordship's insinuations, won the confidence of the Catholics of Ireland."²

¹ See Vol. I., Chapter XV.

² The following passage from "Greville's Memoirs," Part II., December 9th, 1843, will afford a deeper insight into the British diplomatic intrigues at the Court of Rome:—

"As a great portion of your appendix," the Archbishop goes on to say, "is taken up with passages from the *Letters of HIEROPHILOS*, to justify your allegation of a change in my sentiments, I may be permitted to state that I then inculcated an allegiance to the throne from which even misrule in its occupant should not release the subject. I held the same opinions when promoted to the archbishopric of Tuam; I hold the same opinions now, and shall carry them with me to the grave.

"In these letters I registered my distrust in the motives and my abhorrence of the schemes of the successive proselytizing societies that have been set on foot, under various specious disguises, to pervert the faith of the Catholic people.

"I held the same opinions at the period to which you allude (1834); time and subsequent experience have only confirmed me in my earlier convictions.

"Never was that hostile spirit to the faith of Ireland more active than at this moment. It is assuming the shape of persecution. . . . Yet another Catholic peer gravely asserts that the Catholics of Ireland have now no religious grievances to complain of! . . .

"Our wrongs are, then, forsooth, fanciful, and should never be felt as realities by the people, if the exciting harangues of Mr. O'Connell did not kindle their susceptible

"I asked Lord Melbourne about a thing he had once before told me, which is the connection which subsisted between our Government and the Court of Rome, and a particular appointment which he had solicited the Pope not to confer. It was that of Dr. Mac Hale as archbishop of Tuam. Melbourne caused a request to be made to the Pope not to sanction it, but the Pope would not comply, and appointed Mac Hale. He (Melbourne) observed on that occasion, that ever since the Relief Bill had passed, the English Government never failed to interfere about every appointment as it fell vacant. On another occasion Melbourne begged the Pope to confer some piece of preferment on a priest, whose name I forget, who had supported the Government candidate very zealously in some election.—This state of things, and such communications between the Holy Father and the English Government, are curious. Palmerston said there was nothing to prevent *our* (the *Tories*) sending a minister to Rome; but *they* (the Whigs) had not dared to do it, on account of their supposed Popish tendencies; Peel might."—II. 217.

¹ It was to become downright persecution in 1850-51, after the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England.

imaginations. It is not enough that the privations of the Irish peasantry are so severe, but their misery must be still aggravated by those who hesitate not to assert that their wants are fanciful. . . .

“Neither at Galway, nor on any other occasion, have I swerved from those sentiments, or compromised the steady principles of the Catholic Church. If I am guilty of transgression, it is for too stern and rigid an adherence to its tenets, too unyielding an assertion of its holy authority, and an utter aversion to that easy flexibility of temper and of interest which, under the name of liberality, is ever ready to turn with every change of political expediency or of popular delusion.”

After a peremptory refutation of the charge of attributing to Gregory XVI. sentiments towards England which that Pontiff never entertained, the Archbishop passes to the pensioning of the Catholic clergy. This was always a pet project with every successive British government, and one applauded by the Catholic peers of England.

Dr. Mac Hale is invincibly opposed to such a measure, as he is persistently hostile to the maintenance of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland.

“It is not,” he says, “a fanciful, but a plain and practical grievance, that any nation professing one religion should pay an enormous amount of the national income or revenue to the teachers of an alien establishment. It is not a visionary nor an unreasonable project, to demand for Ireland the same protection of national legislation to which the most prosperous countries in ancient or modern times are or have been indebted for their prosperity.

“Nor have I, as your Lordship would fain insinuate, advanced opposite opinions in the *Letters of HIEROPHILOS*. The question of a Legislative Union or its Repeal I did not at all discuss in those writings. My object was to vindicate the fealty of the Irish Catholics to the British Government, against the repeated calumnies of their accusers. I insisted then, as I do now, that the mutual interests of both countries are identified under the sway of the same monarchy. . . .

“Our opinions, however, are a matter of little weight on a question in which the happiness and prosperity of a great nation are involved. Whatever you or I may think, justice, and sound policy, and the deep and silent workings of the national intellect, as well as the steady course of events, will not be retarded. As well might those peers who are writing pamphlets imagine that their combined weight would keep down the lordly oak of the forest, as check the people of Ireland from peacefully aspiring to their native rights, and of enjoying under the security of an imperial monarchy the blessings of an Irish legislation.”

Every line, every argument, every thought in the passages here quoted apply to the Ireland of our day and to the men who are struggling for her rights. Listen to what Dr. Mac Hale says of the invidious praise bestowed by the Cliffords and the Albanleys on the Irish bishops and priests of the eighteenth century as compared with those of the nineteenth.

“It is astonishing what admiration of the ancient priesthood of Ireland has seized some of the most rancorous assailants of their successors. It is not difficult, however, to appreciate the value of these posthumous panegyrics. . . . The noble assertion of religion and of country which distinguished many of the older race of ecclesiastics, and annoyed the bigots of their time,—is now felt. All the vituperation which was heaped upon them, is now reserved for the priesthood of the present day, who have improved the sacred inheritance which has been left them.

“Let, then, those hypocritical scribes continue to eulogize virtues which, had they lived at the time, they would willingly have rewarded with the same exile and martyrdom which then awaited them. The present race will feel rejoiced that their predecessors were such men as to extort tardy and reluctant praise even from their enemies. The persecutors of the living St. Thomas of Canterbury were the first to acknowledge his intrepid zeal and fidelity,—after his death. The shades of turbulence and pride with which they strove to darken his character were softened into

features of a calm and unconquerable courage, which a deep sense of duty never fails to inspire.”¹

It is interesting to know how Lord Clifford's elaborate arraignment of Dr. Mac Hale and the Irish priesthood was received in Rome. The following letters from Dr. Cullen tell the whole story effectively.

“IRISH COLLEGE, ROME, April 8, 1842.

“MY LORD:—I had determined several times, during the past months, to write to your Grace, but I was in such ill health that I was unequal to any fatigue. I was anxious to assure you that the attacks which Lord Clifford had made on you were considered in their proper light in Rome.

“His Lordship's letters, to be sure, were sent to this city; and I believe he expected that they would be received with applause. However, everybody read them with disgust, and if he ever returns to Rome again, he will meet with a very bad reception. The Pope especially is greatly displeased with him, and highly reprobates his attacks on the Irish clergy. This is all the effect his Lordship has as yet produced in Rome.

“I am now informed that he has sent a new work to be distributed here. It is a fourth letter to Lord Alvanley; but I am told it is a large quarto volume. I have not been able to get a sight of it as yet. But it has been sent to many of the cardinals and to the English gentry resident here. It is, I have been assured, a new attack upon your Grace. But the object proposed by the author is to show that it is necessary to have an English ambassador in Rome, in order to control certain Irish bishops.

“I mentioned its appearance to His Holiness on last Sunday. He said that Lord Clifford's conduct was highly reprehensible, and spoke of his attacks on you in very severe terms. As to sending an ambassador to Rome, he (the Pope) thinks the presence of one in Rome would be certainly detrimental to religion, and he stated that, as far as possible, he would oppose such a measure.”

¹ “*Letters of Most Rev. John Mac Hale, D.D., Abp of Tuam*,” First Edition, pp. 542-557.

"These are His Holiness's sentiments. So your Grace will perceive that Lord Clifford is not in great odor of sanctity in that quarter; nor will his writings produce any effect there.

"I think, however, it would be well for your Grace to write a line to Cardinal Acton on the matter. I know he got a copy of the last work, and it is well he should be told to be cautious in giving credence to noble scribblers. He will naturally have a certain influence in Rome, and it would be well that he should be on the right track. He is a most amiable, excellent man.

I suppose your Grace has not seen the work of Lord Clifford I have spoken of. He has printed on it "not published." I dare say, you will easily make out to obtain a copy.

Dean Lyons is here since Holy Week. What he is about I know not; nor do they know in the Propaganda. The Killala investigation ought to keep him from meddling in ecclesiastical affairs. Perhaps he is Lord Clifford's deputy to get him appointed ambassador here. I think he must have been the bearer of the noble lord's late work. . . .

"Mr. Englefield and his lady often inquire after your Grace. They are just going to start for England; they also intend visiting Ireland this summer.

"I shall be obliged to leave Rome for some time during summer in order to recruit my strength. I shall, I believe, go to Ireland; but I shall be back here in September or October. In the meantime Dr. Kirby will manage matters here; and if your Grace should have any business in Rome, you may be sure that he will transact it with zeal and exactness. I shall be in Ireland probably before the end of May.

"I have the honor to be, my Lord, with profoundest respect and veneration,

"Your humble devoted servant,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE, *Abp of Tuam.*"

“IRISH COLLEGE, ROME, April 20th, 1842.

“MY LORD : I had the honor of writing a few lines a short time ago, in which I mentioned a late publication of Lord Clifford, principally directed against you. I have since seen the work. I had heard it described as a large and formidable volume, and I thought it might be calculated to do some mischief. I can now say that I think it a most foolishly absurd work, and that it cannot possibly make an impression on any man of common sense.

“It is, in part, against your Grace. But the Pope, the Propaganda, Cardinal Fransonì, and Monsignor Cadolini are not spared,—at least, they are not presented in a very favorable point of view. Whatever influence English noblemen may have had here in the past has been effectually destroyed by his Lordship’s exhibition.

“I mention this in order that your Grace may be perfectly easy on the matter. I believe the best way to refute Lord Clifford is to pass him over with the silence of contempt, and to leave him to run his course without any opposition. He is so mad that he cannot do an injury to any one.

“The volume I have seen is very large, comprising the 3d, 4th, and 5th letters of L. C. to Lord Alvanley. What the object of his Lordship was in compiling it, I cannot say. The Pope and the Propaganda have heard of it. His Holiness is quite displeased with the liberties that have been taken with his name. I think some article will be written from Rome to contradict the statements the work contains. I will say no more about it now ; but as I had written to your Grace about it ere this, I thought it well to inform you of the real merits of the publication.

“Dean Lyons has explained his business here. It is something connected with a pension on his parish which he refused to pay, and which, I believe, Dr. Feeny required of him to satisfy. The Propaganda will write about the matter to Dr. Feeny. It does not appear to be a matter that deserved so much trouble as to travel to Rome about it.

“I hope I shall have the honor soon of meeting your Grace

at Maynooth. In the mean time, full of respect and veneration, I am, my Lord,

“Your very humble devoted servant,

“PAUL CULLEN.

“THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.”

“ST. VINCENT’S SEMINARY, CASTLEKNOCK, DUBLIN, 23d
July, 1842.

“MY LORD: I am happy to state that Lord Cliford’s writings were looked on in Rome with all the contempt they deserved. They injured no one but himself.

His ambassador, Dean Lyons, was also received with great coldness. The Propaganda would not even give him permission to say Mass, as he had no letter from his bishop. However, through Dr. O’Finan he obtained the *celebret* from the Cardinal Vicar, who was not acquainted with his case. The reports in the newspapers that Dr. O’Finan is about to return are altogether devoid of foundation.

“I received a letter yesterday from Dr. Kirby, in which he states that there was no question of such a thing at all in Rome. He mentions also, that the Dean was about to return as he had arrived, without doing anything.

“His Holiness still continues to enjoy excellent health and is sincerely attached to Ireland. I hope your Grace is well, though I fear the fatigues which you have to undergo in providing for a starving people must distress you very much.

“My health is wonderfully improved since I returned to England. I hope the Irish air, which I have only enjoyed as yet for two or three days, will be still more beneficial. I expect to start again for Rome before the cold weather commences.

“Mr. Thomas Mac Hale was very well when I left Rome, and going on very well with his studies. He is this year attending to the second class of Philosophy.

“With the profoundest respect and veneration, I have

the honor to be, my Lord, your humble devoted servant,

“PAUL CULLEN.

“THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.”

To these letters let us add one from Cardinal Acton on the same subject :

“ROME, May 6th, 1842.

“MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—I lose no time in acknowledging the favor of your Grace’s letter, which reached me yesterday, and in returning my best thanks for the information and advice which it contains. Anything which may tend to the discovery of truth, and to remove the doubts which may arise in all matters upon which my attention may be called, shall always be very cordially and thankfully received by me, as I have no other wish, no other object, but to do my duty before God and before His Church. Nothing also is more at heart to me than to see, and when necessary to coöperate with my humble means, to obtain peace, tranquillity, and concord in all and every part of the Christian Church, and more especially in that portion of it to which I am linked by particular ties of love and affection.

“No one more than myself, my Lord Archbishop, deplored the delusion of a certain nobleman, to whom your Grace alludes, and the error committed by him in circulating publications calculated, of their own nature, if not according to the intention of their author, to inflame the minds of the people, to open the way to secular interference in ecclesiastical matters, to diminish the respect and veneration due to the pastors of the Church, and to excite distrust and discontent against their authority.

“I did not omit to give his lordship my friendly advice and to point out to him that the course which he had adopted was not compatible with the duties of laymen, whatever may be their rank or influence, towards the Church and its constituted authorities. If I have not succeeded in persuading him of the error into which he was plunging him-

self, with much mischief to others, I cannot but regret and very much deplore it.

“With regard to Dean Lyons, to whom your Grace adverts, it is very true that he is come to Rome. However, the object of his journey seems to be special and unconnected with affairs of more general interest. He purports to have come for redress in a case of grievance which he asserts to have suffered from the ordinary of the diocese. Much, indeed, has he said to me upon the subject in question, and many documents has he shown me to demonstrate the justice of his appeal. However, I shall suspend forming any opinion upon it, until the matter be ripe for judgment, the reasons of both sides expounded, and the case properly and officially brought before the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, of which I am an unworthy member.

“With regard to the Diocese of Killala, I sincerely regret there should still exist differences and dissensions. I trust the administrator will be able, with prudence and impartiality, to succeed in time in restoring the clergy to harmony and peace.

“While I pray that the Almighty may bestow His choicest blessings upon Ireland, its pastors and clergy, on your Grace’s province and particular diocese, also upon your Grace’s person and the clergy immediately under your direction, I have the honor to remain,

“Your Grace’s well devoted and fellow laborer in Christ,
C. CARD. ACTON.”¹

Such were the truly Christian sentiments of this high-minded prelate, who held himself above the wretched prejudices of race and class.

We owe it, however, to the memory of Lord Clifford to state, that these same prejudices in him could not prevent him, when convinced of his error, from repairing the injury done to others by a generous acknowledgment of his mistake. The remonstrances of a man like Cardinal Acton could not fail, in the long run, to have their due effect on one who was conscientious but misled.

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

We here insert Lord Clifford's letter of apology to the Archbishop of Tuam.

ROME, February 25th, 1846.

“MY LORD ARCHBISHOP:—Having arrived a few days ago in this Holy City, in the hope of being directed how I may best spend the remainder of my life in atoning for the past and in preparing myself for the great account which I must one day give to God of all my actions and of the motives which have influenced them, I feel it my duty to address, with the consent of my spiritual director, this letter to your Grace.

“The object of it is to declare to your Grace that I am sincerely sorry for every expression which I have used, either in private conversation, or correspondence, or in any work which I have published or printed, derogatory to the character of your Grace; that I wish to retract, and do hereby retract, every such expression, and hereby authorize your Grace to make known in any way in which your Grace may think proper such regret and retraction on my part.

“I further declare to your Grace that it is my earnest wish that this regret and retraction on my part may be understood to extend to any expression, whether public or private, of mine, derogatory to the character of any of the Catholic clergy, and especially of any of the Catholic prelacy of Ireland.

“I humbly entreat the charitable forgiveness of your Grace and of all and each of the Catholic prelacy and clergy of Ireland, as well for all such expressions as for the spirit of presumption which I acknowledge to have dictated them, and for the pain and scandal which they must have occasioned.

“I wish to repair, as far as may be in my power, by these declarations, whatever scandal I have given by any such expressions, whether publicly or privately, believing that I cannot otherwise deserve forgiveness from God.

“Lastly, I wish to declare to your Grace that, though

this letter is sent with the consent of my spiritual director here,—in opposition to whose advice the printed or published works alluded to in this letter have been printed or published by me, contrary, as I have reason to believe, to the wishes of my best friends, and without the advice or co-operation of anybody,—it has been written by me without the advice or suggestion of any one, entirely of my own free will, and before I had had any communication by word of mouth or in writing with that spiritual director, or with any one else, on the object for which it is sent, and, in fact, before my arrival here.

“Should your Grace be of opinion that by this letter I have not done all that your Grace or any other person alluded to in this letter has a right to require of me, and be pleased to further signify to me the further wishes of your Grace, I shall feel it my duty to comply with those wishes to the utmost extent of my power.

“I have the honor to be, my Lord Archbishop,

“Very respectfully,

“Your Grace’s obedient, humble servant,

“CLIFFORD.

“TO HIS GRACE, THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE,

“*Archbishop of Tuam.*”¹

In a note to Dr. Mac Hale’s rejoinder to Lord Clifford’s pamphlet, we have an allusion to this humble apology of the latter.

“Of the officious meddling, rebuked in this letter, the Irish people have had often just reason to complain. My remarks have been less directed against the noble lord than against some of his countrymen, who have, much to our injury, indulged in such intriguing propensities. Lord Clifford is a benevolent and charitable nobleman; and I have reason to know that he sincerely regrets his interference in the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland, into which an utter perversion of truth on the part of his clients had betrayed his too kind and confiding disposition. His lordship’s virtues I respect. But we cannot suffer English

¹ From the original among the MAC HALE MSS. collection.

travelers who loiter in Rome to trade any longer upon the most sacred interests of religion in Ireland."

Very different was the spirit which led, toward the close of the year 1847, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey to seek the advice of the Archbishop of Tuam.

The wholesale evictions and "clearances" which desolated during that dreadful year the whole of Connaught drove some of the cruelly oppressed and starving peasants to deeds of retaliation. Major Mahon of Strokestown, in the County Roscommon, one of these inhuman landlords who profited by the extremity of his tenants to expel them from their holdings, was shot dead, doubtless by some one of the victims of his inhumanity.

The anti-Irish and anti-Catholic press of the United kingdom thereupon began a crusade of calumny and misrepresentation both against the starving, patient people, and their clergy.

On December the 6th, 1847, Lord Farnham in the House of Lords openly accused the parish-priest of Strokestown, Rev. Mr. McDermott, of having instigated this murder, by denouncing Major Mahon from the altar on the Sunday immediately preceding his death. His assertion was openly and energetically denied by the reverend gentleman thus accused. The denunciation was a fact easily ascertained. But Lord Farnham did not take the trouble to ascertain it; nor did he pay any heed to the formal and public contradiction he was met with. The *TIMES*, ever glad to seize on any pretext for assailing the Catholic clergy of Ireland or misrepresenting their people, denounced Father McDermott with vehemence, and treated his denial of the charge as unworthy of belief. The English papers echoed the ferocious denunciations of the *TIMES*.

Before Lord Farnham, however, had so unjustifiably attacked Father McDermott, Lord Arundel and Surrey, anxious to vindicate the character of the Irish priesthood, wrote to the Archbishop of Tuam the following respectful letter:—

“ 11 CARLTON TERRACE, LONDON,

“ Friday, November 26, 1847.

“MY LORD ARCHBISHOP:—I must entreat your Grace to forgive me for the liberty I am taking in addressing you. My acquaintance with the high character your Grace bears, as well as your exalted position in the Irish Church, emboldens me to lay before you the grief which heavily oppresses me as a faithful son of the Holy Catholic Church.

“I am deeply sensible of the claims which the Irish Church has to the love and admiration of the Christian world. History relates the heroic constancy with which the Irish Catholics have endured the relentless persecution and bitter scorn of those who claimed religious liberty and denied it to their unhappy brethren. With the knowledge of such sufferings endured for the faith, how bitter it is to my heart that I cannot defend the Irish Church in my intercourse with my friends, or against the attacks of violent opponents in the House of Commons.

“It is not of the fearful crime of murder by individuals of the peasantry that I wish to speak, however shocking such cold-blooded revenge appears to those at a distance. Nor do I wish to notice the frequent connivance of the peasantry in the escape of the assassin. It is not so difficult to make excuses for men in their circumstances.

“But that which completely overpowers me and deprives me of all defence, is the conduct of some members of the priesthood. Denunciations from the altar, followed by the speedy death of the denounced, and public speeches of most dangerous tendency to an inflammable people, are the melancholy accusations to which I am unable to reply.

“If I assert the small number of the clergy who have recourse to such means of obtaining or retaining influence, I am immediately asked, ‘Where, then, is the boasted discipline of the Catholic Church? How is it that men so imprudent, if not so wicked, are not suspended from their spiritual functions?’—I am told that either virtue or discipline is banished from the Church.

“If I assert the primitive custom of the Church, the public penance and the paternal admonition of the pastor delivered in the presence of the people,—the reply is, ‘Why denounce those not subject to your discipline? and why make use of such dangerous methods in a country which has not forgotten the crimes engendered by cruel-persecution and consequent despair?’

“Oh, my Lord, it is indeed severe to feel the justice of such remarks;—not the remarks, be it observed, of thoughtless and uncharitable men, but of those whose best feelings would willingly seek for all that is pious and good in the Catholic Faith.

“These are the topics which I venture as a humble and faithful member of the Church to bring under your Grace’s notice.

“Can nothing be done to remove from us so heavy a scandal? What comfort and security would be brought to many a confiding Catholic by the speedy and stern censure of ecclesiastical discipline upon the offenders! The fierce declamations of Exeter Hall, and all the vehemence of Parliamentary opponents, and all the freedom of Protestant assertion have not done so much injury to the cause of the Catholic faith in this country as these unhappy circumstances.

“And now, my Lord Archbishop, it is my duty to beseech your forgiveness for my great boldness, which anxiety for the Church has alone prompted.

“I entreat your Grace’s benediction, and have the honor to be, with every feeling of the deepest respect,

“Your Grace’s very humble, faithful, and obedient servant,

“ARUNDEL and SURREY.

“HIS GRACE THE MOST REVEREND THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.”

There was no mistaking the tone and spirit of this letter; and the Archbishop, touched by the sincerity and respectful earnestness of the writer, hastened to answer him, while

preparing an energetic and lengthened remonstrance to Lord John Russell, the then Prime Minister, on the injustice done by the public press to the clergy of Ireland and to its suffering people.

Both of these letters do honor to the Prelate's head and heart.

"TO THE EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY.

"TUAM, December 1, 1847.

"MY LORD:—I am honored with your Lordship's very kind letter, and feel sincerely obliged for such a communication.

"If my acknowledgment should not appear to your Lordship sufficiently prompt, the delay arose from *my* anxiety to meet *your* anxious wishes that I should satisfy those who feel much surprise and sorrow at the present condition of Ireland. From other respected individuals I have had lately similar letters. And, as the calumnies of the public journals regarding the conduct of the Catholic clergy—for calumnies they mostly are—appeared to have made an unfavorable impression in the sister country, I thought it but right to put before the public a correct statement of the relation in which the clergy of Ireland stand in regard to the present circumstances of the country.

"The same post by which this letter will reach your Lordship, will also convey a public communication to the Prime Minister on the important subject about which you did me the honor to write.

"I should perhaps be too sanguine, if I anticipated that the sentiments of the letter would give general satisfaction even to all pious and benevolent Catholics who are sorely afflicted, as well at the sufferings of the people, as at the imputed connivance of members of the clergy at those excesses of barbarity of which some of the people have been guilty.

"It is not necessary that I should repeat what I have publicly stated, beyond the assertion that, if the clergy were capable of encouraging or abetting, not only such heinous

crimes as they are charged with encouraging, but even lesser offences,—they would assuredly pay the forfeit by being suspended from the duties of their sacred office.

“Vague charges, however, originating with the bitter calumniators of the Catholic Church, and widely circulated through those adverse organs, cannot be deemed accusations on which any canonical proceeding could be founded.

“Your Lordship will not, I trust, imagine that I am now vindicating or excusing intemperate language, which I deplore.

“We must suppose that, when such is uttered, the usual evangelical process of admonition is made use of. Should such language, however reprehensible, be found accompanied with such zealous reprobation of crime as the best friend of society and religion could give expression to; and should the sincerity of that zeal for public order be so borne out by the blameless tenor of a long and laborious life, in advancing the interests of piety and of the public peace, that it could not be questioned; the isolated words that could bear a bad meaning would be favorably interpreted by any lay impartial jury.

“I think, then, your Lordship could put it to any of your scandalized friends, whether such a person so circumstanced, deserving admonition, no doubt, could be ignominiously laid aside from the discharge of the duties of a ministry which he faithfully fulfilled?

“I have dwelt on this case as somewhat analogous to one which has excited, — and I regret the occasion,—much animadversion.

“No provocation, it must be owned, can excuse the hideous crimes of some of the peasantry. If religion were entirely out of the question, good taste and a sense of propriety should check the use of language of which the awkward fashion is sometimes as reprehensible as the idea which it may convey.

“Still I would implore of your Lordship to plead for us from your English friends, when contrasting the two coun-

tries, the consideration of the different circumstances in which the two countries are placed.

“It is not to extenuate crime,—that is out of the question;—but, within the range of lawful regimens, it might as well be said that the ordinary dietary suited to a sound man is also fitted for one in the last stage of sickness and exhaustion, as that the same course of instruction and discipline adapted to the well adjusted relations of English society would be equally efficacious in restoring the shattered frame of society in Ireland.

“All I can say, is, that from all your Lordship could read and hear of the cruelties, the ordinary and every day recurring cruelties endured by the Irish peasantry and inflicted by those from whose position and education some humanity should be expected,—you could have no idea of the state of Ireland or of the difficult and anomalous positions in which the Catholic clergy are placed.

“It is a state of things of which I pray your Lordship will continue ignorant in England, to the benefit of the people and the honor of their aristocracy and gentry.

“But whilst I sincerely wish you the continuance of this comparatively happy state, I beg, in return, to claim some indulgence for the position of those who are not similarly favored.

“The clergy of Ireland may adopt a line of conduct which, however within the pale of Catholic discipline, as well as the Constitution, may appear somewhat strange, nay, utterly unaccountable, to their brethren in England. It may be, and I own it is the case, that their conduct strictly within the laws of propriety would also appear equally strange to those on this side of the Channel in some circumstances.

“I have not the least doubt, but many of those who thus view each other's conduct with equal surprise would change their line of conduct, if they were to exchange their mutual positions. And yet to neither one nor the other should I impute inconsistency or any subserviency, either to popular or to aristocratic influences, unworthy of their order.

“No, my Lord,—in those reflexions I am only feebly copying those precepts of wisdom to which the ancient Fathers of the Church, and, especially the great St. Gregory, gave expression. He tells us that the mode and topics of address suited to one may not be applicable to another. He illustrates this judicious and sensible variety of treatment by a reference to the different states of the human constitution. And the same may be said of different states of society.

“Public denunciations of persons by name, whatever be their misdeeds, are not practised in Ireland. The duties, however, of all without exception, as they are contained in the code of Christian morality, come within the legitimate sphere of the priest's instructions.

“With regard to the observation of some not being amenable to the discipline of the Catholic Church, I have only to remark that justice and humanity do not belong, or at least should not, to any peculiar body of Christians; and that the inculcation of these duties should form the theme of every pastor's instructions.

“True, the Catholic pastor cannot subject the violators of justice or humanity not belonging to the Catholic Church to its rigorous penances and satisfactions. But that does not preclude his right of denouncing the oppression of right, justice, and humanity committed against his flock, no matter from what quarter the oppression may come.

“Such was the feeling, such the practice among the ancient Fathers, who denounced the cruelties and persecutions of pagans and heretics against their flocks, without thinking they were guilty of making an inroad on the rights of others.

“I fear I have tried your Lordship. If so, I respectfully crave your kind indulgence. My very prolixity will impress you with the conviction that I am anxious that our conduct should not stand in an unfavorable light with a nobleman whose hereditary zeal for the glory of the Catholic Church and the good name of its priesthood is well

worthy of the many accumulated titles to respect he has inherited from his ancient house,

“I have the honor to be, my Lord,

“Your Lordship’s

“Most respectful and obedient servant,

“JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.”¹

This calm and instructive reply of a Catholic Archbishop to the Catholic heir to the dukedom of Norfolk sounds like the instruction of a spiritual director given to a troubled soul in quest of light and comfort. It was because Lord Arundel and Surrey sought the guidance of such a prelate and in such a spirit that the Archbishop’s heart went out to him. From that hour the English nobleman, who afterwards wore but too short a time the honors of England’s premier duke, became sincerely attached to Dr. Mac Hale.

But the letter to the Prime Minister referred to in the answer to Lord Arundel is written in a different tone. Lord John Russell had trespassed too often and too grievously against the laws of justice, of humanity, of the simplest political economy, and of honest and truthful plain-dealing in what concerned the government of Ireland, not to draw from the upright and truth-loving Archbishop of Tuam a stern rebuke for the political trickery and double-dealing which characterized his conduct in 1847 and the following years.

Lord John Russell knew well how unfounded were the charges brought against the Irish prelacy and priesthood. But such calumnies served as a cheap justification for Ministers to refuse to the starving millions in Ireland all effective help.

“The stories of priestly instigations to murder are a collection of the grossest, foulest, and most unfounded falsehoods, manufactured on system, and poured, like ‘a leprous distilment,’ into the ears of dozing John Bull, for a purpose as wicked as that of the ‘adulterous beast,’ from whose crimes this illustration is taken.”

¹ From the original copy, MAC HALE MSS.

So writes Frederic Lucas in the *Tablet* of January 1st, 1848.

"The priests have not held up the landlords to assassination," he continues; "they have not been accomplices before the fact. They have not used their influence to produce confusion and envenom discord. If Ireland is not, at this moment, literally an Hacedama, it is to them she owes her exemption from the curse; and, for reward, they find themselves the objects of a Protestant conspiracy which dooms to death by murder every parish priest in whose parish an assassination may take place."

This indignant protest may well serve as a prologue to Dr. Mac Hale's masterly defence of the Irish clergy, as contained in his letter to the Prime Minister. It is dated on November 29th, two days before the Archbishop's answer to Lord Arundel and Surrey.

"To the Catholic clergy of Ireland," the Prelate says, "who have been mainly instrumental in preserving the public peace, and keeping the frame of society together during three successive seasons of famine as afflicting as any ever piety and zeal were tried in,—it must be a consoling requital to be held up in the high places as preachers of sedition and fomentors of crime!

"It is in vain that they have been found 'in much patience and tribulation, in necessities, in distresses, ministering to the wants of the stricken' people, 'in season and out of season,' consoling the sick, soothing the agonies of the dying, attending as deacons to their temporal wants, bearing the chief share in the daily ministrations, and on Sundays offering up the sacrifice of peace and propitiation to an offended God; inculcating to the different classes of society their respective duties of justice and subordination, of mercy and of patience,—thereby striving to heal the wounds which the world and its passions were inflicting during the week last past; and raising the hearts and the hopes of their downcast flocks by the consoling prospect that the sufferings of the present time are not to be compared with the glory to come. . . .

“Such sacred duties, punctually, perseveringly, and disinterestedly discharged, should, one would imagine, if not entitle them to the gratitude of those who are intrusted with the well-being of society, at least have shielded them against their censure.

“Yet, not only have these been the ordinary occupations of the clergy of Ireland during the past famine, now set in afresh, but they have in several instances, each with the piety of another Tobias, carried the victims of pestilence, which others had shunned from the dread of contagion, and deposited them in their graves.

“The records of the past year will bear evidence to their zeal. The blanks in the coming annuals, adorned last year with many a conspicuous name, will show, alas! the extent of the sufferings of the Catholic clergy and the heroism of their martyrdom. Nor shall they fail to be remembered amid the numberless dreary monuments which the Ministerial *Fasti* of the times will point to, as to the indexes of your Lordship's administration.

“Why, then, have this body, so truly conservative of peace, been held up by a large portion of the English press, nay, it is said, by other responsible personages, to invidious animadversion?”

Who better than the Archbishop of Tuam, the chief pastor of the province most scourged by famine and pestilence during the eighteen months which had swept away a million of human beings, could raise his voice in defence of that heroic clergy, and thus sternly rebuke the *Times* and its associates in slander, and arraign her Majesty's Ministers for their connivance with the slanderers? How bitter also and well merited is the reproach addressed to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the classes who gloated over his attack on John of Tuam, in the following eloquent passage!

“What an exalted idea of the refinement of the age, of the sensitive delicacy of its educated classes, and of the *moral tone* which pervades them, must be inferred from the taste with which the singular amenities of those productions are relished by your fashionable public?

"The clergy are continually preaching peace and resignation. It is their theme, their text, the exordium and the close of every discourse to their people in these appalling times, until, like the exhortations of the aged Evangelist¹ on charity, it almost tires by its repetition.

"They forget not at the same time, nor should they forget, to instil into the minds of all a due sense of the cardinal virtues of justice and of mercy to the afflicted. And allow me to add that it is this just and impartial exposition of the varied duties of Christianity, without fear or favor or respect of persons, that gives such force and efficacy to their exhortations in arresting the career of crime, and in preserving public order.

"But, amidst all their exhortations, the most frequently repeated are those to peace. Their most severe reproofs are against the peace-breakers. Their most scathing threats of punishment, both in this world and the next, are hurled against the man who would imbrue his hands in a brother's blood. . . .

"To the seasonable and salutary influence of admonitions such as these, the peace of many a parish and the general good order of society are due. Were it not for the holy sanctions of our religion, so often, so forcibly, and so efficiently inculcated by the Catholic priesthood, the people, goaded, maddened into outrage by seeing, in many instances, *the last morsel of food, earned by the sweat of their brow, seized and snatched from their children*, while these were shrieking with hunger around them, would have long since broken through all legal restraints and rushed on the certain danger of death. They would have thus perished rather than pine away, *as more than a million did last year*, under the lingering martyrdom of famine.

"Yet, far from feeling grateful for the labors of the clergy in thus reconciling our starving people to their fate, and in saving from outrage both life and property, our priests

¹ An allusion to the well known tradition of St. John the Evangelist, who in his extreme old age unceasingly repeated the exhortation, "My little children, love one another!"

are stigmatized because they have not worked miracles, or because they have not always succeeded in arresting crime!"

So much for the priceless services done to the cause of social order and national tranquillity during the most awful trial to which the patience and Christian fortitude of an entire people had ever been subjected.

Now for the conspiracy of hatred and cowardly slanders set on foot to misrepresent and dishonor this same Irish priesthood.

"I shall not dwell," the Archbishop continues, "on the foul and baseless slander that has been recently poured on the devoted heads of the Catholic clergy, by connecting this or that unnamed individual with an outrage or a murder supposed to spring from the nature of his instructions. Such atrocious calumnies, concocted by some of the habitual defamers of our creed and country, issued from some latent source, without a name, without a date, without a defined locality, and, like all such dark and shapeless things, must look more huge and ugly from the very darkness which shrouds them.

"No matter! They first appear in one journal. Then, without delay, they are seen in another. The reflections of the odious monster are thus multiplied through the manifold mirrors of the public press. These hateful representations of baseless facts are thus industriously reproduced and circulated, for the purpose of bringing odium on the Catholic clergy.

"Should an attempt be made to substantiate these vague charges, it is by ransacking some record of criminal law for a case in which, by a sophism not unfamiliar to criminal lawyers, *subsequence* in time is confounded with *consequence* in effect. The assassin's arm is assumed to have been raised on account of the priest's reprehension of some great public delinquency. Whereas in reality such reprehension seldom reaches the perpetrators of murder, who resort to other places rather than the house of God. Or, should such reprehension have reached them, it would have

the effect of staying rather than stimulating the committing of any guilty deed, from its fearful portraiture of the enormity of shedding human blood. . . .”

And here the Archbishop repeats with increased solemnity the assurance given to Lord Arundel and Surrey, that the Church would punish most severely any instigation or provocation to crime on the part of her ministers.

“Were any clergyman found so to abuse his ministry as to excite any of his flock to any crime whatever, he would most surely be suspended from his sacred functions, and visited with the heaviest censures of the Church. . . .

“Their ministry is not one of secrecy and seclusion. On Sundays they appear on the altar as the ambassadors of heaven. They preach in our churches before multitudes, well aware of the responsibilities of the preachers. Amid the confiding and reverent mass of worshippers, attached and devoted to the pastor, there fail not to be found occasionally some discreet persons of the Pharisaical school, who would fain draw lines of distinction, beyond which the instruction of the priest must not wander. . . . These are men who, though they could not agree with Luther that the Epistle of St. James is uncanonical, or with Calvin that the good works which it inculcates are sinful and unnecessary,—would still regret the introduction into a sermon of the apostle’s fiery denunciation of the rich oppressor of the poor, ‘who defrauds them of their wages; and their cries ascend to heaven.’

“Such men seem to forget or not to know that the duties of Christianity are imperative on all without exception. They fancy that the priest cannot treat of the just conditions of human covenants without talking politics or sedition. . . . Such characters may be easily found. Besides that, the chapels generally furnish others,—official personages as well as secret emissaries,—sent thither for the purpose of taking note of the public instructions.

“If, then, any clergyman has been known to instigate to crime, it is easy,—nay, it is a duty,—to cite him before the public tribunals to which he is amenable.

"There are no hereditary remembrances in the mind of any *Catholic* clergyman, to encourage him to calculate on impunity from the legal consequences of his words and actions.

"Well, then, may the tenor of their lives and preaching challenge the most hostile scrutiny."

This is unanswerable. What follows is no less so. In it he puts the Minister, the whole British Government, on the defensive.

"Those constantly recurring calumnies are not, however, without a cause," the Archbishop says, in conclusion. "They are propagated for the purpose of diverting public sympathy from the suffering people of Ireland, and of excusing Ministers from the responsibility of relieving them.

"Slanders against the clergy will not arrest the progress of the famine. Indifference to the sufferings of the people is not calculated to arrest the progress of crime.

"In this diocese alone (Tuam), there were, before my flock was thinned by famine, nearly *four hundred thousand souls*. . . . They have been, and are still, thank God,—and I trust the Almighty will give them the grace of fortitude and piety to continue so,—GUILTLESS¹ of any of these agrarian, sanguinary crimes, which are now said to be inherent in the inhabitants of Ireland.

"They are, nevertheless, steeped in misery. The ordinary food of thousands of them is a wretched turnip,—far more scanty, but not more seasoned by any other aliment than what was given in England, and in Ireland, too, to the beasts of the field.

"Is not this patience, this freedom from crime, amidst misery so intense and wide-spread, almost miraculous?

"Yes, it equals in many instances the long-sustained tortures of the Martyrs.

¹ Is it not a striking proof of the salutary influence of a pious and patriotic clergy over their flocks, that, in the time of John of Tuam as well as ever since and now, —wherever the bishop and priests were ONE with the people in their aspirations for political justice, agrarian crimes and outrages were either totally unknown, or of exceedingly rare occurrence?—On the contrary, wherever one sees *Castle-Bishops*, there murders and violence abound.

“Are such a people,—so meek, so patient, so heroic in their endurance, to be branded as a nation, or a portion of a nation, of assassins? Are their clergy, who taught them these lessons of surpassing patience, to be stigmatized as instigators to crime? . . .

“Protection for life and property is our prayer;—a measure of protection that will embrace *the lives and properties* of ALL.

“Our sympathies are not confined to one class. They extend to every portion of society.

“If there is no other hope of relief for the starving people here but what can be supplied by the provisions of the Poor-Law, your Lordship may undoubtedly calculate on a repetition,—nay, a speedy repetition,—of all the horrors of last year’s famine.

“We implore, then,—we invoke in time,—protection not only for the property, but for what is more valuable,—THE LIVES OF ALL THE PEOPLE.”¹

When one has read over, with care and a conscientious desire to master the problem of Irish misery and discontent at the period between 1840 and 1880,—one will be surprised to find that no Irish prelate, politician, or publicist during these years so nobly vindicated the character of the suffering millions and their priesthood, or so courageously and calmly set forth their wrongs and just claims, as against the misrule and neglect of the Government,—or rebuked persons in power with so authoritative a voice, or pointed out to ministers and legislators the only measures required by the necessities of the case and commanded by Christian statesmanship,—as the Archbishop of Tuam.

It cannot be said that the public controversies or correspondence into which the Archbishop was drawn were unprovoked, or that they were acts from which others more wisely abstained. No man can read these pages, with the letters here published from archbishops, bishops, and others, without being convinced that a kind of HIGH MAGISTRACY was imposed on John of Tuam by the responsibili-

¹ MAC HALE MSS. and “Galway Mercury.”

ties of his station and the will of his fellow-countrymen.

This sentiment or conviction inspired the writer of the following letter, the very Rev. Robert Whitty, Cardinal Wiseman's trusted vicar-general, afterwards a member of the Society of Jesus and provincial of his order in Great Britain; it will serve as an introduction to the following chapter.

"CONVENT OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD, HAMMERSMITH,
March 22d, 1848.

"MY LORD:—Having written to you not very long ago about Mr. Lucas and the 'Tablet,' you may perhaps remember my name.

"I am anxious to put your Grace in possession of the true state of the case as regards the feelings of the recent Oxford converts towards the Irish Church and Ireland in general. It would be very natural in Ireland to suppose them to be mixed up with Lord Shrewsbury and such English Catholics on the subject. Still I can assure your Grace, from a *very intimate* acquaintance with the chief of them, that such an idea would be very erroneous.

"You may see this in part from the presence and speeches of Messrs. Ward and Oakeley at the recent magnificent meeting held here on the Diplomatic Bill. I spent the whole of last week with Mr. Newman and his Oratorian community at Maryvåle, near Birmingham; and I can assure your Grace that, though some of them may and do object to the severity and strength of language used in the late controversy; and though, as a body, they would deprecate entering into a contest which is beyond the sphere of their duty, they, including Mr. Newman himself, from whose lips I have it, strongly disapprove of Lord Shrewsbury's letter; and, if occasion offered, would not shrink from expressing this.

"Perhaps, my Lord, I may tell you that with no old Catholic priest or bishop in England is Mr. Newman as well as his immediate friends more intimate than with myself; from their conversion, and with some of them before

it, I have been thus intimate. I, and other Irish priests will tell you the same of themselves, I think, have found no such friends in England as these same converts. Probably I and some other young priests from St. Edmund's College (the London district seminary) of *Irish* birth or origin will join the Oratory in a few months; and I am sure we shall be *more* at home amongst those men in most places in England.

"The truth, then, is, some of them, such as Oakeley and Ward, go quite as far as Lucas, and agree with him *thoroughly* on Irish matters; most of them agree with Lucas's *principles*, and are anything but hostile to Ireland or Irishmen as such.

"I write thus openly to your Grace merely for myself, and, of course, in confidence, that you may understand the facts. There may be individuals among the converts of a different stamp; but I am sure of the body. Don't be led astray by their supposed connection with any bishops or noblemen in England; it may not be so very close as a person might infer from hearsay. Most of them, too, were Tories at Oxford; but this is no reason why, in altered circumstances, they may not have radical principles now.

"To conclude, then, the reason why I write this very free letter to your Grace is because Mr. Newman told me they had written to the four archbishops in Ireland; that they had received kind answers from Dr. Crolly and Dr. Murray, but that they had not yet heard from your Grace or Dr. Slattery. I resolved, on hearing this, to write to your Grace at once, though I did not tell Mr. Newman I would. If Newman and the Oratorians do not go quite as far as a genuine Irish priest could wish, nevertheless, *it is of great importance, I should say, not to allow them to be committed to the wrong side.* Some of them certainly seem destined by Providence to be powerful men in their day; and small things in the commencement of a career often determine the course of great minds.

"I don't know to whom one of Lord Shrewsbury's letters alluded as 'a great mind,' I believe. But certainly it was not Mr. Newman, nor Mr. Faber, nor Dr. Wiseman, though

I believe in Ireland the last is thought to have had much to do with them. I don't know all his feelings about Ireland. I never speak to him on such subjects. But I know he kept out of the Shrewsbury escapades entirely.

"This is a very free letter, which I hope your Grace will excuse as from an Irish priest in England, and from its being well meant, at all events.

"I am, my Lord Archbishop,

"Yours most faithfully,

"ROBERT WHITTY.

"THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.

"P. S. I shall feel most happy in giving your Grace any further information on the above subject which I can give."¹

¹ MAC HALE MSS.



Leenane. — Connemara.

CHAPTER III.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM DEFENDS THE IRISH CLERGY AND PEOPLE AGAINST THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY'S CALUMNIOUS ATTACKS—THE CONSPIRACY TO RENEW DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COURT OF ROME AND THAT OF ST. JAMES—PRECIOUS REVELATIONS OF DR. CULLEN.

ONE would imagine that English Catholics, at least, must have deeply sympathized with the Irish Catholic millions in the hour of their unutterable distress, of their desperate and unheard of extremity of woe. We should do the Catholics of England a grievous wrong to say that a majority of them, or even very many of them, joined in the hue and cry raised against the Irish people and priesthood by Lord Farnham and the *Times*. We shall, before the end of this chapter, lay before the reader one letter of an Anglo-Saxon Catholic gentleman of the old school, who spoke the sentiments of all that was truest and best among his class.

Unhappily the Catholic Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot, England's premier earl, thought he would do service to the Whig Ministry and to the cause of Catholicism in Great Britain by uniting his voice with that of Lord Farnham and Lord Roden, the Grand Master of the Irish Orangemen,—by arraigning publicly the Archbishop of Tuam and Dr. O'Higgins, the Bishop of Ardagh, who were ever foremost in the defence of Ireland and its people.

Lord Shrewsbury had, on a previous occasion, assailed O'Connell during the Repeal Movement, and received, in return, a castigation which ever afterward made him cautious in encountering the great Agitator. Now that O'Connell was dead, and that the Irish bishops were busy

providing for the desperate need of their perishing flocks,—Earl Shrewsbury deemed it a fitting opportunity to hold up to scorn the starving Irish and their religious guides.

But he did not do it with impunity. The Bishop of Ardagh, who wielded a powerful pen, made the imprudent nobleman bitterly regret that he had ever volunteered to break a lance in the cause of Lord John Russell. Nor was the Archbishop of Tuam slow to face this titled defamer of the Irish priesthood and people. He plainly tells the British Peer that his letter was “inspired” by the Government.

“Without some such official inspiration,” he says, “it would be impossible to account for the humiliating circumstance of Catholic peers of England lending themselves, some, I hope, unconsciously, to the foul conspiracy against the lives of the Catholic people and the character of the Catholic hierarchy.

“To Lord Arundel and Surrey, whose letter I should deem officious, were it not characterized by a courtesy and and Christian feeling, the best evidence of a candid mind which sought for information, though his own experience should have taught him of what English Catholic bigotry and cruelty were capable even toward English Catholics,—I returned an answer which I regret not. It reciprocated the respectful tone of the noble writer.

“His letter breathed none of that slavish and un-Christian insolence for which the effusions of some of his brother-peers are so remarkable, revealing at once the assiduous suitors of ministerial favors as well as the fastidious dispensers of a subordinate patronage. . . . Had such wayward and extravagant caprices, fondled by long habit into an *imaginary right of patronizing the Catholic Church*, been confined to the ordinary sphere of their operation, they should escape all notice and animadversion from us. But when we find a Catholic peer to come forward and deliberately assert, of an entire national Church, to which his country is so deeply beholden, that she is a conniver at injustice, an accessory to crime, a pestilent sore on the commonwealth,—resting this scandalous assertion on calumnies which not only have

not been proven, but have been fully refuted, and making at the same time the most solemn asseverations that he is animated '*solely by a sincere zeal for the honor of the episcopacy*'—we are naturally reminded of the sincerity of Herod's homage to our Divine Redeemer."

At a time when the entire civilized world was moved to compassion for the long agony of Ireland, and to indignation by the blind callousness of the British Government, it was impossible for the Archbishop of Tuam, while repelling the cruel charges of Lord Shrewsbury, to close his eyes to the fearful spectacles which daily and hourly surrounded his own door. The years 1846 and 1847 had passed away, and with them upwards of a million of human beings had perished at home, and hundreds of thousands had fled the country to perish abroad,—yet, on January 13th, 1848, when the answer to the Earl of Shrewsbury was written, there was no let-up in the long torture of this unfortunate people and in that of their bishops and priests, helpless to save them.

"While our people are falling around us,"—the indignant Archbishop writes,—“and their cries are going forth to disturb, beyond the channel, the sensual slumbers of many who issue their edicts for the demolition of the cottages of the poor, it were natural to expect sympathy from those who affect to number themselves among the representatives of the mercies of the Church, and the inheritors of her ancient chivalry.

“Yes, each recurring day presents scenes of suffering as harrowing as any historian could have told, nay, as any that have been recorded even by the inspired writers.

“In the course of last week, and within a short distance of town, I was surrounded by a group of persons whose misery could melt the soul even of an alien calumniator of the Irish priesthood, if the pride of caste had not steeled him against all appeals to pity. They consisted of near twenty persons, old and young, some faltering from hunger as they approached, others with such miserable shreds of tattered clothes, that I am convinced they would have died

under their roof—if roof they still had—rather than issue in such pitiable garb to expose themselves to the public gaze. All cried out to me for food for that one day's sustenance ; all shrieked with agony that they were cast out forever upon the world from the shelter of their little cottages.

"This, my Lord, was no fanciful tragedy. . . . Their dismantled cottages lay before me, as monuments to attest the truth of their simple and artless story. The smouldering scraws of their broken roof had been their only beds during the previous nights. . . .

"And what is the fate of the Irish priesthood, if they describe these scenes to call forth the charity of the humane, or the justice of the Legislature?

"They are denounced as disturbers of the public peace, *who interfere with the sacred rights of PROPERTY.*

"In vain, in a Christian age, and in behalf of a Christian people, do they quote the words of Inspiration : 'He that taketh away the bread gotten by sweat, is like him that killeth his neighbor. He that sheddeth blood and he that defraudeth the laborer of his hire are brothers. He that offereth sacrifice out of the goods of the poor, is as one that sacrificeth the son in the presence of his father.'

"If, with these scenes of suffering before their eyes, with which the clergy are so familiar, they call attention to them, they are immediately accused of drawing high-colored pictures of misery for the purpose of exciting compassion.

" 'Why not furnish facts?' we are told. I myself have received many letters to this effect, recommending the detail of facts in order to interest the humanity and justice of the Legislature in behalf of Ireland. No sooner, however, have many facts, described with circumstantial details which could not be contradicted, been published, than a loud and general clamor was raised throughout England ; and there-upon our clergy were stigmatized as men guilty of un-Christian denunciations."

Lord Shrewsbury had addressed his open letters to the Archbishop on the one hand and the Bishop of Ardagh on the other, arraigning them for meddling in political

agitation while neglecting the spiritual concerns of their flocks. Dr. Mac Hale now takes up the charge against himself.

"From the execrable calumnies of the English journals," he says, "which your Lordship re-echoes with such emphatic fidelity, the public would be apt to infer that this diocese abounded in the murders and atrocities that have excited such general horror. How do the facts, however, stand?

"Of all the murders and outrages on account of which commissions have been issued and the ordinary course of law has been suspended, *not a single one has taken place within this diocese*, though of all the dioceses in Ireland containing at once the most numerous and destitute population.

"For the truth of this assertion I refer to the present commissions. Even the names of the localities over which the proclamations extend bear witness to the general tranquillity of this diocese and the patient resignation of its people. Not that there have not been some seizures of property,—among the rest of cabbage and turnips by starving creatures,—and abundance of convictions for *such* CRIMES. . . .

"This exemption from heavier crimes is not adduced as any explanation for your Lordship, much less in the way of invidious contrast with those dioceses that are disturbed, notwithstanding the incessant zeal and preaching of their pastors.

"No! For, should the present distress continue unmitigated, the zeal and preaching of a St. Paul could not persuade thousands to lie down and starve, when persons are daily seen who, from the instinctive law of self-preservation, snatch what is necessary to sustain life for the moment, confessing that they willingly court imprisonment and banishment, in order to prolong life, so dear to every creature.

"No! But I adduce this comparative tranquillity of the diocese of Tuam to show the animus of the allied conspirators against the fair fame of the priesthood, when they dare to represent to you the state of my diocese as accounting

for a melancholy pre-eminence in crime which only exists in your too credulous imagination."

Lord Shrewsbury had ventured to accuse the starving Irish peasants and their priests of ingratitude toward their English benefactors. Here is the peremptory reply.

"What is to become of the hords of miserable creatures, such as I have described, who are seen traversing the country, and besieging you on the highways with the clamorous importunities of extreme hunger?

"They are driven from their homes to look for an asylum in the work-houses; from the work-house they are driven back to their homes. . . . *Homes*, alas! they have none, and are thus exposed to certain death, not unlike the Britons of your own country, driven by the Saxons to the sea, and by the sea driven back on the swords of the Saxons.

"It was well for those wretched starvelings, and for many such over this diocese and province, that the charities of some of the benevolent people of England, as well as of other countries, enabled me to give some temporary relief to mitigate their sufferings.

"This generous charity has not been, as you assert,—I trust not with a view to check it,—requited with ingratitude. Your Lordship could have learned the contrary even from the public documents addressed to our benefactors, and recorded in the columns of the public journals.¹

"We have *not* been ungrateful. We conveyed the expression of our deep acknowledgments to the good bishops of England and Scotland, as well as to those of France and Italy. The noble sympathy manifested from every region in America,—from Canada to Mexico, and from New York to Wisconsin, have been acknowledged by us in terms, not such perhaps as their munificence deserved, but with that warm sincerity of feeling that compensated for other deficiencies.

"Our obligations to the Holy Father for having unlocked

¹ Dr. Mac Hale was most scrupulous in thus attesting and recording the benefactions received for his people. This is clearly attested in the columns of the *Freeman's Journal*, all through these years of famine.

in our behalf the hearts and treasures of the Christian world have not been withheld. And though we could not express them in adequate language, his paternal bosom was moved by the gratitude of his Irish children.

"The magnificent contributions sent by the Paris Committee to the provinces of Munster and Connaught, as well as other distressed localities, have not been forgotten. Even within these few days I have had the gratification to acknowledge the receipt of more than five hundred pounds from the zealous and devout Catholics of the Rhenish provinces.

"It was a manifestation of sympathy for the poor of Ireland, worthy of the ancient fame and modern struggles for religious freedom of the Rhine Provinces. It was, I must confess it, a source of great consolation to us to have such sympathy shown to our sufferers by the members of a Church recently illustrated by the zeal and intrepidity of a Drost, the late Archbishop of Cologne, a prelate who, in contending with secular tyranny, has gained in the Church the fame of an Athanasius."

So much for Irish gratitude to the peoples of Christendom. Now, what did they owe to Lord Shrewsbury?

"It is true," the Archbishop continues, "that on two points there may have been an omission deeply felt by your Lordship:—We have omitted to show ourselves grateful to the British Government, or to the Earl of Shrewsbury. You, my Lord, are too generous to expect to reap where you have not sown. Wherever your bounty has been extended, there, I am sure, it has been thankfully acknowledged. It is not improbable that you have earned and gathered in a rich harvest of gratitude from some of those public bodies in Ireland whose funds, contrary no doubt to the intention of the contributors, have been expended in the work of proselytism, and whose agents are at this moment, throughout this entire province, and I believe in other places, so managing these contributions that, *unless the people surrender their faith by apostasy*, they are to be left to starve.

"This, no doubt, is done under the specious plea of pro-

viding for destitute children. . . . These people, instead of Christian charity, remind us of the ferocity of the savage, or the licentious cruelty of the philosophers who maintained and reduced to practice the maxim that the ancient and infirm might be abandoned to death when they became useless or a burthen on the commonwealth.

"But, as you are not selfish, you feel much less the withholding of gratitude from yourself than from that humane and excellent Government to whose fostering care the poor of Ireland have the good fortune to be entrusted. . . .

"How ungrateful of the Catholics of Ireland not to pour forth canticles of thanksgiving to the Ministers, who had promised that none of them should perish, and who then suffered well-nigh a million to starve!

"But you say that we ought to be consoled by the assurance of the Ministers that 'they have resources on hand to relieve the people when all their local efforts shall be exhausted.'

"They have resources on hand! Had they not those same resources on hand during the last season, while the people perished? For the only resources administered by the new Parliament was COERCION!"

The terrible indictment of the Earl by the Archbishop has many more counts yet unmentioned.

"The reader," he says, "has no doubt already learned to appreciate the value of your hypocritical pity for the condition of this diocese, and its peculiar spiritual destitution. Even should there be such, for there were but few of the angels of the Apostolic Churches whose works were found perfect, we shall never invite the assistance of wolves to protect the lambs of the flock. We are not regardless of a certain class of peripatetic intriguers, who poison the ears of all whom they approach with the breath of their slanders. They are men who have no other hope of reaching the honors for which nature never qualified them than by rising on the prostration of their country and the ruin of their religion.

"As one proof of its spiritual destitution (you allege)

that the Repeal Rent is paid throughout the diocese to forward the measure of the Legislative Union!

"Yes! And your Lordship's surprise, echoing the affected surprise of our enemies, will only strengthen our determination.

"Poor as we are now, as your Lordship supposes, in respect to schools and chapels, we were far poorer and more destitute when we supported by similar pecuniary sacrifices the CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION (which procured Emancipation).

"Did your Lordship or your fellow-peers, now so much scandalized *at the right of citizens, claimed, after the example of St. Paul*, by the priests of Ireland, then launch any indignant philippics against their so-called interference in politics? Oh, no! As long as the Catholic peers of England, dead to society, from the lowest offices of which they were excluded, slept, like the enchanted knights of old, in the keeps of their baronial castles, bristling with the penal terrors which kept aloof the approach, nay, the very hope of liberty, we do not find that there was uttered any complaint from any quarter against the sacred influence that marshalled O'Connell, the Irish priests and people, in the moral struggle. Not till the Liberator had routed the dragons that guarded you, and the clangor of Emancipation had awakened you to freedom and life, did you begin to complain of agitation. . . .

"But peers have certain privileges, among which, no doubt, ingratitude is to be mentioned.

"In this very ingratitude the Catholic clergy find fresh evidence to justify them in the course they have adopted. The people and the priests contribute their mite to the Association out of their 'poverty,' I admit, and not out of their abundance. . . . Like the husbandman who sows in spring to reap in harvest. they give their little offering now to obtain that sound legislation which will secure the fruits of industry and avert the recurrence of famine, brought on not by scarcity alone, but produced and aggravated by cruel and unequal laws.

“As the destitution, the disorder, and the crimes which afflict the country spring from these bad laws, as sure as a muddy stream from a troubled fountain, what more laudable in the pastors of the people than to labor peaceably for obtaining, as a substitute, a system of wise and beneficent legislation?”

Lord Shrewsbury in his first letter, (for, as we shall presently see, he honored the Archbishop with a second) bitterly deplores the opposition to the National Schools and the Queen's Colleges, and accuses Dr. Mac Hale of rejecting the Government System of education without getting any other in its place. This was another cause of the “spiritual destitution” under which, the Earl asserted, Dr. Mac Hale's large flock was laboring.

What has the Archbishop to say to this reproach? After briefly but triumphantly vindicating himself and his clergy from that calumnious charge of “ignorantism,” by stating what they had done for Catholic education in Tuam diocese,—the Archbishop adds:—

“If all other towns and districts within my charge have not the advantage of these conventual schools to rear and educate children to virtue, it is owing to the cruel and unrelenting laws that regulate property in Ireland. While you, in England, have enactments to secure land for almost any other purpose, . . . there is here no legal measure to oblige bigots to relax their inherited hatred of Catholicity, or to compel them to give an acre of land for an asylum to gather under the wings of the Catholic Church, and the tutelage of those who may be called angels of mercy, the children of the numerous tenants they have banished from their homes, and who sometimes become the victims, first of the profligacy of enlightened and educated oppressors, and ultimately of starvation.

“With the interesting details of our monasteries I shall not long detain the public attention.

“To free the diocese from your reproach, I could produce the testimonies of bishops both in England and in America who have been kind enough to thank us for the ben-

efits derived from the teachers sent from our monasteries.

"It is not, then, for merely excluding the system of National Education that we are condemned by you, but for the greater crime of pre-occupying its place with those monastic schools, *that cheap defense, not only of nations*, but of religion, which will eventually fill up every vacant spot, to be cultivated by those who will train the young mind to habits of piety and virtue.

"I am well aware that monks and monasteries are not grateful names to some of the English aristocracy. Destroyers of all kinds are said to be haunted by the ghosts of their victims."

After this home-thrust, the Archbishop replies to the reproach made by Lord Shrewsbury that due encouragement had not been given to "temperance" in the archdiocese.

"It is a gross calumny," the indignant prelate declares, "that we have ever discouraged the sacred cause of temperance because we claimed, as we should always do, the right of regulating the means best calculated to give fixity and permanence to the dominion of this noble virtue. We have encouraged, and shall ever encourage it, not only as a divine virtue, but as the harbinger of industry and freedom."

The Archbishop was also reproved by his self-constituted lay censor for allowing his vast diocese to be "deserted" of places of worship.

"If your inquiries," is the peremptory reply, "were more under the influence of justice, and less of prejudice, you might have learned that in this diocese of Tuam there are at this moment between ninety and a hundred slated 'chapels' (or Catholic churches) of comparatively recent erection, some built under my zealous and indefatigable predecessor, and others since rapidly erected by the zeal and sacrifices of a generous people and clergy. They have been erected more with a view to capaciousness and convenience, than to beauty.

"Our people go forth from the lowly house of God prepared to carry with patience the burden of suffering and fasting through the desert of the coming week, not unlike

their patient type in the wilderness, refreshed on the Sabbath by the living waters which sustain them. It is the pastor's preaching in those 'chapels' that keeps society together. And allow me to tell you, that if the Catholic pastors were capable of exciting the people to outrage, as you are not ashamed to assert,—nay, if they were only to desist from the zealous prosecution of their duties, and leave the people to their own instinctive comments on the laws of property and self-preservation,—not all the forces in Britain could, in my opinion, keep the frame of society together.

"And you ask, what has religion done? since it has not been successful in checking every crime!! . . .

"It is not difficult to see, through the thin disguise of your pretended compassion for our 'destitution,' the spirit by which you are animated.

"Does your Lordship mean that we should hand over to the Minister the control and patronage of our Church? You say: '*As long as the Catholic Church in Ireland remains in her present state of undue POPULAR SUBSERVIENCY, she cannot fairly and properly work the accomplishment of her destinies.*'

"This sentence will, no doubt, afford a clue to guide the reader, as he wonders at your invective against the Catholic hierarchy, and your pity for our spiritual destitution! Yet it was in the state of this *popular subserviency*, which you affect to deplore, that the Irish Church erected in a brief period the hundred churches in this diocese, with our magnificent cathedral at their head, as well as the numberless churches, schools, colleges, convents, and monasteries that now cover the face of Ireland.

"Does your Lordship come, like the Tempter, to insinuate that for a small bribe from the treasury, to build a few churches that may yet be wanted, or put others in repair, *we should surrender our free churches, the work of our own hands*, and the monuments of the piety of a noble people, into the hands of the Commissioners of Bequests? . . .

"The Commissioners of Education generally take credit

to themselves for all the schools connected with them, though some of the people have erected them at their own exclusive expense, and to all have contributed a share. And thus you would, by some insidious patronage, rob the priests and people of Ireland of their control within their own churches as well as of the merit of their exertions. This, I suppose, 'would be setting the Irish Church properly to work to achieve her high destiny.'¹

"Yes,—persuade the Irish hierarchy to resign their churches, as it was sought, regarding our colleges, into the hands of Ministerial commissioners; and then will our Church be in her full career of accomplishing the high destiny which her enemies are sighing for.

"Then we should have such magnificent specimens of the taste and piety of these commissioners, as we have already from the Commissioners of Poor-Laws, in deeming the filthy eating halls of their work-houses sufficiently becoming the oblation of the august Sacrifice of the Mass.

"Is this the glorious vision which presents itself to your prophetic view?—the coils of Ministerial patronage gently and successively drawn around the Church, until she should perish in the deadly embrace?

"Why not, then, at once avow this project, and reveal to the world the deep schemes of diplomacy now at work, at home and abroad, to enslave her?

"Has there been any recent attempt to extort from Rome, ever watchful against fraud as she is firm against persecution, the delegation of a portion of her authority to any lay envoy of your Lordship's connections,² in order that the discipline, and then the doctrine as well as the reputation of the Irish hierarchy, should be played at hazard in some of your London saloons,—and, like the balls of a billiard

¹ The words are borrowed from Lord Shrewsbury's letter.

² The Roman Prince Doria, son-in-law of Lord Shrewsbury. It was confidently asserted among the English colony in Rome, during the winter and spring of 1848, that Lord Shrewsbury was about to be appointed British ambassador in Rome, and that Prince Doria would be the Pope's ambassador in London. See Dr. Cullen's letters further on.

table, flung to and fro amidst an unprincipled circle of political gamblers?

"You must look to the rising generation of ecclesiastics. Let the old priests, like the old people through the country, die away or live as well as they can. Do you take especial care of the young ones. . . . Draft away at once those incorrigible young Celts to Saxonland. 'Imperialize' the priesthood. consolidate our colleges, like the Excise or the Custom House. Place them (the young priests) under a board of commissioners, with teachers of every color and form of faith, from Beaumont's to Brougham's. . . . Let them ascend the graduated scale of every heresy, the vital air becoming more attenuated as they rise, until they reach the utter void of absolute unbelief.

"Let their language,—a perfect type of their mongrel creed and their mongrel morals,—be a mixture of Irish brogue and English cockney, bringing on them the ridicule of one country they are taught to admire, and the scorn of the other, which they are taught to disown!

"Then send them back to Ireland, a pensioned, conceited, and an unfeeling priesthood, to wear at every levee the livery of their servitude and their hire, and to rival the idols of the Establishment in casting salt on the sores of a suffering people, and pouring oil on the heads of their oppressors!

"Then, indeed, may you hail the advent of Ireland's religious and political regeneration!"

If all these arguments were thrown away on the Earl of Shrewsbury,—and they were—they were not lost on the great public throughout the three kingdoms, who for weeks after the appearance of this letter continued to discuss the questions it stated. The English nobleman had only given voice to the anti-Irish prejudices and passions of his class and country; the Catholic prelate, put on his defense, made a terrible use of the weapons furnished him by outraged truth and conscious right.

"You, my Lord of Shrewsbury," the archbishop says toward the close of his letter, "without cause or provoca-

tion, have grossly insulted and calumniated the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland. You have listened to the slanders of its enemies; and you, who are so sensitive to imaginary denunciations, have not scrupled to denounce by name, and to hold up to the execration of the world, two of its dignitaries, as if they were convicted culprits.

“And yet, though I have waited long, I have waited in vain for any proof of sorrow for such delinquency.

“You have filled the Catholics of Ireland and the world with grief by your calumnies on the Church of Ireland, and its enemies with joy. I say of Europe and the world; for, to pass over now its ancient titles to gratitude,—which, thank God, are not unacknowledged,—Ireland commands at this moment the sympathy and admiration of the Christian world. Its few but lamentable crimes, and its more numerous imputed ones, are ascribed to their proper cause.

“How different your conduct from that of an illustrious peer of France! The one is laboring to enslave, the other to emancipate the Catholic Church; the one to check and taint education by taking away the legitimate control of the pastors; the other to diffuse and to purify it, by restoring the legitimate jurisdiction of the hierarchy; the one, in fine, as if he wished to court the ghastly smiles of some of the Protestant peers of England, by trampling on the clergy,—while Count Montalembert glories in their vindication, and converts the tribune of the peer into the chair of the bishop, making the infidel peers of France to blanch before the majesty of Catholic eloquence.”

Evidently Dr. Mac Hale did not expect that the Earl would ever return to grace. The crisis was too fearful in Ireland to permit a true-hearted bishop to exchange sweet words with the men who were conspiring against the lives and the religion of his countrymen.

The calumnies so noisily propagated in Great Britain by Lord Shrewsbury were repeated in Rome by his agents and those of the British Government. Although the Pope did not believe them, and though totally discredited by Cardinal Fransoni, who was so thoroughly informed about

Irish affairs,—the latter, by order of the Pope, wrote to the archbishops, acquainting them with the slanders thus circulated against the Irish clergy, and asking for a categorical refutation of such charges.

“If this letter (from the Propaganda) has been sent to Dublin or Armagh,” writes Dr. Slattery, Archbishop of Cashel, on January 16th, 1848, “it is most likely it will be in the public papers without delay, which, under existing circumstances, would be a most ill-judged and injurious proceeding, and would deepen the wound already inflicted on us.”¹

“Of this letter from the Propaganda, and of the answer returned to it by the Archbishop of Cashel, we must allow him to speak at length. There *was* a conspiracy at that moment against the independence of the Church in Ireland, which is now a matter of history, and which we owe it to the best interests of religion to point out here. And into this conspiracy, unhappily, were unconsciously drawn more than one of those who should have defended with their lives the liberties of the Church and the independence of the hierarchy.

“THURLES, Jan. 21st, 1848.

“MY DEAR LORD:—I received yesterday morning yours of the 19th, with a letter of credit for £ 50 from the good Catholics of the Rhenish provinces, may God bless them! How nobly have the Catholic people of other countries acted toward Ireland, and yet what slender relief has their munificent charity been able to afford our famishing poor!

“As you did not receive any communication from Rome similar to mine, I am inclined to think it was sent only to me; and of this I would, for many reasons, be rather glad than otherwise.

“The letter is quite of a general nature. It does not allude to any particular locality, or to any individual person or persons, but merely to the public rumors circulated by the *newspapers* of denunciations from the altar, leading to

¹ MAC HALE MSS. We shall see further on that Dr. Slattery knew Dublin and Armagh well.

murder; of speeches of a like tendency at public meetings, and of the charges laid on the clergy of justifying such homicides afterwards, if not of abetting them before the fact; and also of the very churches being made the theatre of such meetings and speeches.

“The Cardinal expressly states that they cannot and do not believe these things, but requests, in the name of His Holiness, of me to give them satisfactory information as to their falsehood, and to use every wise precaution *ut non vituperetur ministerium nostrum ab his qui foris sunt*.

“Such is the tenor of the document; and I have an answer to it just prepared, which will be one of very great length. But as the opportunity was afforded me, I resolved to avail myself of it, in order to unfold to them the real state of things in this country, which they do not understand, and of which they are even profoundly ignorant.

“I first deny in the most emphatic manner the charge of denunciation from the altar as regards my own diocese, and also as far as my knowledge extends of other dioceses. I instance the case of Mr. McDermott, the only one that was attempted to be adduced, and which was triumphantly refuted; and I sent, enclosed, Dr. Browne’s letter and the Strokestown declaration.

“I also deny the use of our chapels at present for political meetings or purposes. With regard to the alleged speeches of clergymen as instigations to murder (I prove), that these were greatly misrepresented; and, as strong proof of this, the fact of the Government’s not having attempted to proceed against the persons so charged, although well inclined to do so if they could prove the accusation, they might, if true, by the testimony of their own police officers who were present; that, at all events, there were very few priests who had attended such meetings or spoken at them; and that what they did say was distorted;

“That, conscious of the patient endurance of their poor people under the severest privations, and of their own exertions to inspire them with a spirit of Christian resignation,

they could not but feel indignant at having their flocks held up as a banditti of assassins, and themselves as instigators to murder ; and under the influence of these feelings it was but natural for them to express themselves in terms of strong indignation.

“ I then enter into the matter viewed both socially and politically.

“ That the murders too were much exaggerated ; but, though to be deplored, they arose from causes over which the clergy could have no control, chiefly from agrarian causes of eviction and oppression ; and that it was in fact a war of extermination between the landlords and the people ; that the Government was affording no protection against the system of depopulation which the landlords were carrying on.

“ That the Catholic clergy were the only body who could have the courage or the influence to raise their voices against this system, and stand forward on behalf of the Poor of Christ ; that the worst calumnies were had recourse to in order to blacken their characters and thereby destroy their influence both at home and abroad ;

“ That the Government acquiesced in and encouraged these attacks, although they well knew their falsehood, and that for purposes of their own ;

“ That they aimed at destroying the independence of the Catholic Church in Ireland ; and that by propagating those slanders through their agents at home and abroad, particularly at Rome,—they hoped to prejudice the Holy Father against the Catholic priesthood, and thereby obtain an undue influence over them. For this I refer to Lord Lansdowne’s speech in the last session of Parliament, when questioned about Lord Minto’s mission at Rome by Stanley ;

“ That hatred of the Catholic religion pervaded all classes of Protestants in England and in Ireland ; that its most sacred institutions were reviled even in the very Senate,—the secrecy of the seal of Confession held up as injurious to social order by Stanley, and the extension of mercy to the dying sinner in his last moments openly condemned ;

"That the public press, with very little exception, was propagating the same opinions, and endeavoring to evoke in Ireland the same spirit against us that had been too successfully put in practice in Switzerland by the radical infidels of that country, and whose conduct was avowed and justified by Lord Palmerston in a letter from him lately published, and an extract from which I give, as also a copy of the notice sent to several of the clergy from the Committee of Assassination in Dublin bound by oath to murder the priests.

"This is just an outline of my reply to the Cardinal's letter, which no one but yourself is aware of my having received. I wish to have both that and my answer kept secret; for if it transpired that I had been written to, the fact would, no doubt, be misrepresented. . . .

"I remain, my dear Lord, yours faithfully,

"M. SLATTERY.¹

"THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE."

It will relieve the reader not a little, perchance, to hear what that true English gentleman, Charles Waterton, of Walton Hall, thought of the dastardly assault of Lord Shrewsbury on the hard-worked Irish priests and their devoted bishops, and what estimate the renowned naturalist formed of the principal personages in the controversy we are describing.

Writing, about January 8th, 1848, to a member of the Ursuline Community of Waterford, Mr. Waterton says:—"I see by to-day's paper that the Archbishop of Tuam has done me the high honor to notice me in his splendid letter to Lord John Russell. I have not the happiness to know his Grace personally, and I cannot bring myself to write to him to acknowledge the compliment. Perhaps you could persuade some friend of yours who knows his Grace to say how much I feel honored by the notice which he has taken of me; and that I would rather have one single word of praise from the present archbishop of Tuam than a whole chapter of encomiums from English royalty itself.

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

"Old Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter, once praised me in the House of Lords. But as I strongly suspected he wanted to make a cat's-paw of me, I positively refused to make his acquaintance, though hard pressed by Archdeacon Singleton to allow him to introduce me to the mock bishop.

"I see with sorrow, in a London paper of to-day, that the good and charitable but soft-brained Lord Shrewsbury has joined the ravenous pack of English blood-hounds to run down and worry Archbishop Mac Hale. I do hope that his Grace will make this weak and foolish peer pay for his intolerable impertinence. He deserves a bastinado most richly."¹

This wish of Mr. Waterton was soon made known to the Archbishop, who forthwith wrote to Walton Hall, and made its proprietor happy by a letter which touched him deeply.

Here is one of the letters which he wrote to Dr. Mac Hale.

"WALTON HALL, FEB. 25th, 1848.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—Many thanks to your Grace for the 'Freeman's Journal.' The Earl of Alton is indeed laid low; and unless he be the most incorrigible of all sinners, he will never think of resenting this last² tremendous castigation, which his own folly and the knavery of false friends have at last brought down upon his unfortunate shoulders.

"I suspect, by an observation in your Grace's reply, that my Lord has had his eye on his Italian son-in-law for the papal nuncio to London. If so, I can at once account for what has taken place. Our hungry Minister has, no doubt, a vehement longing for the last remaining Catholic chestnuts in Ireland; and he has cajoled the 'pious fool' to lend his paws. If so, let us rejoice that the precious fruit is still safe, and laugh at the simpleton who has been base enough to help the rogue.

"But what is to become of poor Ireland, now so low, so

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

² This alludes to the Archbishop's letter to Lord Shrewsbury.

trodden under foot, so famished and despised? I am of opinion that an all-wise Providence has allowed this appalling abasement in order to purify her for the performance of some mighty and regenerating task. Perhaps, for the humiliation and conversion of her haughty and degenerate sister.

"The venerable prophet of the Rhine predicted, two hundred years ago, that England would be reconverted to the faith of her ancestors; and that, at her second conversion, she would do much more for the good of religion than she had done at her first: but this would be post *summas misérias* (after enduring 'the most extreme misfortunes'). And when Sir Thomas Moore was walking to his execution, he suddenly stopped, and turning round to his attendants, 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'now that you have destroyed your monasteries and convents, the time will come when trade will eat itself up in England.' Now let anybody examine the steam-engine; and, after having pondered on its gigantic powers, let him say if the important day is not already on the horizon.

"Reverting to Ireland, I took my tomahawk so soon as the infamous attack had been made in the House of Lords against her holy hierarchy, and continued to use it when he of Alton Towers joined the impious crusade. But when I heard the canon roar from Tuam's impregnable fortress, I laid it down again, as it was not wanted; and I have only to add, with every deference and respect, that, should in future my feeble service be of use to Ireland, I will take it up again, and do my best to show myself her friend.

"In the meantime, begging a remembrance in your Grace's prayers, I have the honor to be, my dear Lord Archbishop, your Grace's ever faithful friend and servant.

"CHARLES WATERTON.

"THE MOST REV. J. MAC HALE, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

The "last tremendous castigation," mentioned at the beginning of this letter, was a second letter from Dr. Mac Hale to the fool-hardy Earl, who, backed and patted by

the Whig Ministers as well as by the Tories, renewed his attack on the Archbishop and the Irish clergy and people with increased virulence. In this second letter Lord Shrewsbury forgot his good manners so far as to address the Archbishop of Tuam as 'the "Most Rev. Archbishop Mac Hale, Tuam." The Archbishop could not overlook this gross discourtesy in a Catholic nobleman, contending at that very moment for the purity of the Catholic ministry. So this second letter in reply, full throughout of indignant eloquence and pitiless logic, is addressed to "The Right Honorable the Earl Talbot, Alton Towers."

This was tit for tat. But it was only the foretaste, on the edge of the cup, of the bitterness which "Earl Talbot" would be compelled to drink to the dregs.

"Your temporal title of Earldom," the Archbishop reminds his reviler, "is derived from a temporal sovereign; our spiritual one (as bishops) is derived from a spiritual sovereign of still more exalted dignity, the Vice-gerent of our Divine Redeemer. Your legitimate title I should be the last to disown or canvass. But I wish to remind you of an obvious want of due respect for the highest authority in your own Church.

"And were I to confine the question to the mere insignificant one of courtesy, I am sure that in writing to a nobleman in our country you should scarcely venture to address him thus, for example, 'Marquis Browne,' or 'Duke Fitzgerald.'"

In spite of all the unanswerable reasons given in his first letter by the Archbishop of Tuam, in behalf of the Irish hierarchy and priesthood's advocating unceasingly the cause of their oppressed and famishing flocks,—the English earl will have it that such advocacy and agitation are a direct violation of their duties as the ministers of the altar and the representatives of a God of peace.

We know what a purpose the British Government was pursuing in Rome and carrying out at home by fair means or foul:—the gaining absolute control over the hierarchy and priesthood.

"You, my Lord," the Archbishop exclaims, "as far as in you lies, are laboring for this unhappy consummation. But you are not alone among the numbers of 'discreet Catholics' who are panting for the utter enslavement of the Church, for the oppression of the people. . . .

"Your sympathies with the Protestant Establishment and the emaciating Poor-Laws, under the cover of which the poor are now doomed to starve, are quite natural. Among the productions of the same parent there must ever be a congenerous union. Hence the mysterious link by which the abbey-lands of the laity, the temporalities of the Protestant Establishment, and the laws providing for the poor out of the necessities of the destitute themselves,—all the offspring of the Reformation,—are connected into one beautiful and harmonious whole, so as to present to your Lordship's enchanted vision one of the most exquisite pictures of social and political perfection."

So much for the "ideal polity" which Henry VIII. and the nobles of England had created in place of the old order of social charities and political wisdom due to the Catholic Church. Now, let us see how the feudal aristocracy of England made this "reformed" system work in Ireland, and what fruits it was bringing forth in the middle of the nineteenth century.

"The entire train of Whig Ministers," continues the Archbishop, "against whose consummate wisdom and humanity it would (in your estimation) be treason to utter a word of disparagement, tell the starving people of Ireland, that they have given them a Poor-Law, *which gives every man a right not to starve*,—a master-piece of policy unequalled in the annals of legislation.

"Why, then, should not the people, *who are starving in thousands*, be content? Why should priest or bishop lift his voice, or arraign a policy emanating from men whom their sycophants describe as preternaturally wise and humane?

"No matter that the corpses of the poor are sometimes long unburied;—no matter, as the Very Rev. Mr. Fitzmaurice, a priest in Connemara, in my diocese, writes this

week, that his people are feeding on the carrion of slaughtered horses; nay, that the dogs are seen devouring the dead, while, in return, the living are killing the dogs and feeding on them, in order to protract life!

“No matter; whilst this butchering of human creatures is being carried out in a civilized country, while the food that might sustain them is so plenty as to be exported to your shores, the pastor of the diocese in which scenes so disgraceful to humanity and legislation are being enacted *should, forsooth, be silent*, because in remonstrating he should be running beyond the sacred precincts of the sanctuary! And if he remonstrates, he must be held up to scorn by the modern Scribes and Pharisees, . . . whereas, were he to remain silent, he would earn the reprobation of mankind and the wrath of the Almighty.

“Are the priests of this diocese silently to look on, and I myself to forbear petition or remonstrance, when we are coldly and unfeelingly referred to the provisions of a poor-law so utterly inadequate to the extent and intensity of the evil as to be little short of a mockery?

“And yet, this is *your* only remedy for our misfortune! And this is the great claim which you advance in favor of the Ministry to the silent reverence of the Irish priesthood and people!

“Not an allusion from your Lordship to the *justice* as well as the *policy* of a large parliamentary grant to meet the present awful emergency, and to save, for the defence of the State, a hardy and a faithful people. Your tender sympathies with the Protestant Establishment could not suffer you to direct attention to the necessity, on the part of the Legislature, of re-appropriating to the preservation of human life those superfluous spoils of which the poor have been sacrilegiously plundered.

“Continue, then, my Lord, so to confound the distinct notions of things, and so to pervert the propriety of language, as to represent, under the name of ‘political agitation,’ *the unceasing labors of the Catholic hierarchy to improve the condition and to save the lives of the POOR.*

“Do strive to give the color of crime to the exercise of evangelical virtues, and to hold up to the hatred of those who may not know them the Catholic clergy for interesting themselves in the sacred cause of humanity and justice.

“What is there in the present peaceful exertions of the Catholic priesthood for the preservation of order, to discriminate them from those efforts by which they were so instrumental in redeeming you and other such calumniators from the depths of political bondage?

“—‘The time was,’ you say, ‘when a great and united effort of both clergy and people were necessary for the accomplishment of a wholesome and important object. But that time is past. The victory is won.’

“This is sufficiently intelligible.

“The Earl of Shrewsbury and his brother-peers have been lifted from their political degradation, on the shoulders of the poor Catholic priests and people of Ireland, into the ranks of our hereditary foes: these enfranchised Catholic peers should be silent and content, ‘for the victory is won.’

“The gentry, ‘the discreet Catholics’ of either country, who stood aloof during that moral warfare which they *now* allow to have been legitimate, but which they *then* denounced as lustily as they denounce to-day the Repeal Movement, . . . they, too, have been emancipated; they contend for honors the claim to which they never earned; they enjoy the fruits of patronage for which the priests and the poor had toiled. Meanwhile multitudes of those who achieved Emancipation are at present driven from their cottages to perish on the roadside, or to swell the cairns of uncoffined corpses buried on Grosse Isle below Quebec, and in other regions of America.

“Yet the people who thus suffer, and the priests who look on, ought all to be content, ‘for the victory is won.’

“Yes, my lord, the victory has been won; a glorious victory if properly used, but turned into a victory of worthlessness over merit, a victory of base ingratitude over the most efficient service; a victory of indifference

to country and religion over the most heroic and devoted sacrifices for both.

"And yet the priests and people should bless their oppressors for such ingratitude, because 'the victory is won.'

"The votaries who were ready to surrender the sacred liberties of the Catholic Church, and to make any other ignominious barter of their religion, provided they could creep into any of these snug berths for which alone they panted, have been enabled to obtain the objects of their ambition, and to slumber in fat contentment in the Ministerial stalls. But the priests who helped them on to this unmerited eminence see the religion, which they hoped was free, bound in new fetters and threatened with chains still more galling.

"They ought, however, to lie down in silence, and to oppose no breakwater to the coming tide of persecution,—content, until they see all that is sacred in religion again swept away, because, forsooth, '*the victory is won.*'

"In fine, the people of Ireland should be content with such a mockery of triumph, as barren of benefits to the mass of the nation as it has been favorable to the few, who are converting it into an engine of fresh mischief for the people, a means of fresh encroachment on the rights of the clergy; and all that, 'because the victory is won.'

"Ah! were people and priests now to relax their exertions, well might they deserve the insulting irony involved in the boast of this empty triumph."

It was not a personal wrong that the Archbishop of Tuam was avenging in this last "tremendous castigation" given to England's premier earl; no mere personal resentment mingled with the righteous indignation which armed him against the conspirators who made use of the pious credulity or family ambition of the Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot. Dr. Mac Hale was battling for the entire clergy and people of Ireland; and in battle he dealt the blows of a giant.

"Your efforts," he continues, "to relieve yourself of the charge of calumniating the Catholic Church in Ire-

land, without making any atonement, are truly pitiable.

"You affect astonishment at the imputation of casting censures on the Catholic Church in Ireland. If, then, my Lord, it was not you who deliberately asserted of the Irish Church that she was 'accessory to crime, a conniver at injustice, a pestilent sore in the commonwealth,' who, condescend to explain, preferred this deliberate accusation?"

"The public voice in England," you say.

"Yes, the public voice in England; no doubt a very competent witness of the merits of the hierarchy of Ireland.

"Pray, who or what is this 'public voice in England,' by which you try to screen yourself from the personal responsibility of being the defamer?—The atrocious and untiring calumniators of Ireland, of its religion, of its ancient people;—calumniators who have never ceased to justify themselves before the world from the horror of their own misdeeds by blackening and defiling the fame of their tortured victim.

"Is it in this 'public voice in England,' you seek the apology of your calumnies? What materials for a sound public opinion, when Ireland and her religion are concerned!—the hemlock of the *Times*, the nettles of the *Examiner*, the docks of the *Morning Post*, and the poppies of the *Morning Chronicle*, shedding their narcotic influence over its drowsy pages.

"This public voice or opinion you have adopted. You gave to the vague and shapeless thing a distinct form and name. . . . There is the document with your signature. On you rests the calumny of having called the Irish Church 'a conniver at injustice, an accessory to crime, and a pestilent sore in the commonwealth.' On you still rests the responsibility of making ample reparation."

In his second letter the Earl boasted of the number of 'approving testimonials' he had received; and with them 'not one private rebuke or admonition.'

What has the Archbishop to say to this?

"Since you made public," he says "that distinct denial of your having received any private rebuke or admonition, the public has seen the letter of the venerated Bishop of

Elphin, *giving the most solemn and emphatic contradiction to that*, as well as to another of your Lordship's statements regarding the injured parish priest of Strokestown, to the effect that as yet no attempt has been made '*to obliterate the impression made by the scene at the relief committee, and the subsequent correspondence.*'

"After such a distinct declaration on the Bishop's part that you *had* received such a communication, expressive of the astonishment and pain which your gratuitous attack excited in the minds of the people of Ireland, we may conclude what weight may be henceforward attached to your assertions.

"The same rule regarding the 'private admonitions' may enable us to form a probable estimate not only of the value, but of the number of the many 'approving testimonials.'

"If you examine again, no doubt you will find them considerably reduced. And, if you do not produce them, the world may conclude that, like the numbers of the puissant boaster which he fancied to have slain, those literary attestations to your prudence and your prowess will be found diminishing at each view, till they utterly disappear.

"This exposure of you by the Bishop of Elphin would recall an ugly name if your denial had been practised in humbler life. As you ascend in the social scale it is sometimes called by the softer name of 'forgetfulness.' It would appear that, like the Briareus of the ancient mythology, who had one name with the Immortals in Olympus, and another on earth among mortals,—vices and virtues share the same fate.

"It is 'want of memory' in the higher classes; it is an intolerable name (a LIE) in the lower. A defence of one's natural, civil, and divine rights is called *duty* by the humbler classes, but is called 'politics' by the celestials of the aristocracy. The inhuman and horrid act which deprives a fellow-creature of life, is deservedly called *murder* in the lower ranks of society; but the idea and the term are so softened among their superiors, that wholesale murders committed by rich and ruthless oppressors are qualified

with the gentle and complacent denomination of. . . *the assertion of the rights of property.*"

But did Lord Shrewsbury, when fully enlightened by the Bishop of Elphin, the Most Rev. Dr. Browne, of the great wrong done to Father McDermott of Strokestown by the Earl and his imitators, make no endeavor to repair the injury? None. The titled slanderer of the innocent and devoted priest was satisfied with declaring that he "acquitted Father McDermott fully of the charge!"

So with the slander on the Archbishop of Tuam and his diocese.

"What an apology," the Prelates says, "regarding your offensive observations as to the state of my diocese, '*that you have rendered me a service before the public by enabling me to prove my exertions in the cause of order and education!*'"

"One could scarcely know what to make of such an observation, too pointless for wit, too blundering for seriousness. To justify an unrighteous aggression, because it affords the rightful occupant an opportunity of a triumphant defence, as a species of morality which Law and Theology equally disavow!"

The Earl of Shrewsbury found means to drag the long forgotten Killala controversy and Dr. O'Finan's grievances, real or imaginary, into his second letter. He was angry with Rome for having so often decided weighty questions in favor of the Archbishop of Tuam.

"Trust to the doctrine of that 'Mother and Mistress of all Churches,'" he says to the would-be-Liberal Earl: "I regret to see that you again treat her with less of respect and veneration. It is not very edifying to hear any pious child of the Church talking of the *detriment* sometimes of appeals to Rome, and 'the want of better information among the authorities to which the judgment of cases is referred.'"

"It has been the usual apology of every defeated applicant to the Holy See; and though facts which are not dogmatical are different from matters of faith, such language (of censure) is as reprehensible as that of the subject who

should be found boasting of the cases in which he did not owe allegiance to his sovereign.

"As for the case of Killala, in mercy to the officious intermeddlers from your own country, you should have passed it over. And if the venerable prelate to whom you allude¹ retired to that asylum of charity and of peace, it was, unfortunately, because English intrigue then, as now, presumptuously interfered in Irish ecclesiastical concerns, and because he, too, simple man, trusted to his deceivers, having to lament the day that he relied on the ill-starred patronage of the Saxon nobility.

"It seems you, too, had some share in that intrigue, as well as others of your compeers. Yet you, who have overleaped every fence, and rushed into our sanctuary, must draw a *cordon sanitaire* round the altar, and arraign a bishop of political interference, if he but defends his inalienable civil rights, without which his religious rights would be soon sacrificed!"

Coming to the conspiracy at Rome to entrap the Pope into diplomatic relations with Great Britain, resulting in the destruction of the independence of the Irish Church, the Archbishop thus speaks of the well-known part played in it by Lord Shrewsbury and his relatives.

"When those self-appointed English patrons, who would fain extend their protection to every Irish ecclesiastic, found their sinister intrigues defeated by the vigilance and integrity of the authorities in the Holy City, they now turn round, and come to the conclusion that appeals to Rome are sometimes detrimental, and that there must be, nearer home, some tribunal to dispose more summarily of the interests of religion.

"It is well, my Lord, that your views, in alliance with those of the enemies who are panting for the enslavement of our Church, are gradually developed. You do not insinuate, then, the Political Papacy so well described by Cobbett, according to which Dublin Castle would exercise,

¹ Dr. O'Finan died in the Convent of San Clemente, Rome, in the first days of December, 1847.

as it has recently attempted, some of the spiritual functions of the Propaganda.

“Would it not be a delightful consummation if, with one relative in Dublin Castle (as Viceroy) and another in St. James’s from the Eternal City, the Earl of Shrewsbury could bestride the Channel, and hold a foot on each of the Irish and British Churches? But this vision,—thanks, eternal thanks to the provident and intrepid Holy Father with whom God in His mercy has blessed the Church,—this fine vision has vanished forever.

“Hence, perhaps, the fretful and angry tone on the detriments of which appeals to Rome are productive. Do not, my Lord, resent the rejection of Doria. . . . We feel on this subject of English diplomatic interference between Ireland and Rome the appositeness of La Fontaine’s apologue of the cat going between the eagle and her young at the top of the tree, and the rooting animal with her litter at the bottom. . . .

“Keep, then, my Lord, your counsels and sympathies to yourself. Take care of your abbey-lands; that will ever remind you of how the Catholic Church in England proved faithful to its calling. Let not your noble nature become a prey to solicitude and anxiety for the destinies of the Church in Ireland. . . .

“It was my wish, I might say my hope, that your Lordship would have spared me the repetition of this correspondence. . . .

“Now, more urgent interests and more sacred duties have a claim upon my time. The cries of those of Connemara who have been feeding on the carrion of dogs and horses are yet ringing in my ears. It would be sacrilege to suffer their cries to be drowned amidst the tumult of political contention.

“Let me, then, deeply, solemnly, earnestly impress on your Lordship, as well as on those to whom, in an unguarded hour, you have lent the sanction of your name, to desist from this unholy warfare against the liberties of the Church of Ireland.

“ Little do you or they know, unless you rouse them to the spiritual contest, the materials of which that Church is composed : a priesthood untiring in every duty and unconquered by every difficulty ; learned as they are unaffected ; influential as they are poor ; zealous and energetic as they are disinterested ; the trusted depositaries of the confidence of the people, because they have flung away the dominion of the selfish and sordid affections ; confiding in the strength of the Almighty, as they are diffident of their own ; successful in their aim at religious freedom, as they are not embarrassed by conflicting tendencies ; and unlike those waverers of old, who halted between God and Baal, with one eye upon the Ark and the other upon Dagon, they are seen to triumph in the holy cause of religion, because their soul is in their God and in the glory of Israel.

“ To war with such a hierarchy and people against their religion is to kick against the goad. Yet, such is the unholy crusade now carried treacherously on.

“ We are well practised in suffering ; and if severe discipline and trial afford a favorable augury of success, the Irish Church has been sufficiently tried to enable us to pronounce her victory.

“ No, all your persecutions have for us no terrors ; and we hope to have gathered from experience sufficient wisdom to defeat your wiles. Fixed and moored on the Rock of Peter, neither ‘ Principalities, nor Powers, nor the Sword ’ shall effect a severance of our union with the only legitimate head of the Catholic Church on earth.

“ Already the flocks as well as the shepherds are alarmed. The cries of the people are issuing from the Catholic churches in Ireland ; and your alliance with their enemies, unconscious, no doubt, of their treacherous object, has revealed this hideous conspiracy.

“ It shall not succeed ! ”

No, thank God, it did not succeed. The letters of the Earl of Shrewsbury, the open intrigues of his allies and agents in Rome, the confident but most undiplomatic speech of Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords, all

coming together, fairly roused the spirit of the Irish hierarchy and priesthood. Traitors there were within their own camp, and traitors in high places. But such letters as those of the Archbishop of Tuam could not be written, published, and discussed for weeks, without arming the Irish clergy and people against any possibility of defeat or surprise. In him spoke the heart, the mind, the soul of Ireland; and they spoke victory.

This was the great, the priceless good achieved by the Earl of Shrewsbury's intrusion into the sanctuary of the Irish Church.

We have mentioned Lord Lansdowne and his speech in connection with a conspiracy to enslave the Irish Church, and to govern Ireland through Rome. To the existence and dangers of this conspiracy the majority of the Irish bishops, headed by Drs. Mac Hale and Slattery, were fully alive and actively opposed.

But it is well, since the Shrewsbury Letters brought this grave subject prominently before the public, to give a few facts and dates to the reader to enable him to form a correct judgment on this matter.

A Bill to restore Diplomatic Relations between the Court of Rome and that of St. James was introduced into Parliament by the Ministers on February 17, 1848. Their initiative on this point fully confirmed all that the Archbishop of Tuam had said upon this conspiracy in the two letters to Lord Shrewsbury. Lord Lansdowne, however, had not waited till then to open his mind on the necessity of coercing Ireland through Rome.

On the 12th of the preceding December he had made a remarkable speech in the House of Lords, in which he said, among other things:—

“There is no court in Europe in which it will be more useful than in Rome for the British Government to explain the nature of our transactions, to lay open to that court their nature and condition, *or to induce that court to use its peculiar sources of influence in certain parts of her Majesty's dominions.*”¹

¹ The *Italics* are ours.

When, in the February following, Lord Lansdowne moved the second reading of the Diplomatic Relations Bill, he endeavored to throw dust in the eyes of his hearers by assuring them that the Bill was not an innovation. There had been an old breach long standing between the two Governments, which it was desirable to heal. This would put an end to the "irregular methods" of communication so often resorted to by past Governments.

To this specious declaration Lord Stanley replied:—"You know that the Pope has influence over your Roman Catholic subjects, and you seek to obtain an influence over the Pope, in order to prevent his interference with your Roman Catholic subjects being carried on in a mode offensive to you. Now, that is, in plain English, the object of this Bill."

The object of the conspirators is thus made plain enough, both by the declarations of Ministers and the statements of their Tory opponents.

Dr. Wiseman, then Vicar-apostolic of the London District, was drawn into the conspiracy, as well as Lord Shrewsbury. Frederic Lucas, who thought, felt, and worked in perfect unison with Dr. Mac Hale and the Irish Catholic clergy and people, had conceived the idea of replacing the effete Catholic Institute of Great Britain by a new and sounder association under the patronage of St. Thomas of Canterbury. One of the chief objects of this organization would be to withstand this conspiracy.

Lucas hoped that by getting the heads of the Catholic nobility in England to take a leading part in the Society of St. Thomas of Canterbury, he would make them work for religion on his own lines. He, therefore, forgot his disputes and differences with Lord Shrewsbury, and made him accept the presidency of the society which was the great journalist's own creation.

But nine days thereafter out came, in the *Morning Chronicle*, the scandalous letter assailing the Irish clergy, and in particular the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Ardagh. The *Morning Chronicle* declared that "the British

Protestant public are deeply indebted to the Earl of Shrewsbury."

The Earl thereupon resigned his position in the Society of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

In Ireland, meanwhile, the conspirators set to work to help Lord Shrewsbury to demonstrate to the Court of Rome the evidence of the thesis which the heir of the Talbots had undertaken to prove for the benefit of the Whig Government.

"When," says Mr. Edward Lucas, "the public mind was beginning to be in a feverish and excited state, the Irish Orangemen began their accustomed task. Falsehood upon falsehood streamed through the Orange press. Conspiracies—not even founded in fact—were hatched daily. Landlords were made to receive threatening letters on whom their poor neighbors had never bestowed anything but blessings. Peers were made to fly the country who had never so much as dreamed of danger. Men were foully murdered who yet live and laugh at these diabolical inventions of Orange mendacity. *Ministers had their own reasons for promoting the growth of these falsehoods.*

"The English Government," the *Tablet* said, "are accomplices in these villanies. Ministers have an end to serve by the general belief in these frauds, both here and in Rome. The Marquis of Lansdowne made no secret of their intentions. He frankly avowed that the Government was bent upon renewing diplomatic intercourse with Rome, in order to use Roman influence for the management of the Church in Ireland. To accomplish this end, it was expedient not merely to use friendly expressions in the Holy City, but to have it believed there, and throughout Europe, that Ireland was an Aceldama, and the priests instigators to bloodshed, and that the only safety of the Church in Ireland consisted in taking counsel with St. James's as to the spiritual well-being of that ill-fated land." ¹

It was fortunate that Frederic Lucas had succeeded in establishing his society in time to use it in counteracting

¹ "Life of Frederic Lucas," vol. I., pp. 94, 295.

the designs of the Government. On March 20th, and while the whole of Europe was still agitated by the fall of Louis Philippe's throne, the Society of St. Thomas of Canterbury met in London, at the Freemasons' Tavern, to protest against the Diplomatic Relations Bill, and to denounce the Whig conspiracy against Catholic Ireland. Lucas made a magnificent speech.

"The authors and promoters of the Bill," he said, "desire, not benevolently to repeal a penal law; not to wipe away a reproach from England; not to abolish a legislative insult upon Rome; but by the aid of English fleets and armies to coerce the Holy See into becoming an instrument of party warfare within these realms. They wish to cajole Pius IX. Having made Ireland a desolation—the Poland of the West—they wish to degrade this great Pope from the high position he occupies as the Supreme Head and Father of the whole Catholic Church, into a miserable party chief, the political enemy of his most faithful subjects, the exclusive upholder of a particular line of worldly policy which every Catholic is at liberty—as I do now—to abhor and execrate.

"With a perfidy worthy of their traditional character since the days when Whig fraud allied itself to the perjuries of Titus Oates, down to the present hour, when they have armed themselves with lies to defraud our poor, . . . with a double perfidy, they labor perpetually to interpose the Holy See between Ireland and their iniquities. . . .

"Gentlemen, I am sure I speak your mind, as well as my own, when I say that they cannot, they will not, they shall not make Rome their instrument for governing Ireland. Govern Ireland through Rome! Never, never shall that day dawn upon the world.

"If these wretched Whig traders in politics cannot govern Ireland through JUSTICE, they cannot govern it through Rome. Nay, even if Rome itself were so ill-advised,—which I am sure it will never be,—as to make common cause with them in that country, it is my firm conviction that they would sooner succeed in dragging down re-

ligion to destruction, than in building up their own power."'

Let us now go to the Eternal City itself, and see how it fares there with the conspirators.

Dr. Cullen, who was watching faithfully and sleeplessly at his post there, thus writes to the Archbishop of Tuam:—

“IRISH COLLEGE, ROME, Feb. 8th, 1848.

“MY LORD:—Your Grace would do well to write frequently upon all our Irish affairs to the Propaganda. I think our British friends and the Ambassador (Lord Minto) are working heaven and earth against us: calumnies are not spared. Minto wanted the Pope to write to the bishops and complain of the murders. The Pope refused.

“I explained matters to the Pope and showed him how the priests were calumniated, and that oppression was the only source of the murders.

“His Holiness appears to be very firm with Minto. A great many of the Romans are persuaded that the condemnation of the (Queen's) Colleges was very unwise. The English have persuaded them that the Pope's letter gave great offence even to the Catholics in Ireland. Only imagine the lengths they go to!

“Here we are quiet. The Pope is not frightened either by the Radicals, who would drive things on to a revolution, or by the fears of old, cautious fellows, who look upon every reform as a revolution. However, there is a vile infidel party throughout Italy, ready to pounce upon the Pope. This party rejoiced in the overthrow of the Catholics in Switzerland. They are publishing most diabolical attacks on religion. They are ready to massacre the Jesuits. This party is supported by Minto and the English. The good statesmen of England would gladly see Italy in the condition of Spain and Portugal. This party should be denounced by all the Catholics of the world.

“Your letter to the Propaganda has done a great deal of good. I can write no more at present. I am with the profoundest respect,

“Your, etc.,

“P. CULLEN.”

1 “Life of Frederic Lucas,” vol. I., pp. 300, 301.

“IRISH COLLEGE, ROME, January 28th, 1848.

“MY LORD:— . . . I mentioned in my last that the Pope had refused to listen to Lord Minto on the Colleges. English imprudence is capable of anything. They have persuaded many of the Romans that the Pope's decision gave the greatest offence to the Irish people, and that the Pope ought to modify his Rescript in order to please Ireland.

“The attacks on the Irish clergy still continue. A gentleman told me a few days ago that the accusations against our clergy occupy all the conversations of the English here in Rome. It would be well if John O'Connell or some of the big men would get up a good agitation against Minto for being at the bottom of these calumnies, for interfering in the Colleges question, and for encouraging the radical party in Switzerland and Italy. Some stir, and a good strong one, should be made in Ireland, in order to put a stop to all the scheming with which they are going on in Italy. It would be as well that laymen should act a little and make some noise in these matters.

“Yesterday I met a cardinal high in office, who told me that he had had a long conversation with Minto. It was all about pensioning the clergy. The cardinal told him that he considered the present mode of supporting the clergy a very good one. Minto said that it made the clergy too dependent on the power of the people.

“This conversation shows that the Government are still thinking of ensnaring the clergy. If your Grace writes on these subjects, it will be well to forward what you write to the Propaganda and to us here, in order that we may help on the cause.

“Hoping you will send me a copy of everything you write and publish, I am, with profoundest respect,

“Your devoted, obedient servant,

“P. CULLEN.”

“IRISH COLLEGE, ROME, January, 28th, 1848.

“MY LORD:—I received your Grace's admirable letter to Lord S——, and was quiet delighted with it. I have

already engaged an Italian priest to translate it, and I expect we shall be able to get it printed as a pamphlet. I fear it is too long for the (daily) papers.

"Here we are still quiet. Things, however, are wound up to such a pitch that I fear we shall soon have a break-up in the machine of State. The people appear to be greatly excited. The success of the revolution in Naples has raised the hopes of the violent party here, and filled them with impudence. I think they will ask a constitution from the Pope in a few weeks. . . . It is now quite clear that they can carry anything they take into their heads, even in despite of the Pope.

"This radical party in Rome is allied with those of Switzerland, and they are great admirers of England. Of course, Lord Minto must know well what they are about. It will be a sad business if they attempt to abolish the Pope's sovereignty. How will he be able to maintain his independence in spiritual matters, if he be dictated to by Prince Doria, Lord Minto, and Ciceruacchio?

"It would be well to publish something to show the feeling of all Catholics regarding the Pope's independence.

"Lord Minto left Rome in a great hurry on the 3d of February to attend to the affairs of Naples. Sicilians, who were treated like the Irish, gave their masters a terrible lesson. They will now take nothing less than an independent parliament of their own. The English are said to have encouraged the revolution, with the hope of gaining a *protectorate* over the Island, that is, the power of managing it as they manage Malta, Gibraltar, or Portugal.

"I hope they shall be disappointed, and that the Sicilians will be wise enough to keep themselves independent of all foreign influence.

"I think Lord Minto did not succeed in anything with the Pope. His Holiness refused to write any letter condemnatory of the Irish clergy. He refused to withdraw or modify the Rescript regarding the Colleges; and I think nothing has been arranged about diplomatic relations. However, this last question could not be decided until Par-

liament had modified the laws of England. If that be done, we may expect to have an ambassador here.

“Lord Minto’s project was, it appears, to have Prince Doria to represent the Pope in London. This was refused. You may imagine how kind that Prince would be to the Irish clergy, when his father-in-law is so rabid!

“The Prince went to the Pope with Lord Shrewsbury’s letter, and was greatly mortified at the reception he met with. The Pope told him that he was already well acquainted with the business, and regularly bowed him out. Lord Shrewsbury has written to his friends in Rome that he has had a complete triumph over you and Dr. Browne. Lady Shrewsbury wrote that nearly all the Cabinet Ministers had written congratulatory letters to her Lord, and that Russell was particularly complimentary.

“The ‘pious fool’ is letting himself be made a regular tool of. He appears, however, to be quite determined to support his calumnies. One of his chaplains has just reached Rome; and it is stated, or reported at least, that he has been deputed to support or circulate statements made by his master. That the chaplain (the Rev. Mr. Connelly) is come, is certain; the object of his mission is uncertain. But he dined with the Dorias the day of his arrival.

“We shall have an eye on him.

“There is a little Scotchman here also,—the Rev. James H——n, a poor little, contemptible, ‘pious fool,’ like Lord S——, who is also making himself very busy. . . . He was going about with Lord Minto, introducing him to the people here. H——n is quite rich, and gives great *soirées* to ladies and gentlemen; so he has an opportunity of doing mischief. . . . I was told by a person who heard him at a *conversazione*, that it was necessary that the Pope should grant a constitution to the Romans. I believe Prince Doria is of the same opinion.

“So you see that the enemies of Ireland are not the friends of Pius IX.

“Lord S——, I am told, is quite anxious to get the vacant Garter, perhaps to be ambassador in Rome. He

has many motives to be up in arms against Ireland.

"Dr. Nicholson has not returned to Rome as yet. He circulated in Dublin a *voto* or statement which I made, regarding the Godless Colleges, for the Propaganda. I spoke in it rather severely of Dr. Crolly. So it was a very ungracious thing of him to publish a statement which was confidential, and made by order of the Sacred Congregation. I will arraign him before the Cardinal Prefect, when he returns. He is a busy, poor little body, thinking to do good, but making mischief.

"The Pope is quite well, and appears to be the only man in Rome who is not afraid. I dare say he will display as much courage against the Radicals as he did against the Austrians. Austria is filling Italy with troops. We are between two fires, Despotism and Anarchy."

(There is no signature).

"ROME, February 18th, 1848.

"MY LORD:—I write only a few lines to say that things are assuming a very threatening aspect here. Two or three days ago there was a great meeting at *Porta del Popolo*. The people cried out 'Down with the Ministry! Down with the government of the Priests!' And, at the same time, they cheered Lord Minto most gloriously: '*Ferviva il ministro Britannico!*'

"Cicernacchio, Lord Minto's favorite, was at the head of this work. . . .

"The English are still abusing the poor Irish priests and people. However, nobody believes them.

"Dr. Slattery wrote a *tremendous* letter.¹

"Padre Ventura has published a little work on the Sicilian Revolution, which will produce a great effect in Ireland. He shows that Sicily was treated by Naples as Ireland by England; and he exhorts the Sicilians to submit to no terms, except a native parliament, independent of the Neapolitan Parliament. I shall send your Grace a copy by the first opportunity.

¹ This is the letter of which Dr. Slattery gives an abstract in a letter to Dr. Mac Hale, as mentioned some pages back.

"All are well here; but, of course, we are not quite easy in our minds, seeing such excitement on every side. I think Englishmen and English money are moving the people here. The parsons and other black Protestants who are here are all delighted with the hope of seeing the Pope's temporal power destroyed or curtailed.

"I have the honor to be, my Lord, with the profoundest respect,

"Your devoted, obedient servant,

"PAUL CULLEN."

"ROME, February 18th, 1848.

"MY LORD:—I wrote a line to your Grace by post this day. Since then I have learned that Dr. Crolly wrote to the Propaganda, stating that the charges made against the priests for exciting the people to commit murder were false; but that the other accusations referred to in the letter of the Propaganda were *nimis veræ* ("all too true"); that the churches were profaned, political harangues delivered, etc.

"It would be well that your Grace should write a line to them on these points. I suppose Dr. Murray will write in the same strain (as Dr. Crolly). If there be really any profanation of the churches, it would be well to put a stop to it. But it would not be right to prevent the priests from advocating the rights of the poor, and pointing out to the rich the duties of their station. Perhaps it would be well to get all the bishops of your province to write a common letter to the Pope, informing him of the real state of things, and protesting against English lies and English interference. If it were possible to hold a regular synod, it would be a glorious example for others, and your acts would be a thousand times more powerful. . . .

"I remain, etc.

"PAUL CULLEN."

It was to be expected, from their antecedents, that the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, while repudiating the charge made against the clergy of instigating to murder,

would admit or feebly deny the other charges of undue interference in politics and making political speeches in the churches.

What, however, was most reprehensible on the part of either both or one of these prelates, was the publication in the *Dublin Post* of the confidential letter of Cardinal Frasoni asking for information about the allegations made by Lord Shrewsbury and repeated by the anti-Catholic press.

The Archbishop of Cashel, writing to Dr. Mac Hale on the 15th of February, 1848, thus speaks of the unwarrantable publicity given to the Propaganda letter:—

“If Conway is to be believed, there appears to be no doubt that the Cardinal’s letter and his version in the *Post* were published by Dr. M——y, or at least with his sanction.”¹

This unpriestly act received at Rome the reprobation it deserved, as we learn from another letter of Dr. Slattery of the 25th of March, and containing an extract from a letter of Dr. Cullen dated on the 8th of that month. The extract is as follows:—

“The Pope sent his letter to the bishops last week, in answer to theirs of last October. I think it will give the fullest satisfaction. There was, originally, in it a paragraph containing a recommendation similar to the Cardinal’s. But when His Holiness heard from your letters *that such an unworthy use had been made* of the Propaganda letter, he immediately corrected the paragraph, and omitted the allusion to politics. I hope His Holiness’s letter will be published immediately.”²

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

² *Ibidem.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN IRELAND DEFEATED IN ROME BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

1847-1848.

IT is not a little interesting to find the men who were in the secret of both the Whig and the Tory administrations appearing, after death, in their "Memoirs," and bearing testimony to the existence of the conspiracy against the independence of the Irish Church. It is a pity that the names of men, of Churchmen even, otherwise venerated and beloved, both in England and in Ireland, should thus be unavoidably called to judgment by posterity.

In the second part of "Greville's Memoirs," under the date of December 7th, 1847, the author writes :—

"A few days ago I met Dr. Wiseman, and had much talk with him about Rome and the Pope's recent rescript about the (Queen's) Colleges in Ireland. He said it was all owing to there being no English ambassador at Rome, and no representative of the moderate Irish clergy; Irish ecclesiastical affairs were managed by MAC HALE through Franson, head of the Propaganda, and Father Ventura, who has the Pope's ear; and he (Wiseman) strongly advised that (Archbishop) Murray and his party should send an agent to Rome, and that Lord Minto should communicate with Father Ventura, who is an able and good man, deeply interested in Irish affairs and anxious for British connection. He talked a great deal about the Pope, who, he said, had not time to inquire into these matters himself, and took his inspirations from the above-named personages; that he is of unbending firmness in all that relates to religion, but liberal and anxious to conciliate England."¹

¹ "Greville Memoirs," vol. iii., p. 107.

And under date of December 15th, Mr. Greville again writes: "I called on Lord John Russell three days ago and told him what Wiseman had said, and also about (sending) Normanby (as ambassador) to Rome. He said he had ordered a bill to be drawn up to legalize our intercourse with Rome."¹

The nature of this conspiracy and the names of the principal personages who took part in it will come in due course before the reader in the authentic documents produced in the following pages.

Let us here say that the majority of the Irish hierarchy were fully alive to the necessity of defeating the design of the minority and of the Government.

The Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam drew up a memorial to Pius IX., which was signed by all the prelates who were opposed to the godless colleges as well as to the ruinous policy of "place-hunting" and subserviency to the Government.

It was urged on the Archbishop of Tuam by his colleagues that he should go to Rome to confront there the enemies of country and faith. This had been recommended by Dr. Cullen himself, who, doubtless, only expressed the wish of Cardinal Franson.

"I do not know," Dr. Cullen writes on February 28th, 1848, "what to recommend about your Grace's coming to Rome. It is difficult to say whether anything will be attempted or not by the Government. At the same time it would be well to have some one here to watch the progress of events. . . . The Pope is in such difficulties that it would be (for the Government) the fittest moment to get him to do something.

"If your Grace could get a meeting of the bishops to depute two prelates to act in their name, their representations would be the more efficacious. Or even if you had a provincial meeting, and passed resolutions, and sent an address to His Holiness by one or two prelates, the effect would be very good.

¹ "Greville Memoirs," vol. iii., p. 180.

"I do not well know what to recommend. A bishop might come to Rome, and afterwards find that the Government had proposed nothing. At all events, taking everything into consideration, I think it would be desirable that your Grace should come to Rome. It would be better that Dr. Maginn, or Dr. Derry, or some other bishop should accompany you. . . .

"The radical Italians here, who are sending away the Christian Brothers, and crying out 'Death to the Jesuits,' are shouting 'Evvivas' to England and a British ambassador. England, indeed, and Lord Palmerston appear to have carried everything before them.

"Austria and France are despised in Italy.

"The Radicals have expressed great displeasure at the condemnation of the (Godless) Colleges in Ireland. They have reported that the Pope will modify his condemnation. They have set all kinds of rumors afloat to please the English.

"I do not think the Pope will take any step in the matter. He told me that he was very well pleased with what he had done. However, the Radicals here, who are obtaining everything, by threats and violence sometimes, and by fair means at other times, might have more effect on His Holiness. This is not, I hope, to be feared. At home (some of) our own bishops are working to get something done. They will aid in any mischief that is to be done.

"You will understand how things are here. It comes to this: the Government is weak; the irreligious are most powerful and active; England is triumphant in Italy, and she is directing all the movements of the mob and the governments. A poor prospect for religion."¹

Meanwhile the Government, and the Viceroy, Lord Clarendon, having secured the coöperation of the two primates, had chosen the Coadjutor-archbishop of Corfù, the Most Rev. Dr. Nicholson, as their special agent for the purpose of bearing to Rome the amended statutes of the Queen's Colleges. This prelate it was who had first inspired Sir Rob-

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

ert Peel with the idea of establishing such colleges in Ireland and of giving Catholic priests a large share in their management and tuition.

He was in Dublin while Dr. Mac Hale was confuting the Earl of Shrewsbury and confounding the calumniators of the Irish clergy and people.

Thus, in the first months of 1848, while famine and fever were again desolating the West and South of Ireland, and more than one diocese in the North, and while evicting landlords were casting forth from their estates thousands upon thousands of the hapless tenantry, we have the humiliating spectacle of seeing a Catholic prelate, the zealous tool of the British Government, spending in Dublin month after month in council with Lord Clarendon and Archbishop Murray about the most efficacious way to force upon the Irish hierarchy a system of university education just condemned by the Holy See, and to make the Irish bishops themselves the humble servants or slaves of British Ministers.

"This morning," writes Dr. Slattery to the Archbishop of Tuam on March 15th, 1848, "I have a letter from Dublin informing me that Dr. Nicholson goes forthwith to Rome, bearing a letter to himself (Dr. N.) from Lord Clarendon, '*greeting*,' wherein he is requested to assure His Holiness of the anxious desire of the British Government for the well-being of the Irish Church both as a conservatrix of public order and because it is the religion of the great majority. That for this purpose they have altered the statutes of the Colleges to suit the wishes of Rome, etc.,—of which (alterations) the principal are: 1. The bishop of the province and the bishop of the place (where the college is) to be *ex officio* visitors; 2. The majority to be Catholics (what sort?); 3. The Catholic youth to be located (*sic*) only with Catholics; 4. Deans to have the management of the discipline of those boarding houses and the guardianship of the youth; 5. These deans to rank as professors of the first class.

"Dr. Nicholson," continues the Archbishop of Cashel, "goes armed with those credentials, and, fallacious as I believe them to be, if no one goes to oppose him, our

hard-earned victory will be filched from us by intrigue.”¹

Drs. Mac Hale and O’Higgins resolved to lose no time in following the Coadjutor-archbishop of Corfù. The Archbishop, therefore, at once wrote to Cardinal Frasoni to apprise him of his journey and purpose :—

“TUAM, March 21st, 1848.

“MOST EMINENT AND MOST REVEREND LORD :—I write this letter in order to apprise your Eminence of a report current here, and which fills nearly all our bishops, priests, and people with the greatest anxiety ; it is to the effect that the Most Rev. Dr. Nicholson, in the name of the Government and of a few among our bishops, has started for Rome for the purpose of obtaining from His Holiness to recall his condemnation of the Queen’s Colleges in view of some new statutes which are apparently favorable to the Catholic religion.

“We have the strongest confidence that no such revocation will ever take place.

“If the judgment pronounced on these colleges by the Sovereign Pontiff is maintained firm, unchanged, and unalterable, the cause of Catholic education will also in future, remain, I trust, free and secure, while with the end of our present great distress will come for our schools an era of prosperity.

“If the Pope, on the contrary, could be induced to cancel or modify his judgment by any arrangement offered by Government, by their promises, or by these statutes, no matter how speciously framed, such a new decree would only stimulate still further the wicked designs of these non-Catholics ; it would weaken the confidence of Catholics ; Protestants would endeavor to get control and possession of the schools, academies, and colleges ; nor could Catholic priests, if once you set aside the decree which kept until now the Catholic pupils separated from Protestants, keep our Catholic youth away from these colleges.

“I am not writing this, your Eminence, for the purpose

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

of reviving a controversy set at rest by the authority of the Holy See. But I do pray and beseech most earnestly that no modification be made in the decision which caused so much joy to our clergy and people, and which gave so much security to our long-tried faith.

“And if, a thing which for the sake of religion I hope will not happen, this affair shall be once more submitted to discussion, we pray that no proceeding shall take place until some of the bishops be given an opportunity to expose, in presence of His Holiness, their reasons for not re-opening this controversy.

“From my letter written a few days ago your Eminence can understand how difficult and serious a step it is for me to undertake so long a journey, in the sad state in which I leave my faithful people. But famine is only a temporal calamity, while the loss of faith, or the placing it in peril, would be an almost irreparable misfortune. Wherefore, since no one else among the prelates, who are better able to manage this weighty matter than I am, would undertake it, I shall in a few days hence, after finishing the visitation of my diocese, in which I am now occupied, set out for Rome, with God's blessing, and there, prostrate at the knees of the Holy Father, beseech him not to give ear to men who seek only the ruin of our faith.

“And if he entertains any doubt as to their aim, then let them tell him why they manifest such extraordinary zeal for the education of our people, while they allow that people to die without succor and without pity?”¹

These last words only repeat for Roman ears what the Archbishop of Tuam had written, as we have seen above, both to the Viceroy, the Earl of Clarendon, and to the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell. The Government made a great show of their anxiety for the education of the youth of Ireland, while allowing the people to starve.

But the Archbishop and his faithful companion, the Bishop of Ardagh, reached Rome before the end of April, and confronted the Coadjutor-archbishop of Corfu and the Rev.

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

Dr. Ennis, the latter deputed by Dr. Murray of Dublin to plead for the Queen's Colleges.

Both he and Dr. Nicholson had the advantage of getting to Rome some weeks before the arrival of the two Irish prelates. They had their statements carefully prepared and printed before they left Dublin, and on their arrival in the Eternal City these documents were at once laid before the Propaganda. They were backed by the moral weight which the British Government and their agents in Rome wielded with the Cardinals and other officials at a time when Pius IX. was surrounded by treason and revolution.

But the two trusted representatives of the Irish hierarchy and nation were not unprepared for the conflict. The following masterly memorial was, on their arrival, presented to the Holy Father. It carried conviction with it :—

“ MOST HOLY FATHER :—As Peter, when walking upon the water, cried out, saying, ‘ Lord, save me ! ’ (Matt. xiv. 30) so we, to escape being overwhelmed by the waves, as they dash against the bark of our faith, cry out to you, the Vicar of Christ, ‘ Holy Father, save thou us ! ’ Nor have we any fear but that Our Saviour will once more speak to the wind and waves, and through you, lift His hand over the deep, as the storm grows fiercer, and save us from its fury.

“ A tempest of calumny has assailed the Church in Ireland. Our modern Pharisees, truly a generation of vipers, with their lips steeped in the poison of asps, are hissing their slanders not only against our innocent priests, whom they accuse of profaning their churches to sacrilegious uses, and of inciting their flocks to commit murder, but against ourselves as well, as if we tolerated these criminal acts which we beheld with our open eyes.

“ This whirlwind of falsehood, let loose from the gates of the abyss, has swept over all Europe, and reached the capital of the Catholic world : so that, when the *private letter* of his Eminence Cardinal Frasoni, sent to ask for information on this matter, was lately *made public* (which was a piece of supreme indiscretion), our priests and our people were filled with the greatest alarm, lest this storm of calumny should

carry away the Romans themselves, so devoted to Ireland.

"We know to a certainty, and affirm it to Your Holiness, that these reports about the profanation of the house of God, and the instigation to murder, are pure and detestable falsehoods, as well as our imputed connivance at these criminal deeds,—falsehoods set afloat for the most wicked purposes.

"Nevertheless, when the letter of Cardinal Frasoni was so unwarrantably published, not to say published on purpose to serve the designs of the British Government, we remained anxious and fearful until we had learned that the Archbishop of Cashel had fully informed the Holy See by sending an answer to every question propounded.

"This at once appeased the alarm caused by these abominable slanders. For the Archbishop is a faithful witness, who is incapable of uttering lies against his brethren; he is not one of those false brethren, from whom even we have much to suffer, as did the Apostle in his day.

"We therefore trust that our calumniators shall henceforth fail in their purpose, many of them being paid by English gold to go to Rome, others of them led thither by other motives, to utter their falsehood,

"How, then, can we help believing that Our Lord speaks to us through Your Holiness, saying: 'Have confidence, it is I, fear not!'—Matt. xiv. 27.

"But no sooner has one peril ceased, than a greater peril looms up. While famine and pestilence are desolating Ireland, while our people are losing all heart, and their bishops are divided among themselves; while the revolutions, which disturb not only Italy but the whole of Europe, fill peoples' minds with alternate hope and dread; at this critical juncture, when the fatherly heart of Your Holiness is naturally oppressed by increasing cares, the British Government deem the present moment a favorable one to use their most powerful exertions to extort from Your Holiness, *per fas et nefas*, certain concessions, the direct tendency of which would be not only to seriously impair the freedom of our ancient Church, but to utterly destroy its independence.

Scarcely had the Rescript of Your Holiness condemning

the scheme of the Government Colleges for Ireland been made public, when the agents of the Government as well as some of our own body, who were absolutely devoted to the Government in this as in many other matters, formed the resolution to renew the controversy about the Colleges, and to besiege Your Holiness with the most assiduous importunities, till they had induced you to recall your former decision.

“ Could this purpose be effected, then might a few bishops boast that they had with their own hands bound the Church, their mother, and given her over, thus bound and vanquished, to wear the yoke of heretics.

“ We know it to be a fact, Most Holy Father, that the British Government have, at this very hour, as their agents in Rome, not only Protestants, but Catholics; and not merely Catholics, but priests; and not priests only, but bishops, who give their whole energy to this nefarious business.

“ Among these Government agents the foremost is an archbishop, whose name we should not presume to utter to Your Holiness, were it not that our most vital interests were involved in his mission. This is the Coadjutor-archbishop of Corfù, the Most Rev. Dr. Nicholson, who is going to Rome on this business, and who is said to be the bearer of a letter from Lord Clarendon, Viceroy of Ireland, filled with fair promises, and to be kept with that Punic faith with which Great Britain always fulfils what she promises, especially the promises made in favor of the Catholic Church.

“ Pardon us, we beseech you, Holy Father, if we make bold here to inquire who and what is this Dr. Nicholson, who mixes himself up so officiously with the business of our Church, not, assuredly, for the purpose of advancing the cause of religion, but of helping the Government to usurp the rights of religion?

“ Is Dr. Nicholson distinguished for that learning and prudence which fit a man for weighty negotiations? Not at all.

“ With the exception of a certain artfulness, that might

help rather in little matters than in those of importance, there is nothing in the man to lift him above mediocrity.

"Does he enjoy any influence among us?"

"None whatever, so far as we know, unless it be that, hiding away in Dublin, far from his own flock, he acts the part of go-between for a Protestant Government and a few Catholic bishops who support that Government. Having no business of his own to attend to, he only minds other people's business, and sows trouble everywhere.

"This is the person who advised the Government to establish (the Queen's) Colleges, and to appoint to them professors and other officials, saying that, when this had been done, the Sovereign Pontiff could not help giving them his approbation,

"He is the same man who now boasts that he enjoys such influence in Rome and elsewhere, that he can, by himself, settle this question and all other difficulties which have arisen in our country, or which may arise there, with regard to religion, and that without any reference whatever to our episcopal authority.

"And, truly, if the issue only corresponds with the beginnings, Dr. Nicholson will have exercised over us a quasi-patriarchal authority.

"Among other pieces of information which have reached us, we learn that the Government have drawn up new statutes for the (Queen's) Colleges, and have placed a copy of them in the hands of Dr. Nicholson, in order that he, as their *chargé d'affaires*, should communicate the same to the *minority* of the Irish bishops, while carefully concealing the same from *the bishops as a body*. Here, then, Most Holy Father, is what Dr. Nicholson aims at; here are the persons in whose name, and those against whom, he is going to Rome, and the cause he is going to plead there.

"If his zeal, indiscreet though it be, were of a nature to advance the interests of religion, we should not mention his name. But, inasmuch as he forsakes that part of the Master's field entrusted to his care, to put his sickle in our harvest, not for the purpose of helping to gather it in, but

to ruin it; inasmuch as this shepherd without a flock comes among us to seduce and destroy our flocks, we therefore presume, with all due reverence, to say to your Holiness,—let him go to Corfù, and allow Your Holiness and us to care for the spiritual interests of Ireland.

“As to the new statutes, we beg to make the following brief observations:—

“1. The Act of Parliament on which solely depends the establishment of the Colleges, with their organization and government, still subsists unchanged.

“2. These new statutes, which they praise so loudly, have no authority, and can have none, to modify the Act of Parliament.

“3. These Statutes, or by-laws, may be altered or rescinded, at the will of the Government; they offer, therefore, no secure guarantee for the faith and morals of the Catholic youth to be educated in these colleges.

“4. If the Government desire to act in good faith, and to give to Catholics a university education, to which no serious objection could be made, why not introduce for that purpose a new bill into Parliament?

“5. If the Government intends to act with good faith, why did they not communicate, and why do they not now communicate, to all the Catholic bishops of Ireland this new body of statutes, instead of concealing it so carefully from them, while communicating the same, in such secrecy and through Dr. Nicholson to the minority of our bishops, who are now nicknamed ‘Government Bishops’?

“This is precisely the way in which the Government acted when about to introduce the bill establishing the colleges.

“6. From this way of acting on the part of the Government and the bishops who side with the Ministers, we clearly see what we might expect should they carry the day against the other bishops.

“This, then, is the way in which religious interests are to be dealt with among us in future, unless Your Holiness withstands their designs. Religious affairs are to be trans-

acted, not by the Roman Pontiff together with the body of Irish bishops acting under him, but by the British Government making use of a few bishops for its own purposes.

"7. The bad faith of the English in all that relates to the Catholic religion is a matter of notoriety. We have an instance of this bad faith in a recent act of the Government. According to the original constitution of the "System of National Education for the Poor of Ireland," among the pledges given to secure the faith of Catholic pupils, was the fact that the bishops and parish priests were allowed to keep in their own hands the school-buildings and the ground on which they were erected, as was decreed by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda in its letter on this subject of January 16th, 1841, in which it is said:—"This also the Sacred Congregation deems to be most beneficial, that the ground-plots on which the schools are situated are kept in the hands of the bishops and parish priests as their own property." At present, however, the Government are endeavoring to do away with this pledge; for they are employing every means to get into their own hands the ownership of the schools held by the bishops and parish priests. And, with regard to all schools to be erected in future, without changing the existing Act of Parliament, the Government has made a new statute or by-law, in virtue of which all pecuniary assistance shall be withheld from these schools until they are given up to the Government.

"Now, what the Government have done in the matter of national education, could they not and would they not do it in regard to colleges, as soon as they had these approved in Rome?

"8. The supporters of the National Schools and of the Queen's Colleges think that between the one and the other there exists a perfect analogy; hence they say that what is predicated of the one system may be said of the other.

"But it is a fact that the original constitution of the National System has been much changed for the worse, so much so that many of those who have hitherto supported

it do so no longer. And it is also a fact that there is the greatest difference not only between the National Schools and the new Colleges, but between their respective systems of education, as Your Holiness may easily gather from the abundant documentary evidence sent to Rome under your Predecessor of happy memory. To these documents, containing as they do a full exposition of our opinions on this subject, we respectfully beg to refer Your Holiness.

"9. It is not because the Government love our holy religion, but because they wish to oppress it, that they frame these new statutes. They hope to profit by the present sad condition of affairs in Italy to extort from Your Holiness an approval of those colleges already condemned by you.

"Wherefore, Most Holy Father, *time Anglos et dona ferentes* ("fear the English even when they bring you gifts"). Again and again we beseech you to give little credence to men who never keep their promises. Do not attach to these new statutes more value than they can have in conformity with our Constitution. Do not depart from the decision already given about these colleges, until such time as we obtain other and fuller security in favor of the Catholic religion. Be pleased to take counsel with us, well acquainted as we must be with our own country and its circumstances, whenever there is question of this security. Finally, we beseech you not to give on this vital question, to the British Government and to a minority of our bishops, the victory which they are now endeavoring to gain, by every means, over the majority of the Irish hierarchy.

"The former decision, by which Your Holiness condemned these colleges, was received with the greatest applause throughout Ireland. It brought joy and exultation to every Catholic heart, especially to the body of our hierarchy. There was not a dissenting voice save among such as strive by every means to subject our Church to the Civil Power.

"The very matter we are treating leads us to pour into your fatherly bosom our hopes, our fears, and our com-

plaints regarding the unhappy division which has for some time existed among the bishops of Ireland, a few of whom, on every question affecting the liberty and independence of the Catholic religion in Ireland, side with the Government, endeavoring to give this the mastery, to render it in a manner supreme, while the other bishops, worried by many cares, and oppressed by the misfortunes of their country, endeavor, amid grief and sadness, but with all their energy, to resist the dangerous attacks which the Government, relying on the coöperation of the few bishops, enlightened by their counsels, strengthened by their help, make with increasing boldness on our Church.

The issue of this unequal struggle must result in the triumph of this anti-Catholic Government, unless the firmness of Your Holiness repels their audacity, unless your authority is employed to repress these brethren of ours, and unless your approval sustains our cause.

“As we once before warned Your Holiness about this deplorable dissension, so do we warn you once more, and beseech you to avert the evils it threatens. Just as no physician can prescribe usefully unless he has studied the temperament and disposition of his patient, even so Your Holiness cannot have a conception of how inveterate and dangerous is the wound inflicted by dissensions on the body of the Irish hierarchy unless you are made acquainted with the origin of the evil and its progress from day to day.

“The hierarchy of Ireland, formerly so united, was a few years ago split into two parties. The minority separated itself completely from the majority, when the Government instituted the Charitable Bequests Board, composed in part of Protestants and in part of Catholics. The existing discord was then increased, when the Government, for the purpose of dividing us more and more, introduced its scheme of infidel university education. These few bishops, contrary to their own former opinion, in opposition to the clergy of Ireland and to almost the entire body of their brother-bishops, not only approved of the new colleges, but undertook to patronize and defend them.

“They yielded outwardly obedience to the solemn decision of Your Holiness; but although all discussions ceased for a time, the dissension ceased not. On the contrary, this same decision of Your Holiness, which should have made us all of one mind, was so far from restoring peace, that it seemed to break the last tie which held together these few prelates and the other bishops, whenever a question came up in which the Government had a present or prospective interest.

“When fanatical slanderers of every kind conspired to get up against our Church, on a late occasion, a gigantic system of calumny, setting on foot lying reports of the most injurious character, what was the behavior of this minority of bishops, whose duty it was to defend the priesthood against such assailants? They seemed to agree with the slanderers.

“Nor is this a rash assertion. Your Holiness well knows what has been written on the subject of these slanderous reports by the archbishops questioned by Cardinal Frasoni. It does not pertain to us to say what these archbishops wrote, nor, except what was written by the Archbishop of Cashel, are we well informed of what their answer was.

“But whatever the others may have written, it is certain that the few bishops we allude to refused to sign the protestation drawn up by Dr. Briggs, Bishop of York, against these slanderous reports and the designs of the Government based upon them,—a protest sent for other reasons as well to the Holy See by that illustrious and most devoted Catholic prelate. He had asked the bishops of Ireland to add their signatures to this protestation; but the bishops composing the minority refused to do so.

“What was their reason for refusing? We know of none other than their unwillingness to oppose the projects of the Government.

“But we do not wish to dwell too long on the sad recital of our dissensions. At this moment the same few bishops who were lately defeated,—and their defeat was the tri-

umph of truth, not that of a faction,—are initiating under a new form the struggle about the Queen's Colleges.

“From all these facts Your Holiness may gather the nature and gravity of the inveterate discord which divides the episcopal body in Ireland.

“On this sad subject there is another observation to which we solicit the serious attention of Your Holiness. This division is not one which varies; it is a something fixed and lasting,—showing nearly always the same men on the side of the majority, as well as the same names on that of the minority, who always uphold the Government measures.

“With the exception of one or two persons, who are those who approved of the Charitable Bequests Mixed Board? The bishops of the minority. Who are those who first condemned, and afterwards (and even now) supported the Government Colleges? The same bishops composing the minority.

“Who are those who refused to sign the letter drawn up by the Bishop of York in defence of the Irish clergy and in opposition to the schemes of the British Government? The same minority of bishops.

“It is too clear, therefore, Most Holy Father, that this baneful division is not one which is variable or temporary: it is constant and lasting.

“There is, indeed, between the members of our hierarchy an outward union on all questions relating to Church discipline; but there is no longer any internal union of minds and counsels. And so the question has now come to this: whether henceforward our Irish Church is to be governed by Your Holiness through the body of our bishops, or by the British Government through the agency of a few bishops devoted to their interests.

“This, Holy Father, is the question of questions, which involves all the dearest interests of religion, all that in our country has for some years past kept alive public attention, and which will excite it for years to come.

“It is a question, and a most serious one, which must

come up again and again; which, seemingly solved under one form, will come back again in another and remain to stare us in the face, *until Your Holiness puts an end to this pernicious discord among the bishops, either by commanding or by admonishing the bishops of the minority no longer to give support to the parties in power, but to remain united with the body of their brother-bishops, with the clergy and people of Ireland, carefully cherishing that unity of spirit recommended to us by Your Holiness in that noble letter of yours addressed to us from Rome on the 18th of this last February, and which we have now before our eyes and impressed on our souls.*

“If anything is to be said about the conduct of the other bishops, we affirm that, wishing most earnestly to preserve peace and to avoid the evils arising from public dissensions among the bishops, although they were perfectly aware that their brother prelates were hand in glove with a hostile Government in its secret schemes,—they nevertheless bore calmly, perhaps too calmly, and still bear with all these intrigues.

“But the more they forbear, the more do the others abuse their forbearance, and the more openly do they foster the designs of the Government.

“It is, therefore, greatly to be feared that our people, so faithful until now, but at present crushed down by all manner of calamities, and deserted by some of its guardians, shall rise with indignation against them as against the allies of their oppressors. Hence would ensue many evils and many scandals. Religion and its ministers would become odious to the masses; the faith of our people, and their fidelity to the Holy See, might be seriously shaken.

“Ecclesiastical history is there to prove that the beginning of religious ruin in countries once Catholic arose from dissensions among churchmen. God grant that this chapter of history be not renewed and verified in Ireland!

“But all our hope now lies in Your Holiness, in your wisdom, your firmness, your invincible love of truth and religion, and in your fatherly solicitude for our nation. In the midst of the storms which the prince of darkness raises on

every side, we believe and confess that ‘Thou art Peter and and that on this Rock the Church is built, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.’¹

“Kneeling at your feet, we beseech most humbly the Apostolic Benediction.

“March 27, 1828.

“(Signed) † MICHAEL SLATTERY, *Archbishop of Cashel* ;
 † THOMAS EGAN, *Bishop of Kerry* ;
 † N. FORAN, *Bishop of Waterford* ;
 † D. WALSH, *Bishop of Cloyne and Ross* ;
 † JAMES KEATING, *Bishop of Ferns* ;
 † E. WALSH, *Bishop of Ossory* ;
 † PATRICK McNICHOLAS, *Bishop of Achonry* ;
 † GEORGE P. BROWNE, *Bishop of Elphin* ;
 † EDMOND FRENCH, *Bishop of Kilfenora* ;
 † JOHN DERRY, *Bishop of Clonfert* ;
 † JOHN, *Archbishop of Tuam* ;
 † WM. O’HIGGINS, *Bishop of Ardagh* ;
 † JOHN CANTWELL, *Bishop of Meath* ;
 † EDWARD MAGINN, *Adm. of Derry* ;
 † THOMAS FEENV, *Bishop of Killala* ;
 † LAURENCE O’DONNELL, *Bishop of Galway* ;
 † CHARLES McNALLY, *Bishop of Clogher*.”²

The Archbishop of Dublin relied greatly on the following letter of Lord Clarendon as of a nature to make a favorable and even decisive impression on the Pope and the Cardinals.

“VICEREGAL LODGE, April 19th, 1848.

“MY DEAR LORD:—Your Grace was kind enough to promise to send to Rome and submit to the consideration of the Pope the amended statutes of the Queen’s Colleges, the British Government having no official organ of communication with the Holy See.

“I was fortunate in having the opportunity of consulting your Grace before any change was made in the statutes; be-

¹ St. Matth. xvi. 18.

² MAC HAILE MSS.

cause, as a Catholic prelate, you know well what guarantees and provisions are necessary toward securing the religious instruction of the Catholic youth which might frequent these colleges: and I was also anxious that such securities should be given in the most perfect good faith and in the way most satisfactory to the wishes of the Irish prelates who desire, like yourself, to see the true interests of morality and of the Catholic religion promoted by these new institutions.

“I regret very much the delay which took place in revising the statutes; but your Grace is aware that the attention of the Government was wholly devoted to relieving the calamity with which it was the will of Providence to visit this country. Besides, the delay is of no consequence, since the colleges will not be in a condition to make use of these statutes before the end of the year 1849.

“The statutes in their entirety are at your disposal both now and at any future time; but as they are voluminous, and only regard the course of studies and the duties of the professors and other officials, I propose, in order to spare your Grace trouble, to confine myself to laying before you what regards religion.

“I therefore herewith inclose to you all that portion of the statutes which relates to the professors and students on religious matters. . . .

“The list of visitors is not yet settled; but I may say unhesitatingly that it will comprise the Catholic archbishop of the province and the bishop of the diocese in which the college is situated, and, moreover, that in the boards, in the chairs, and in the other positions belonging to each college the Catholic religion shall be always fully and most properly represented; for these colleges are established for the education of the middle classes, and the Government would fail in its purpose of making of the youth of Ireland honest men and loyal subjects, if their religious instruction and moral conduct were not duly provided and cared for with all the precautions which the most affectionate interest could point out.

"As I deeply reverence the character of the Pope, and rely with all confidence on his good judgment, it is with real pleasure that I beg your grace to submit these statutes to the consideration of His Holiness, firmly believing as I do that they can compare favorably with those of any similar institution in Europe, and that, by evidencing the care and good faith with which they have been framed, they will afford a simple and conclusive answer to the misrepresentations so industriously circulated, and which, were they only founded in truth, should have justly aroused the alarm and deserved the reprobation of His Holiness.

"I have the honor to be, with great respect, my dear Lord,

" Your Grace's

" Faithful servant,

" CLARENDON. ¹

" HIS GRACE THE CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN."

This letter was well calculated to produce a favorable effect in Rome. There is no doubt but the anxiety, real or apparent, manifested by the Lord-lieutenant for the religious instruction and sound moral training of the Catholic youth of Ireland could compare advantageously with the bald infidelity or scepticism prevalent in German, French, and Spanish universities. This seeming liberality of a Protestant Government created a prejudice in favor of the Queen's Colleges in the minds of the superficial.

But the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Ardagh soon brushed away the cobwebs which the British Government, with the aid of Drs. Murray, Nicholson, and Ennis, had been so skilfully weaving.

"The Viceroy,"—the two prelates say in their reply, seems to address himself to Dr. Murray, as if the latter were the faithful organ of the Catholic archbishops and bishops of Ireland; nor does it appear that his Grace declines to act as mediator on this occasion. Nevertheless it

¹ Translated from the Italian: *Esame dei Documenti presentati alla S. Congregazione di Propaganda dall' Inviato dell' Arcivescovo di Dublino in favore dei Collegi della Regina in Irlanda.* Roma: per tipi di Gaetano A. Be tinelli. 1848.

is certain that neither directly nor indirectly was he deputed to act as such; and that his views and opinions differ widely from those of his brother-archbishops and bishops on this subject as on others regarding the Catholic body.

“1. The question of these Irish Colleges is of the deepest importance and concerns the dearest interests of every diocese in Ireland; and no one prelate can arrogate to himself the right of treating with any government on this national and vital question, without the advice and concurrence of his colleagues,—save only when the Venerated Head of the Church and the Centre of Catholicity had otherwise determined. If such a usurpation of episcopal rights were once tolerated, there would be an end to all harmony between the bishops, the priests, and the people of Ireland, and the result would be general confusion and scandal.

“2. The Lord-lieutenant expresses great solicitude for the various interests of morality and of the Catholic religion; but this apparent zeal of his may be easily measured by his doings in Spain, when he was known as simple Mr. Villiers,—by his great intimacy with Bunsen, Palmerston, and other celebrated haters of Catholicism, as well as by his famous answer to the address of the North of Ireland Presbyterians.

“In this his Excellency openly asserts that the Calvinistic morality is superior to that of the Catholics. And as to secular matters, it is very well known in Ireland that Catholics have no cause to rejoice at his protection of them, save only the few who become his political tools; while men of all other denominations, no matter how opposed to him in politics, are advanced to nearly all the honorable and lucrative employments in the Kingdom.

“3. The Viceroy affirms that the whole attention of the Government was bestowed on alleviating the calamity with which it had pleased Providence to visit the Irish nation! But it is a notorious and undeniable fact that he made it a general rule of conduct with the Government, either to return no answer to benevolent persons who interested them-

selves in the poor who were on the point of dying with hunger ; or that, when an answer was given, such persons should be referred for the most part to the hardhearted and careless commissioners, Englishmen and Scotchmen most of them, whose principal interest consisted in drawing their salaries, while caring in no wise for the people.

“ More than one million of Irishmen have perished by starvation and disease, and the wretched sum of money given for their relief by the Government was spent for the most part on these foreign officials.

“ We have ourselves witnessed in our respective dioceses innumerable scenes of distress which pierced the hearts of the beholders, as well as the multitudes who have perished of hunger and want of care. And all this time the Government excused themselves, under pretext of having no money in the Treasury, for not relieving Irish distress and saving the lives of our people ! But the Government had plenty of money to spend for the purpose of ruining the Catholic religion in other countries ; plenty for building and endowing infidel colleges in Ireland, with the same object ; plenty for buying and bribing every Catholic disposed to sell his faith and his country in exchange for the power and riches of this world.

“ And this is the Government which undertakes to protect our holy religion in Ireland ! ”

This was a terrible arraignment ; but it was founded on the known truth. The Archbishops of Dublin and Armagh were venerable men. Much could be forgiven to old age, to unquestioned virtues, to long and faithful services. But here were these aged prelates in the Palace of the Popes, helping the Irish Viceroy and the British Ministers to deceive the Holy See and to hand over the education of Catholic youth and the independence of the hierarchy and priesthood to the successors of Henry VIII. and Cromwell.

As to the question pending before the tribunal of the Holy See,—“ Whether, in view of these amended statutes and the professed intentions of the Government, the Pope should not recall his former decision, and approve once for

all the Queen's Colleges,"—the Archbishop of Tuam addresses himself to Pius IX. with an eloquence and force of reasoning which one cannot sufficiently admire.

"We did hope," he says, "that as soon as your Holiness's condemnation of the Colleges had been promulgated in Ireland, all would immediately bow to the decision and acknowledge the voice of Peter in the person of his successor. We hoped that not only all connection on the part of Catholics with these institutions would be broken off, but that the individuals who had lent their influence in forwarding them would retract what they had done in obedience to the Apostolic See.

"At least it was anticipated that this most important question would not be again re-opened, without some new and weighty reasons for recommending so strange a system; and that no Catholic devoted to his faith would make overtures to have the solemn condemnation of the Colleges reversed, unless there was such an entire and fundamental change in their constitution and government as would offer some satisfactory guarantee for the preservation of the faith and morals of the Catholic youth of Ireland.

"It may well be conceived, then, what was our astonishment on finding, after the perusal of the document presented by the agent of the Archbishop of Dublin, with a view to sustain those institutions, that there was not in the entire document one sound principle to guard against the many and obvious evils with which the system of the Colleges is fraught. . . . You look in vain for any new remedy of which the efficacy was not already known and had been canvassed by those who took any share in the condemnation of the Colleges. You look in vain for any new act of Parliament cancelling or repealing the obnoxious act having all the force of law, and which no statutes or by-laws of any other body, nay, of all the members of the Executive Government put together, can ever annul.

"A Government might suffer the obnoxious act to slumber, whilst vigilance might be yet too jealous, and legitimate resistance yet too strong. But the very fact of

having the law unrepealed is a refutation of their pretended friendship, and evidence of an hostility only waiting for a more favorable opportunity to put it into execution.

“With the fundamental and vicious constitution of the Colleges still remaining unchanged, one cannot but be surprised that a proposition for their adoption should be seriously offered by any one professing the Catholic faith.

“This brief and simple view of the question would be sufficient, in our minds, to spare the necessity of discussing the other less important matters contained in this production. Still, we have patiently and minutely discussed all its parts, however trivial or unimportant, in order to show that not only in its principles, but also in its details, as exhibited by its own advocates, would the novel system of the Colleges be subversive of episcopal authority and fatal to the religion and morality of the rising generation.

“In all the subordinate details of statutes, lodgings, lectures, etc., there is nothing that neutralizes the essential evil of the appointment of the officers, as well as their dismissal, being vested in a monarch bound by an anti-Catholic Constitution to be a Protestant, nay, the head of the Protestant Church Establishment, who swears not only to uphold the Protestant religion, but swears likewise that the Catholic religion is damnable and idolatrous.

“To maintain that a monarch so circumstanced would feel an interest in preserving pure and unmixed what he swears to be a system of idolatry, or in appointing professors that would be zealous for its support and diffusion, would be to tax him or her with an utter disregard for the solemn sanctions of an oath, and indifference to religion.

“Such a contingency, in a Catholic country, as a college mostly if not entirely frequented by Catholic youth being governed and directed by officials selected and dismissed solely by a Protestant monarch, could never have been contemplated except in these latter years. In the worst days of persecution, when the Catholics of Ireland suffered exile, proscription, forfeiture of estates, nay, death itself, for the faith,—such a proposition for abandoning the edu-

cation of their youth to masters either Protestant or only Catholic in name, over whom the bishops of their Church were to have no control, would never have been made. Or, if it had been made, it would have been, without delay or discussion, rejected indignantly.

“How, then, in Catholic Ireland, a country so renowned for its attachment to the faith and its devotion to the Holy See, the hope should be now entertained of planting, in the days of its restored rights, those dangerous institutions which would not have been endured during the disastrous period of its civil weakness,—is a question which affords a humiliating proof of some progress in a false liberality, which means religious indifference, and of the necessity of arresting it by the counteracting influence of a sound Catholic education.”¹

All this argument is admirably urged from the Catholic stand-point and on Catholic principles. Then the Archbishop comes directly to the true reason why the British Government is emboldened to undertake in the nineteenth century what it never would have attempted during the three centuries immediately preceding.

“If a few of our bishops,” he says, “were not, alas! found to encourage those Colleges even since their condemnation by the Holy See, the Government would have at once abandoned the project in utter despair of ever succeeding. And the hopes of the Government to procure their coöperation may be clearly traced to the wrong step unfortunately taken by them recently in carrying a most obnoxious Act regarding pious Bequests and Legacies, which Act, under an hypocritical preamble of securing Catholic charities, renews some of the worst of the Penal Laws regarding the Religious Orders, usurps the canonical rights of bishops as well as those of the Holy See, and has already had the fatal effect of drying up Catholic charities. For these were left in such abundance during the few years previous to the passing of the Bequests Act, as to enable the bishops of Ireland not only to erect the few churches yet wanted, but to build even

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

diocesan and provincial colleges, and to create, in due course of time, a national university on the most magnificent scale.

"So odious was the law to the Catholics of Ireland, that some were amused with the hopes of its being amended, nay, one of the bishops who had been persuaded to become commissioners was known to have declared that he would retire from the board if the obnoxious clauses were not amended.

"Yet this Penal Law remains still in all its vicious integrity, and these bishops, removable at the beck of the crown, continue to administer all its noxious provisions,—a circumstance which shows the difficulty of retracing erroneous steps once taken, and the little reliance that can be placed on the deceitful promises of amending anti-Catholic enactments or institutions once in operation.

"By continuing as agents to carry out this Penal Enactment against the obvious interests of religion and education, these bishops are encouraging the Government to plan and carry out still more oppressive measures.

"To every opposition directed against such measures, however affecting the freedom of education, the interests of charity, the rights of individuals to dispose of their property for charitable purposes, the opponents of the Catholics artfully give the name of *political agitation*, in order to deter the clergy from exerting themselves to defeat them. But should not the few bishops already engaged in carrying out the obnoxious Bequests Act be equally pliant in aiding toward the establishment of the Colleges, as well as in forwarding other obnoxious measures, they have it in their power to threaten them with dismissal from their commissions.

"This reference to the Bequests Act not only shows the tendency to other encroachments on our religion, as exemplified in the Colleges scheme, but it also shows how deceitful are the professions of those who talk of these Colleges as a boon offered to Catholics in the midst of their poverty. It was never the poverty of the Catholics alone, but

it was the jealous influence of anti-Catholic laws that debarred and continues still to debar them from the advantages of the most improved collegiate education.

“Even the College of Maynooth, now so much boasted of, was never endowed or even contemplated by the British Government, until they found the people and gentry of Ireland—one of whom subscribed £10,000 sterling, or more than 40,000 Roman *scudi*, for the purpose,—had already secured voluntary funds for giving their clergy the most ample collegiate education. It was then, and only then, when the Catholic people, emerging from the poverty entailed by the emaciating Penal Laws, had resolved to establish a national college, that the Government seriously thought of its erection.

“Again, the charitable bequests left a few years previous to the Bequests Act enabled some of the bishops of Ireland not only to erect convents, but also to administer charities on an extensive scale. It is then an Act comes out to check this stream of charity under pretence of its proper application.

“This sufficiently proves that there is wealth and generosity enough in the Catholic body to foster its own institutions, if not forced by the Penal Legislation from the channel into which the pious would pour them. And as to the pretence of relieving our poverty, it is the same as that in the time of the Penal Laws, first despoiling Catholics of their wealth, and then, under pretence of relieving the poverty thus created, proffering a poisonous education in order to destroy our religion.

“It is strange, too, that the advocates of the Colleges should now be so anxious for the sanction of the Holy See, after the bad faith with which the commissioners of the National Board treated the Pope’s instructions regarding the national schools. They *now* only require that each bishop should be left free to act according to the dictates of his own conscience and prudence. But they forget their own total disregard of the same right granted by the late Pope to each bishop relative to the adoption or rejection of

the national system. Yet, in defiance of the Pope's and the bishops' authority, the Commissioners are striving to enforce the national schools where these are forbidden, and where Catholic schools and monasteries are erected. Nay, the Catholic members, as well as the Protestant members of that Board, are parties to the tyrannical forcing of schools in which apostate schoolmasters teach the Catholic children the Protestant catechism.

“ Again, they violate another solemn instruction of the Pope in their recent systematic efforts to procure the leases of all the national schools to be handed over to those Commissioners, though the Pope's letter conveyed the contrary instruction; whence it appears that this profession of respect for His Holiness, of which Lord Clarendon's letter is so full, has only for its object the procuring of His Holiness's sanction at their opening, knowing well that otherwise these Colleges would be left without scholars; whereas, if once in operation, with Catholic students frequenting them, both the Executive and the Commissioners of these Colleges would take care to treat the Pope and the bishops with still greater disregard than they are treated in the matter of the national schools.

“ The anxiety now manifested to procure the sanction of the Holy See for the Colleges does not well accord with the implied menace that, when once opened, the Catholic youth of Ireland will flock to them in despite of all opposition. No doubt that is the wish of the framers of the system. But they never will succeed. It is a calumny on the youth of Ireland and on their parents, especially those of the middle classes, for whom these Colleges are chiefly intended.

“ They are Catholics not only in name but in practice. Though they love learning much, they love their religion more; and they are, happily, untainted with that fashionable indifference derived from collegiate intercourse with men of no faith, which has destroyed the religion of not a few among the higher classes.

“ This class supplies the nurseries from which numbers

of zealous missionaries are sent to the great towns in England, to India, to Australia, as well as to the rising churches of America. A blessing attends all their labors. For, wherever they preach Catholic congregations are speedily formed, Catholic churches and seminaries are erected. The principle of the Catholic faith is sound there and prolific, since it has not been rendered barren by the corrupting influences, which, in many of the universities of Europe, have utterly destroyed the religion and morality of the youth.

"It is the same holy seclusion from such pestilential influences that will alone continue to preserve the unction and vitality of that faith in Ireland. It has been the glory and consolation of the Irish Church that, amidst all its calamities and persecutions, it has never been defiled with any indigenous heresy. . . .

"It never was more attached to the Centre of Unity than at this moment; and our only prayer, Holy Father, is that the noisome breath of heretics, of infidels, or of lax Catholics, who often barter their religion for secular preferment, may not be suffered to spoil the faith and purity of the young generation.

"Ireland, recovering from the famine that has been chastening her, will rapidly recruit her energies. Already measures are in progress for carrying out your Holiness's instructions as to founding a university; and she will best evince her gratitude to Your Holiness and the nations who succored her, by erecting Catholic colleges, which, as in former times, will afford gratuitous education to the English as well as to the Irish, and from which missionaries will go forth to bear the faith of Rome over all the regions of the earth."¹

The outspoken denunciation of the meddlesome and mischief-making Coadjutor-archbishop of Corfu contained in the joint-memoir to Pius IX. of the majority of the Irish bishops had the immediate effect of abruptly ending, for

¹ *Esame dei Documenti, etc: Introduzione.* . . . From the original among the MAC HALE MSS.

the moment at least, that prelate's semi-diplomatic career.

While Rome, during the summer and autumn of 1848, resembled the boiling crater of a volcano in full eruption, the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Ardagh continued to enlighten the Pope and the Congregation of Propaganda not only on the difficulties and perils of the education question in Ireland, but on Irish political and ecclesiastical affairs in general.

In spite of the conciliatory phrases and vague professions of good will contained in the letter of Lord Clarendon, the perfidious conduct of Lord Minto toward the Pontifical Government,—toward all the governments of Italy in fact, afforded Pius IX. and his counsellors abundant evidence of the anti-Catholic tendencies of the British Government in its foreign policy, to permit them to believe that Whigs or Tories were sincerely desirous of promoting Catholic interests at home, while their agents abroad showed themselves everywhere the deadliest enemies of the Papacy and the Church.

The Holy See had more than sufficient knowledge of the fruits borne in almost every country of Continental Europe by a system of public education solely dependent on State authority and control, and entirely divorced from episcopal authority, and leaving the young generations frequenting the public schools without positive religious instruction and careful Christian training.

All through the summer the Cardinals of Propaganda continued to examine the voluminous papers sent in by the supporters of the infidel colleges. And all this time the Pope, beset in his own capital by Ciceruacchio and the Revolutionists patronized by Lord Minto,—was made to understand that to reject the friendly advances of the British Government, or to condemn once more their scheme of university education for Ireland, would be to alienate the good will of the most powerful and energetic of Liberal Governments.

To the eternal honor of Pius IX. and of the venerable Cardinal Fransonì, Prefect of the Propaganda, no consid-

eration of temporal policy or advantage was allowed to influence their judgment on the fundamental principles of Christian education as involved in the scheme about to be forced upon the Catholics of Ireland.

Dr. Ennis had made, in presenting the amended statutes with Lord Clarendon's letter to the Holy See, a special and, as he thought, an effective appeal, by putting forward the "saintly" Archbishop of Dublin as the patron of the new colleges.

"The bishops who approve of them," he said, "and in particular the venerable Archbishop of Dublin, whom I, albeit unworthy, represent, are convinced that to condemn or to reject these colleges by adhering to the Rescript of the Propaganda under the present critical circumstances, . . . will confer no benefit on religion, nor contribute to promote the peace of society. The needs of society become more urgent from day to day; the liberty of doing as one pleases is less easily restrained; and the pious and religious people of Ireland would more deeply feel and regret the continuation of this discord among their prelates, a discord which would extend to the people themselves, and there produce the worst consequences.

"The concession now asked for from the Holy See, the liberty of following the same rules which are permitted with regard to the National Schools, namely, that every bishop may follow his own judgment where neither religion nor morality is in danger, is not an unreasonable request. To consent to such a petition can offend neither party; it would neither contradict nor recall the Rescript, for the circumstances being changed, the change made at present, and made for good, would afford to the wisdom of the Holy Father a new ground to judge and determine upon. The result of his determination would be to bestow forthwith peace and quietness on our Church, and great joy and satisfaction on the middle classes of our people."¹

On the 11th October the Pope approved the judgment of the Congregation of the Propaganda, which should have

¹ *Esame dei Documenti*, p. 39.

forever put an end to the doubts and hesitancy of the very few Irish bishops who were influenced by the two primates.

“The Extracts from the Statutes of the new Colleges in Ireland as recently amended, and the opinions expressed on them by the bishops, have afforded the Sacred Congregation an opportunity of again taking into consideration this subject of the Colleges, especially with regard to the Amended Statutes, and of weighing carefully and maturely what answer should be given in view of the spiritual good of the Irish nation.

“Although the College Statutes are so framed at present, that, taking into account the nature of the English Constitution, it is impossible to determine what may be their authority in the future, still, after maturely considering all things, the Sacred Congregation could not be induced, in view of the serious and intrinsic dangers of these Colleges, to mitigate the judgment pronounced on them with the approbation of our Most Holy Father, and laid before the four Irish metropolitans on October the 9th of last year.

“On the other hand, as it is well known with what zeal the clergy and the whole nation work to secure whatever is conducive to the good of the Church, their Eminences think that there is hope for the creation of a Catholic University; nay, they again and again have recommended the fostering of such a design, in order that all should to the best of their power bestow their united efforts in executing it. Thereby measures would be taken for giving Catholics a higher education, while securing their faith from all danger.

“This decision, after having received from our Most Holy Father all careful and deliberate consideration, has been confirmed by his approbation and authority, and is, by his orders, communicated to the four archbishops, to be by them made known to their respective suffragans.

“While discharging this duty, however, I must inform you that what the Sacred Congregation, as well as the Holy Father, have most at heart in this matter, is that priestly concord should be preserved, and that you should yourselves have at heart above all things to cherish among

yourselves that unity of spirit which, as the Gospel testifies, Christ so often recommended to His apostles.

“And, inasmuch as I am addressing myself to prelates who are familiar with the history of the Church and glorious teachings of the Fathers, I deem it superfluous either to quote these lessons, or to remind you of the blessings conferred on the Church by unity of sentiment among her bishops, and of the evils which followed from dissensions in the episcopal body. And, unanimous though you be in desiring the blessings of concord, it may still not be without profit to remind you of the urgency of selecting the most opportune measures for securing such unity, and of carrying them out cheerfully.

“These measures are clearly indicated by the Sacred Canons and by the other rules of ecclesiastical discipline: if you are only most careful in following these in your ministrations, if in all your doubts you apply to the Holy See to know with certainty what you should do in practice,—the union above spoken of will become more and more firm, more and more persistent.

“Among other things, the Sacred Congregation, with the distinct sanction of His Holiness, would have you remember to hold in future meetings of your priests in due order and in conformity with what is prescribed in the Sacred Canons and the Ritual. If this be not done, then divergence of opinions will increase daily; no good result will be derived from these conferences, which would become secular rather than religious gatherings, toward the advancement of ecclesiastical discipline, which is the great object of these meetings. It would, therefore, be most useful to send to the Holy See the acts of these conferences, as well as to give an account from time to time, at stated periods, of the condition of your respective churches, as the rule demands, and in order to obtain from Rome timely answers.

“All this I say to you, not because any doubt exists about your submission to the Holy See; for the Catholic world knows how ardent and constant that submission is; and we have a new proof of it in all the letters sent to us regarding

this affair of the Queen's Colleges. But the informations I ask of you will afford new evidence of the fact; and you will thereby, while referring carefully all important affairs to that Church which is the centre of sacerdotal unity, facilitate the existence of that same unity even among yourselves."¹

This was a great triumph for the cause of Christian education. But the two Irish prelates who had been immediately instrumental in marring the grand design of the British Government for educating the Irish people, achieved while in Rome another and a scarcely less important victory; they put an end to the intrigues so long pushed forward for the purpose of restoring regular diplomatic intercourse between the Papal Court and the Cabinet of St. James.

The open countenance given in 1848, especially by Lord Minto and his associates, to Mazzini and the Italian Revolutionists, was more than enough to convince Pius IX. and the College of Cardinals that a British ambassador accredited to the Holy See could afford no security to the freedom and independence of the Head of the Church, no guarantee to any Pope for governing his States in peace or even for remaining in possession of them. Nor would the presence of a Papal nuncio in London be a promise to the Catholics of Ireland of a fuller measure of religious liberty.

Both Dr. Wiseman in London and Dr. Murray in Dublin saw their hopes disappointed. The former was soon destined to learn at his own cost the folly of relying on the promises and liberality of a British prime minister; the latter, identified as he had been with the Viceregal government in Ireland, was resolved, notwithstanding this second condemnation of the Queen's Colleges, to promote their success in every way he could. Backed as he was by the whole power of the administration and the Government patronage, Dr. Murray, as we shall see, succeeded but too well in rendering the Pontifical Rescript nugatory for a time at least.

¹ From the original Brief in the MAC HALE MSS.

Only for a short time, however. For the Queen's Colleges never recovered from the double blow thus given them by Rome ; and the condemnation uttered against the "Godless" scheme, was to be renewed more than once before the Archbishop of Tuam was called away to his rest.

Stormy and threatening as was revolutionary Rome in October, 1848, when the Rescript of Propaganda was forwarded to the four Irish archbishops,—Drs. Mac Hale and O'Higgins would not leave that city till the long hoped-for Papal judgment had been dispatched by mail to the metropolitans.

They had done their work thoroughly ; they had courted from the Pope and his counsellors all possible inquiry on the state of the Irish Church, on the conduct of the Irish priesthood, and on all the important politico-religious questions which the British Parliament persistently refused to settle by wise and just legislation.

From Cardinal Franson, the long-tried friend of Ireland, and from Pius IX. himself, beset as he was, in this memorable month of October, 1848, by formidable and inextricable difficulties, the two Irish prelates, on leaving Rome, received the assurance that under no circumstances would the judgment just confirmed regarding the Government scheme of mixed university education be recalled or re-considered.

They left Rome not a moment too soon. It was on the eve of the opening of the Roman Chambers, when the murder of the Pope's Prime Minister, Count Rossi, had been already planned, and the murderers chosen and minutely instructed as to when and how they were to execute their bloody deed. On the very morrow, in fact, Rossi, as he descended from his carriage, and was about to ascend the steps of the Cancelleria Palace, was stabbed to death in the midst of the Roman National Guard, and that same night the assassin, bearing in his right hand the blood-stained dagger, was borne in triumph through the streets of Rome, amid the light of torches and the singing of revolutionary hymns. The procession passed beneath the Pope's windows in the Quirinal.

This was a scene which the Archbishop of Tuam and his faithful friend and companion were mercifully spared the bitterness of beholding.

They were to embark at Civita Vecchia for Marseilles, and were fortunate enough to get places in the very last public conveyance which the Revolutionists permitted to leave Rome at that crisis. Even then they were fearful lest the Pope should fly in disguise from the eternal city.

Our two travellers had not proceeded far on their journey, when they were stopped by a patrol of the National Guard. The two prelates were in the travelling costume used in Great Britain and Ireland by all ecclesiastics, and their passports testified as to their nationality and identity. Dr. O'Higgins, who was a man of imposing stature and undaunted courage, asked by what authority foreigners travelling on the highway in the Papal States were thus stopped and subjected to the indignity of being searched and delayed? The remonstrance had its effect, and the conveyance was allowed to go on its way.¹

When they arrived at Civita Vecchia, the travellers were horrified by the news of Count Rossi's assassination and the revolution in Rome, which made the Pope a prisoner in his own palace, and fulfilled the dearest hopes of Lords Minto and Palmerston,—by making of Mazzini and Garibaldi the masters of Rome for the time being.

Of the effect produced on the majority of the Irish bishops by the renewed condemnation of the Queen's Colleges, we may judge from the following letters of the Bishop of Meath and the Archbishop of Cashel.

“MULLINGAR, NOV. 29th, 1848.

“MY DEAREST LORD :—How overjoyed (I was) at receiving your Grace's welcome favor from Avignon on this

¹ Father Bresciani, in his “Jew of Verona,” makes the Archbishop of Tuam remonstrate with the guards who stopped the vehicle on the road to Civita Vecchia. But the Archbishop, who frequently related their providential escape from Rome and the incident of their being stopped by the armed Volunteers,—always gave Dr. O'Higgins the credit of having overawed these men by his words and attitude.

morning! your presence is sadly needed in poor, oppressed Ireland.

"Thinking you would have left Rome after the despatch of the glorious and inimitable Rescript, I did not address you a line of thanks or congratulation. Never had prelates a greater triumph. Never had our long-persecuted Church more reason to rejoice than when the immortal Pius defeated Whig treachery, and inflicted that deadly blow on British anti-Catholic legislation.

"The Rescript was everything which the friends of religion could desire or her enemies fear; it surpassed what the most sanguine, under existing circumstances, could bring themselves to expect. How can Ireland repay your Grace and our dear friend of Ardagh? Her debt of gratitude to the Holy Father and the Congregation of Cardinals is immeasurable.

"As I hope to have the happiness of seeing your Grace so very soon, there are only two points I deem it necessary to notice: 1. That the wholesale legal murders of the last two years have swept away the *landless* destitute; 2. that we have now an equally effective and not less extensive system of legal murder in the wholesale evictions which the law sanctions, encourages, and stimulates. This is our present most pressing calamity, tending to the utter destruction of our moral, religious, and virtuous people, converting their holdings to enrich one class and to pamper the second class of our oppressors.

"It would be well to direct the attention of Mr. Lucas to this monstrous national cruelty and injustice. His articles are inimitable. Such a man, if he could safely write or speak in a country where there is no constitution, and scarcely the shadow of trial by jury, would be a great blessing in Ireland.

"I had a correspondence with his Grace of Cashel on the Catholic University. He is sterling and honest; he is, however, timid. But, considering those he has to deal with, he is, perhaps, not too cautious.

"We were anxious to mark our gratitude to the Holy See

by promptly originating some movement in its favor. Dr. Slattery proposed, as the least offensive and objectionable, a meeting of priests representing all Ireland to report to the bishops on the subject at a meeting to be convened for that purpose. His Grace wished that the circular inviting each of the bishops to name a priest of his diocese to attend the proposed meeting of clergymen should be armed with the signatures of two prelates from each province, before it could be sent to the prelates favorable to the condemned colleges. I sent a copy for this purpose to the bishops of Elphin, Derry, Clogher, and Clonfert, requesting a line to his Grace, authorizing their names to be affixed. I have heard nothing since on the matter. I wrote only on Saturday last.

"To originate any movement before your Grace's return will be evidence that we all feel and are determined to carry His Holiness's recommendation into effect. This would produce a salutary impression.

"Would to heaven that Mr. Lucas would chastise the 'dagger-man' (Conway of the *Post*)! His article of Sunday last was infamously offensive. He is now in regular pay to sneer at everything Catholic and to blaspheme everything religious.

"I already feel that the announcement of your Grace's return has infused into myself fresh vigor and courage. I think you should let us know [the time] of your intended arrival in Dublin. Some of our brethren would be anxious to meet your Grace. I hope I may calculate with certainty on enjoying that happiness and honor. The railroad is now open to this town.

"Ever, my dearest Lord,

"Your Grace's most affectionate and devoted servant,

"† JOHN CANTWELL.

"HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

Here is Dr. Slattery's letter:—

“THURLES, 26th October, 1848.

“MY DEAR LORD:—I just received your letter of the 14th instant; and as you mentioned that a communication would catch you in Rome, I just write a few lines to say that the Rescript on the Colleges reached me on Monday last, and that I lost no time in getting copies of it struck off for circulation, one of which I sent to Dublin to be published in the *Freeman*; but just as the translation was finished, yours to the *Freeman* arrived and was at once published in a second edition, mine being thus rendered unnecessary.

“Thanks be to God and to our good, great, and glorious Holy Father! I am almost glad it did not reach us for the general meeting of the bishops; for it adds another triumph to that which has already been gained there, and there is no question but it was expected, and was one motive amongst others for the attempt made by the primates to adjourn the meeting. My determined opposition to this assumption on their part defeated the project, and the result of the meeting, together with the resolutions adopted in favor of the people and against the Pension,¹ you are now informed of, as Dr. Cantwell told me he wrote to you at the close of the proceedings, and sent you the *Freeman* with an accurate copy of all the Resolutions.

“I really did not expect that things could end so well: they wore an angry aspect enough in the beginning, but from the display of determination and strength at our side,—for we felt our way beforehand and arranged our proceedings so as to place them early on the minutes,—matters soon wore a different aspect. The previous preparation of the resolutions was most useful. And their tone, temper, and language were so moderate, though firm, that they were considered to be quite unobjectionable.

“For the sake of form a committee was appointed to reconsider them; but they came back from it improved.

¹ This was the project then seriously entertained by the British Government of pensioning the Irish clergy. It was not the least dangerous move made in this grand conspiracy.

“ In the said committee, however, I saw at once ulterior views and a desire to shape things so as, in one way or another, to favor the Government; nay, I learned from the best authority that, when it appeared the meeting could not be postponed, it was intended to draw up a general pastoral to the people on their duties, in which Tertullian's ‘Apology’ was largely quoted on the submissive obedience of the Christians of his day to the powers that be, even though they were pagan and persecuting,—and, of course, a corresponding submission on the part of our flocks to a *Paternal Government*.

“ However, the determination evinced to resist anything that could identify us with the Government put an end to every attempt to bring forward any such proposal. The whole ended in the 5th resolution, in which it was resolved that we would do our duty to our country,—what no one could object to, except only that it was perfectly nugatory.

“ You can form no idea of the unbounded satisfaction given by our resolutions; in fact, they have preserved for us the confidence of the people. In a letter which I had yesterday from the *Bishop of Cork* he says: ‘The Resolutions of our last meeting have been exceedingly well received here. A spirit of hostility has been subdued, which might otherwise have been fearfully aggravated.’

“ I remain, my dear Lord,

“ Yours faithfully,

“ M. SLATTERY.’

“ MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.”

The joy manifested by Dr. Cantwell at the return from Rome of Dr. Mac Hale was not a selfish joy. It was not that of a friend welcoming back a life-long friend. It was that of a true bishop and patriot anxious that the only man able to guide both clergy and people amid their unceasing trials should once more take his undisputed place at the head of the nation.

But the Archbishop of Tuam, unselfish and self-sacrific-

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

ing as he was, yearned only to be with his sorely tried flock, to stand once more between the poor of the West and their oppressors.

He had little taste for ovations in general. And in Dublin, above all places in Ireland, both inclination and a wise policy forbade any thought of encouraging or accepting a demonstration from bishops, priests, or people. He knew how ardently the populations of Connaught wished for his return. So he lost no time, after setting foot on Irish soil, in turning his face homewards.

At home they were waiting for him lovingly, impatiently. Carefully as he sought to avoid public welcomes, when he arrived within a few miles of Tuam the popular heart would not be thwarted in its gratitude for the pastor, parent, and protector. The assembled thousands affectionately barred the Archbishop's progress. They surrounded him, unharnessed the horses from his carriage, and dragged it along triumphantly into his own episcopal city.

He let them have their own way ; surely, the love which prompted their acts, their acclamations, the chorus of blessing ever rising louder and louder, as the living torrent bore him along, was the pure love springing from the deepest, holiest sentiments of the human soul, love of religion and love of country.

And the Prelate, on his side, was eager to be in the midst of his people, not only because he knew that on him and his brother-bishops fell the duty of arresting the depopulation of Ireland, the rapid extermination of her Catholic inhabitants, but because, as well, the very cause which he had been pleading in Rome was only half won as yet. It could only be completely won on Irish soil, by defeating there the powerful combination of a Government fully resolved to push forward its educational schemes, and its plans of enslaving the clergy, with the prelates and priests and Catholic laymen won over to their projects.

The Archbishop of Cashel, during Dr. Mac Hale's absence in Rome was, with the Bishop of Meath, the prelate

best able to counteract the plans of the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, plans into which the prelates of the majority, who had signed the memorial against the Murray-Nicholson conspiracy, were being drawn one after the other.

Writing to Dr. Mac Hale on December the 16th, 1848, Dr. Slattery mentions the efforts made by himself, during the late general meeting of the hierarchy, to forward the proposed project of a Catholic University, and to baffle the open or covert intrigues in favor of the Queen's Colleges. The opposition he met with, and the manifest ill-will of the Castle faction, seems to have deeply discouraged the gentle prelate.

"If there has been no movement made regarding the Colleges or University," he says, "the fault, if any, was not mine. I suggested something in the way of preliminary steps, in which some of the bishops concurred, but objection was raised on the part of others; and, being no way attached to my own views or opinions about the matter, I at once yielded to those of others, and gave up the project altogether, leaving it to wiser heads to devise a better one, and to abler hands to carry out its execution. . . . I have done my duty throughout the entire proceeding, and it is no doubt painful to see our dear-bought victory now come to naught. For it is my firm conviction that the Government will succeed in forcing their Colleges on the country, and that the bribes to professors and to students in money and degrees will have the desired effect in procuring persons to attend them, whilst our apathy, our poverty, and, I may add, our divisions, will render us powerless to oppose them. They have got the whip-hand of us; it was left to them, and they are making excellent use of it."¹

To this letter Dr. Mac Hale immediately replied, urging his friend to put forward his plan a second time, stimulating him to hope for the best, and exhorting him to that energetic action which fosters and strengthens hope. But Dr. Slattery's moral temperament was not like that of his

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

correspondent, one to gain vigor from opposition. However, his answer to Dr. Mac Hale's exhortation gives us a vivid picture of the distracted councils which Dr. Murray's course of conduct had once more created among the Irish bishops.

"There is no question," he writes, "but some movement was expected to be made and would have been attempted, if I had not interfered; but then the result of my project and the objections to it would have rendered the other not only a failure, but perhaps very mischievous; and my influence has at least had the effect of preventing evil, if it did nothing else.

"With regard to a general meeting, from what occurred previous to the last and the efforts made to prevent its being held, it is manifest that every obstacle would be thrown in the way of convening it, and I am therefore of opinion that no such meeting will take place before October. If the Primate refuses, as I think he will, to call a provincial synod at the requisition of his suffragans, he surely would demur more strongly to convene a general meeting.

"In your province the convening of a synod, and the proceedings that may (there) take place, will be regulated without much difficulty, as your bishops, almost to a man, will be ready to coincide with you, and on that account, to make the beginning there, as you mention you intend doing in the middle of January. But here I am differently circumstanced, inasmuch as the change which has recently taken place in Dr. Egan's¹ opinions leaves me completely in a minority. . . . I should place myself in a false position, then, if I convened the bishops without seeing my way, and without taking every precaution to strengthen my hands. . . . Individually, I would not care about being defeated; but such a result might prove injurious elsewhere, as a precedent.

"I am greatly mistaken, if Dr. Murray does anything about a synod in Leinster; and, as Dr. Keating is the seni-

¹ Dr. Egan was Bishop of Kerry.

or bishop, if there is any movement on the subject, it must be made, I suppose, by him and the Bishop of Ossory. I doubt very much if Dr. Haly would take any part in the matter, nor am I quite sure either of Dr. Walsh. At all events, I must decline interfering in it. With regard to Dr. Keating, if he is to be written to, I would suggest that either you or Dr. Cantwell might have a better chance of influencing him than any one else,—more, certainly, than I would.

"I am, perhaps, too desponding. But I must confess that I am not sanguine as to the success of the effort to establish an University; but at the same time I do not mean to throw any obstacle in its way. The project, however, is a vast one, that no individual or partial exertion could accomplish. It would require the general, cordial, and combined coöperation of all classes of Catholics, lay and clerical, to raise and perpetuate a fund sufficient for its establishment and support; and can we calculate on that?"

"In the first place, we ourselves are not, like the bishops of Belgium, who are proposed as our model,—of one heart and one mind. Our high Catholics are rotten¹ to the heart's core, and our middle classes are fast corrupting in the same manner by the love of pelf and of place. There does not exist that pure Catholic feeling, that lively and Irish faith, which distinguished our people even a short time ago; nor that warm and enthusiastic feeling of attachment to their clergy. . . . *Omnia quæ sua sunt quærunt*, is the motto of the present day, among those who could afford to give anything. And, in these disastrous times, what is there in the power of our impoverished clergy and a starving people to do in the way of coöperation.

"Why, the spirit of the country is not only broken, but the very heart seems to have gone out of it. This, no doubt, is a gloomy picture; but, to my view at least, it is a true one."²

Dr. Cantwell writes in no less gloomy terms of the con-

¹ That is to say, their political proclivities have perverted their Catholic principles, and turned them aside from a sound religious policy.

² MAC HALE MSS.

dition of the country ; but, like the Archbishop of Tuam, he never despaired of Ireland. "I did not receive any communication from Mr. John O'Connell," he says in a letter of March 15, 1849, "on the subject of your Grace's esteemed favor. We are in a sad way. I felt it most sensibly before your return ; and you now have evidence of a state of things which, during your absence, you could not credit.

"Long since have I felt, and now more than ever do I feel and advocate, the necessity and advantage of *London agitation*. I cannot, however, view it in the light of a transfer thither of Conciliation Hall. I cannot see any practicable means of working Conciliation Hall in London. My scheme of London agitation would be four or six bishops with eight or twelve discreet, talented, and practical priests, for one month in London, watching and working the Irish members, enlightening and influencing the views of *honest English members*, controlling the wickedness and chastising the insolence and ignorance of English Ministers.

"I have been full of the benefit of this for a long time ; yet, on pressing this view the other day on Dr. Mac Nally, his answer was : 'We should be all corrupted in London.' As to the opening Conciliation Hall for any purpose until the suspension of the Habeas Corpus expires, it would prove a protest and a sufficient apology for its renewal.

"The agitation of Catholic rights and liberties will, in my mind, and in the present temper of the times, be most safely and most effectively conducted by the bishops and clergy. Except John O'Connell and a very few others, all our laity who would take a prominent part are dishonest and selfish. The enemy would find willing instruments to sell and defeat any cause. The class of good Catholics who, thank God, are still numerous and respectable, are not as wise in their generation as the children of darkness.

"It is scandalous to remain as we are and the multitudes perishing. A meeting of all true friends ought to be held, to deliberate, with the least possible delay. I await your Grace's commands. I will gladly take my part in anything which you recommend. These are not the times for whims

and crotchets. They are not times in which bishops or archbishops who wish to save their souls can remain silent or inactive. I merely offer the above opinion, prepared to work in every way that your Grace may decide to be useful to our betrayed Church and unhappy country.”¹

The patriotic Bishop of Meath must have entertained a generous notion of English fairmindedness, when he urged the sending to London select bishops and priests to revolutionize there public opinion in favor of Ireland, to help create an Irish Parliamentary party, and to control and denounce the wickedness of Cabinet Ministers.

Not so judged Frederick Lucas, who in that very year transferred the “*Tablet*” to Dublin. Nor did the Archbishop of Tuam think otherwise than Frederick Lucas. Even then Charles Gavan Duffy, whom Lord Clarendon had vainly endeavored to convict of high treason, by means which revolted even the non-Catholic press of London and Dublin, refused to despair of the cause of Ireland. The fiery spirits among the defeated young Irishmen still yearned for revenge and insurrection. They even thought of seizing on the person of the Queen, during her promised visit to the Irish Metropolis, and carrying her away to the Wicklow Mountains, there to be kept as a hostage till a full amnesty was granted to the men implicated in the late disturbances. It was a mad dream.

“It was under these circumstances,” writes Mr. Duffy, “that I revived the ‘*NATION*,’ and re-entered the field of Irish politics. I knew that an insurrection, which would be more futile than the last, was ripening, and my plainest duty was to tell the people there was no hope or safety in that direction. Without alluding to these secret designs, I taught a policy incompatible with them,—the policy of dealing first with the urgent questions of the hour. And never were questions more peremptory. In many districts, during my last visit, I found two cabins out of three plucked down by the Exterminator; the work-houses were crammed with idle, sweltering paupers, and the highways crowded with

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

beggars. *All that was best in the Irish nature was slowly rotting away.*¹ Those who could escape were flying from the country by every port. If the evil could not be arrested, the Irish race might disappear from the island."²

It was to arrest this calamity that the Archbishop of Tuam, on his return from Rome, devoted his energies and his time. In so doing he felt that he was only fulfilling the most imperative duty ever imposed by Providence on a pastor and a citizen.

In the awful and depressing years which followed the great famine, no matter who despaired of Ireland or betrayed the cause of her people by open treason or cowardly abstention,—the sorely-tried Metropolitan of Connaught never for a moment lost hope, or withheld his hand from doing for his own flock and the nation what his own conscience suggested.

When Lucas died, some eight years afterward, exhausted by his incessant labors and disheartened by the success in Rome of a scarcely less baneful conspiracy; and when Charles Gavan Duffy despaired of Ireland and took refuge in far-distant Australia,—the Archbishop of Tuam recommended the latter to the esteem and respect of the Australian bishops, while applying his whole energies to fill the void left by the former in the ranks of Ireland's disorganized defenders in Parliament and Journalism and on the public platform.

Little did these three suspect in the beginning of 1849 whence was to come the double betrayal which was to throw back the cause of Ireland more effectually than the Great Famine and the Great Clearances.

¹ The Italics are our own.—AUTHOR.

² "Four Years of Irish History," p. 763.

CHAPTER V.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM'S LABORS FOR IRELAND AND HER PEOPLE AFTER HIS RETURN FROM ROME—PLEADING FOR THE SACRED RIGHTS OF THE POOR IN THE BANQUET AT TUAM; IN HIS LETTERS TO THE PUBLIC PRESS; IN HIS APPEAL TO QUEEN VICTORIA; IN HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. MURRAY REGARDING AN ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO THE QUEEN AND HER HUSBAND.

IF Ireland, at the close of 1848, and the beginning of 1849, had been allowed to rest from the double scourge of famine and pestilence, or to breathe, even for a short space, from military repression and coercion,—the Archbishop of Tuam would have received from his brother-prelates, from the clergy and people of Ireland, a public national welcome on his arrival in Dublin.

But Ireland, after the abortive attempt at rebellion into which William Smith O'Brien and his followers had been cleverly goaded by the Irish Government, after the extraordinary display of military force to put down the rising which they had provoked, and the traditional judiciary farce enacted in bringing the leaders to judgment,—the capital and the provinces bore the look of a country just conquered. Much as Dr. Mac Hale deplored the acts of rebellion into which the young Irishmen had been led, much even as he condemned the principles and utterances of some of them, he was not the man to join with the oppressor in casting useless censure or undeserved obloquy on the men who had loved Ireland all too ardently and unselfishly, if not wisely.

And, besides, the cause which had fired the indignation of these generous souls, the chronic starvation and exter-

mination, with their never-failing attendant coercive measures,—were never more active than during the long, agonizing months of that winter 1848-'49.

FAMINE and FEVER and the Crowbar-Brigades were abroad all over the southern and western counties of Ireland, when the Archbishop of Tuam set his foot once more on Irish soil and was hastening to bring to his famishing flock the wonted comfort and relief, and that fatherly presence which to the populations of the West was like the presence of God the all-pitying and merciful.

Absorbed as his whole soul was in the twofold task he had set himself, of saving from extermination his people and of guarding their religious faith and political rights,—he could accept no demonstration of welcome or of national gratitude in Dublin. He was too conscientiously bent on conciliating the archbishops and bishops who were still in favor of the condemned colleges to do or say anything which might give them just offense.

He had two things to do forthwith: to call together the bishops of the West in provincial synod and to take with them common action regarding the Queen's Colleges, and to devise together with them practical measures for saving the lives of the people and securing the tillers of the soil, by common action, some just share in its ownership, an equitable portion of the crops and harvest reared by their own industry.

We shall see how wisely and indefatigably the Archbishop of Tuam applied himself to these gigantic labors of the good pastor and the enlightened patriot.

Ever anxious as the Archbishop was through life to avoid or refuse mere personal compliments, he could not, consistently with his conscience, decline the testimonies of public or private satisfaction at the success of his late mission to Rome. This was a matter of vital importance to Ireland, and everything which helped to inspire Irishmen with abhorrence for mixed education was sure to be favored by him.

One of the first to express the sentiment of all true Cath-

olies with regard to the recent judgment of the Holy See was Lord Ffrench, ever true and devoted to the interests of his religion and his country. The following letter, marked "very important" by the Archbishop himself, deserves a place in these pages.

"CASTLE-FRENCH, January 5th, 1849.

"MY DEAR LORD:—As I cannot have the pleasure of paying my respects in person to your Grace, I most willingly avail myself of the present mode of gratifying an ardent desire to convey to your Grace my congratulations on your happy return from the capital of the Christian world, on the signal success with which you have effected the grand object of your mission, and the complete triumph gained over the enemies of true religion.

"You have had to struggle with the greatest difficulties, state-patronage, corruption, self-interest, and venality: wily diplomacy from without and within vile pseudo-Catholicism. . . . But gloriously indeed, with the assistance of Heaven, has your Grace overcome all these difficulties.

"We have seen a hostile Government infringing the jurisdiction of our bishops, and, under the pretence of a zeal for the education of our people, planning the establishment of colleges designed to spread infidelity, in order that they might thereby corrupt that religion which they have been unable to extirpate.

"The spirit of intrigue even worked its way into high and holy places. We have, with heartfelt sorrow, witnessed the unity of our venerable hierarchy rent asunder, and episcopal meetings, instead of being regulated in accordance with the spirit of the canons, assuming the form of secular cabals. We have heard, with unspeakable grief, ecclesiastics, otherwise of spotless life, descending from that elevation of character which they should ever maintain; while laymen also, men of little learning and less religion, would discuss the nature of the Papal Supremacy, the exact measure of a Pope's jurisdiction, with a view to attenuate and weaken, if they could not break, our connection with Rome. And

as they would not dare to deny the obedience due to the Holy See, they strove to confine it within the narrowest limit. These are men of doubtful orthodoxy, who, it would seem, do not believe that the more we are Roman, the more are we Catholic, and, conversely, the less we are Catholic, the less are we Roman. And all this was done in the hope, if not of destroying, at least of lessening the influence of the Papal Rescript on the public mind.

"With these men, not very numerous, happily, but still, like all emissaries of Satan, ever active and energetic, pandering to place, power, and patronage, and being the earnest and unceasing advocates of a system declared by supreme authority *dangerous to faith and morals*,—the lion of the fold of Judah has had to contend. And splendid has been his victory.

"For this alone, not to allude here to manifest services to the cause of religion and country, there is due to your Grace an eternal debt of gratitude.

"For my own part, as a Catholic, I cannot repress my feeling of thankfulness, and I hail your Grace as the defender of the ancient faith for which our martyred fathers suffered centuries of persecution, and as the vindicator of the dignity and independence of the Church of Ireland.

"Amidst the universal gloom which, like a funeral pall, covers the face of his unhappy land, I look forward with hope and delight to the future proceedings of your Grace, upon whom the eyes of the faithful Catholics of Ireland are now fixed, in giving efficacy to the Pontifical Rescript in our province.

"Wishing your Grace many happy years to enjoy the fruits of your labors, I have the honor to remain, with the highest respect and esteem, my dear Lord,

"Yours most faithfully,

"FRENCH.¹

"HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

No less outspoken and emphatic is Mr. Gonville Ffrench

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

in his praise of the Archbishop of Tuam and his condemnation of the authors and abettors of the Government scheme of education. But the Catholic feeling in Connaught could not be repressed by the surrounding misery or by the array of military force kept on foot to terrify into submission the populations driven from their holdings by the evicting landlords. The Catholic gentry invited the Archbishop to a public banquet. This demonstration had been resolved on before Dr. Mac Hale's arrival in Ireland. But his own words, in the eloquent discourse he delivered at the banquet, will best explain his reluctance to accept such an honor at such a time.

"It was the sad anticipation of the scenes of misery I was to meet, when your invitation greeted me before my arrival, that made me anxious to decline the proffered compliment. Again, it was the terrible reality of the destitution of our people, which I saw pictured in the countenances of the poor who mingled with the crowds of the gentry met to welcome me,—that induced me, as I was not permitted to decline, to adjourn this festival to a distant day.

"I did hope that a little delay would cool the fervor of your feelings, and that you would forego this celebration in consequence of the gloom which shrouded our country. Perhaps, however, you were right. Your determination showed that, notwithstanding the long continued efforts to ruin the Catholics of Ireland, *there is an INDESTRUCTIBLE PRINCIPLE in the character as well as the religion of the people.*

"I value this manifestation not so much as a compliment to an individual, as an expression of sympathy for the cause which I and my associate (Dr. O'Higgins) sincerely advocated. But it is also a profession of your lasting loyalty to the Chair of Peter. The Holy Father will be cheered in his exile by the loud, the long, the joint echoes of all these voices, lifted up like the roar of mighty waters, in response to the voice of the chief pastor. They proclaim to the world that neither life nor death, nor principalities nor powers, nor seduction nor the sword, shall ever separate you

from Christ, nor sever the bond uniting you to the Chair of His Vicegerent.

“Without the consolations of our faith our misery would be deplorable. While desolation is thinning our people, and all who can fly from the land hasten to escape from it as from a spot stricken with the plague; while the ruin of one class is fast following on the destruction of another; while over the masses of the prostrate peasantry the farmers above them are falling in vast numbers, and the void occasioned by their fall is again filled up by the gentry, who are thus dragged down to the common level of ruin; this sudden and confused prostration and submission of all classes reminds me of Raphael’s magnificent picture of the Deluge in the Vatican, where all classes, sexes, and ages are swept away and submerged gradually in one indiscriminate destruction.

“Our holy religion, like the Ark, still rises indestructible above the waters. It will preserve the remnant of our people, to go forth, when the destroying waters subside, to fill once more with life the wilderness of Ireland; from the Ark their descendants will receive the fire with which to light the altars of the future, the light to guide them through another and more prosperous era.

“This is the consideration which alone sustains us amidst the wreck with which we are still threatened, and of which the frequent forebodings were, alas! unheeded by our rulers.”

The Archbishop then dwells on the bitter mockery of pressing on a Catholic nation overtaken by such a direful succession of calamities this vision of a national scheme of university education, of stately college edifices and well-paid professors, as a compensation for the food which is to save the lives of thousands, and which is refused them year after year!

“On these topics I am designedly dwelling,” continues the Archbishop after his terrible arraignment of British misrule and persecution, “because they are connected with the object of our visit to the Apostolic See, and with that

invincible attachment to the Catholic faith which has been the solace and glory of Ireland.

“ I wish to vindicate the slandered character of our people, and to trace the evils and literary destitution under which we labor to the genuine source from which they derive their origin and their daily influence. I wish to maintain intact and unimpaired that high Catholic spirit, which, while it watches with jealousy over the education of our youth, never refuses to coöperate in every social improvement with all our citizens of whatever rank or creed.

“ We are promoting the best interests of Ireland, of social order everywhere, by discountenancing these godless institutions. We are aiding the interests of society in spite of the fatuity of the very men to whom its safety is intrusted. Little do such statesmen know those who, in reality, are the best friends of the throne and its stability. It is we who are jealous for the interests of religion, whom they represent as enemies, because we will not lend ourselves to political counsels and intrigues, or consent to give to the functionaries of the State an unhallowed and undue control over the most sacred of our ecclesiastical institutions.

“ Were we to feel no zeal for religion ; were we swayed by mere national predilections and antipathies ; were we to recollect only the persecutions we endured, or only to sigh for the opportunities of revenge ; we should look forward to these godless colleges as the most effectual instruments both of corruption and of sedition, which, by freeing the youth of Ireland from the loftiest restraints of religion and morality, would send forth against their founders a selfish, cynical, mercenary, and mutinous generation, ready to subvert all order, all authority.

“ But God forbid ! Ours is a mission of peace, of morality, and of order. Ours, then, is the duty of watching over the institutions in which the social virtues are cultivated and fostered. You have often heard that the greatest enemies of a country and its people are those who, after

the sword had failed, corrupted and poisoned the public fountains.

“Let these obstinate officials, therefore, who, in spite of the most solemn condemnation of these colleges, still labor to force them on our Catholic people, submit to the imputation which they wantonly cast upon others, of being the enemies of the country. Such enemies we cannot be, who not only endeavor to keep our flocks away from those impure springs, but, like the Hebrews returned from Egypt, are laboring to re-open the well of wholesome water dug by the ancient patriarchs and choked up while the hoof of the stranger was heavy in the land. We are thus like God’s people in ancient times, striving to introduce a generation wearied by long journeying in the wilderness to those refreshing fountains from which their forefathers had drawn the living waters in the golden age of patriarchal innocence and peace, when their happy homes and hearths were honored and blessed with the presence of God’s own heavenly messengers.”

These were divine lessons given to all Ireland in language singularly noble, and with illustrations from sacred history which were most apposite and timely. Assuredly, such teaching as this, if only listened to by both English statesmen and by the minority of Catholic churchmen in Ireland, must have had the effect sought by the Holy See and by the single-minded prelate who pleaded the cause of Christian education. He now addresses himself to answering some the objections of his adversaries.

“What can *you* propose for Ireland? say those who by every experiment of recent legislation are only thickening the confusion.

“I propose the most simple means, which would do much to benefit us, if the bigotry which still persecutes Catholic Ireland would only allow justice to follow its natural course.

“As the Repeal of the Union may not be deemed sufficiently near or practicable, let the tenants of Ireland have the legal pledges of a tenure and a compensation for their outlay; let evicting landlords pay a certain tax for the land

from which they drive out men to make room for beasts.

“Let the surplus spoils of the useless Establishment, that has so long encumbered and oppressed the country, revert to its original and rightful trustee—the Catholic Church.

“In proportion as the present incumbents fall off,—not a farthing of whose life-interest I should touch,—let the sacred fund thus accumulated again be dispensed as it was once, *entirely in works of mercy and education*.

“I will pledge myself that, with this simple process, which, so far from involving injustice, restitution demands, you will ere long see the land smiling with the threefold blessings of cheerful industry, spontaneous charity, and a religious, because a free and unrestricted, education.

“These are neither fanciful, nor extravagant, nor impracticable propositions. They are founded on justice; they are the tried result of experience. The country is sinking into irremediable ruin only because these safe and salutary measures, so conservative of vested individual rights, . . . have been abandoned by calculating politicians, in order to promote, at the expense of a nation's happiness, their own selfish objects.”

Would to God that such utterances, pregnant, every word of them, with preternatural wisdom and that true patriotism which religion inspires, purifies, and elevates, had been listened to in 1849;—we should not be, at the end of 1890, still groping in the dark, like men trying to find their way out of a room and knocking forever their head against the door,—seeking a way for Ireland out of the labyrinth of accumulated ruin which religious persecution and racial hatred have created, and which the blind prejudices and passions begotten by them still persist in maintaining.

“With any personal narratives connected with the object of our visit to the Eternal City I have purposely refrained from occupying your time,” says the Archbishop in concluding. “Enough to say that, with the great body of the Irish nation with us, we undertook this important duty. . . . All I can say is, that our path was well beset with British

intrigue. But we were honored on account of the illustrious Irish Church to which we belonged, and which the Holy Father called by the endearing name of *the apple of his eye*.¹

“They may send their seers and their dreamers to divine the visions of the Apocalypse; and already their theological mathematicians are counting the years of the Papacy, and marking the term of its fall.

“Let me tell you, for your comfort, and them, to their confusion, that the Prophet Daniel foretold no “Fifth” Empire. The Pope is the reigning sovereign of that great spiritual power which was to succeed the fallen idol made of the gold of the Persians, the silver of the Greeks, and the wood and clay of the Romans. As this spiritual empire is to last forever, the reign of its sovereign is also to be coeval with the duration of his spiritual dynasty.

“This has all the certainty of faith. And though the Pope’s temporal power rests on a different conclusion, Providence has so ordained that the temporal independence of the Sovereign Pontiffs should serve during future ages as a rampart to secure from unholy aggression the faith and liberties of the Church. . . .

“Historians may discuss the motives that determined the translation of the seat of empire from the west to the east; they may lament or applaud the policy of such a change. It was prompted by higher counsels. From the day that Constantine resolved, after the triumph of Christianity, to remove to Byzantium, Rome became the destined centre of the temporal as well as the spiritual sovereignty of the Popes.

“We are, then, interested in the early restoration of the Holy Father to his dominions, as well as in watching and denouncing every intrigue and conspiracy, from whatever quarter, having for its object to protract his exile, to fatigue him into a surrender of the least portion of his spiritual independence, or of the liberties of the Church.

¹ Further on in our narrative we shall describe the unworthy intrigues which so bitterly prejudiced Pius IX. against the Archbishop of Tuam.

“ But whether he is soon freed, or that it pleases Providence to prolong his exile, he is still equally Bishop of Rome and pope, whether at Gaëta or at Avignon. . . . To use the language of a venerable abbot, ‘ Peter in prison, Clement in exile, Marcellus in the catacombs, were the rulers of all the churches no less than if they had their abode in the Lateran.’ And in the same language of the venerable Abbot of Cluny will the clergy and people of Ireland address the Holy Father: ‘ In whatever place shall be your habitation, there shall also abide our obedience, our attachment, our devotion.’ ”

The Provincial Synod of Tuam was held on January the 23d, and lasted till January 26th, 1849. It was the forerunner of the National Council of Thurles, to be held at Thurles in the September of the following year,—a memorable event in the history of the modern Irish Church.

The prelates enacted various decrees for putting into execution the condemnation by the Holy See of the condemned Queen’s Colleges, with resolutions aiming to encourage and hasten the erection of a national Catholic University. The most remarkable document, however, which emanated from them, was their joint pastoral letter, dated January the 27th, 1849.

Two topics, in particular, are treated at length in this pastoral: the awful sufferings which the Irish people were still enduring, and the calamities which had compelled the Holy Father to flee from Rome.

“ Were some stranger,” the bishops say, “ accustomed to witness the tender care with which the poor of God are treated in every civilized and Christian country, now to come among us, and contemplate the heart-rending scenes of misery and desolation which everywhere meet the eye, he would imagine that these helpless beings were shut out of the pale of humanity and mercy.”

There is, at the end of the pastoral, an appeal for pecuniary aid to the Holy Father in his actual distress, which is best expressed in the words of the prelates themselves.

“ To protect the Father of the Christian world from the

approach of every influence which would endanger the liberty so essential to the purity of faith and morals, is the obvious duty, as well as the interest of all his children. It will not be enough to rescue him from lawless insurgents ; we must, in the act of freeing him, not expose him to a servitude of an equally dangerous character, by having him too much beholden to the intervention of any of those powers who are striving to enslave the Church in their respective dominions.

“ This is the reason why we call on you in the midst of your poverty to contribute your mite to the support and consolation of your beloved Chief-Pastor, until such time as the Lord is pleased to deliver him out of the hands of his enemies. On our nation the Holy Father has peculiar claims ; he recently called it *the apple of his eye*, and had illustrated his fatherly solicitude by his munificent bounty to our poor, as well as by the effectual checks he has given to erroneous principles, and by the encouragement to pure Catholic education.”

Others have fully and most eloquently narrated the fearful distress which prevailed in Ireland during the winter, spring, and summer of 1849, as well as the “ Great Clearances ”¹ effected in the land by the Irish landlords and by their effective assistants, starvation and eviction.

Did the Archbishop of Tuam make no efforts, all through these months, to compel the attention of Government to this inconceivable state of things? The following letter will, in its brevity, tell its eloquent tale of popular misery, official inhumanity, and pastoral zeal.

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE FREEMAN.

“ ST. JARLATH’S, TUAM, April 13, 1849.

“ DEAR SIR :—Allow me to acknowledge with great thankfulness the following recent donations towards alleviating the sufferings of some of our slaughtered people :—

¹ See Mr. T. P. O’Connor’s admirable work “ The Parnell Movement,” especially the chapter on the “ Great Clearances.”

The Rev. Mr. Tully, R. C. College, Maynooth, 10 £ 0 s. 0 d.

The Rev. Mr. Farrelly do - - - 5 0 0

The Rev. Dr. Callan do - - - 3 0 0

"Charity" per Dr. Gray do - - - 1 0 0

A Dublin Citizen, who 'asks the prayers of the
martyred victims of a murderous policy that is
consigning their bodies to the grave whilst their
souls ascend to heaven' - - - 1 0 0

"Of these numberless victims of the most un-Christian policy that ever yet emanated from the councils of any State, who are now strewing the public ways, I met one last evening near the little town of Kilmain, on my way from Ballinrobe, stretched lifeless on the side of the road. He had often applied, but applied in vain, for relief, until, according to the testimony of two skeletons in whom life but yet remained, he sank and expired without even the shelter of a cabin.

"These frightful sights are now, alas! but matters of ordinary and every day occurrence. I have no doubt that by whatever road or in whatever direction I should travel, I should have to encounter scenes equally distressing and appalling. Nay, the coldness and absence of emotion with which the surviving persons spoke of the manner of his death—not the effect of any natural insensibility, but of the brutal treatment to which they are made familiar by legal murderers—tells frightfully how those feelings of affection that spring so instinctively and so warmly from the hearts of the Irish poor have been trodden out of their breasts.

"From the cruel selfishness that is now seizing on all anxious to escape immediate starvation, I have serious doubts whether the charity given to bury the dead on that occasion was not entirely applied to delaying the death of the living, who were then on the brink of the grave.

"And yet, while these things are happening in the face of day, while the chartered murder of thousands of human beings is taking place in the sight of God and man,—our Senators, not excepting Ireland's own representatives, are

engaged in a factious and party contest, to which the lives of God's creatures are sacrificed. . . . The English members will not suffer, forsooth, Irish misery to be relieved, or Irish lives to be saved, out of the funds of the imperial exchequer. And yet it is the absorption of Irish revenues into that wasteful and unreturning gulf which causes the continual drain that is so fatal to the prosperity and to the lives of the Irish people. And, again, your Irish members will not have them relieved out of Irish funds, because there is a consolidated exchequer. If *they* are compelled to save the lives of their starving countrymen, they threaten the Repeal of the Union. Nay, your 'loyal' men of the Covenant threaten something more.

"Noble, and humane, and disinterested lovers of their country! satisfied with the blessings of the Union, provided the people are thereby doomed to perish, and only mutinous against its continuance, when a hope is held out of rescuing the Irish people from the misery which the huge spoliations of that disastrous measure are now developing in the desolation of the land and the ruin of its inhabitants!

"But why—it will be said—be silent amidst this unheard of and increasing havoc, which, if not arrested, will assuredly leave a large portion of the South and West of Ireland in a more pitiable condition than during the worst period of our history? If there were ignorance of our condition, the wonder regarding our silence might appear natural. But with the full knowledge of our state furnished by official as well as other mediums; with the cases of the starvation with which your columns are filled; with the workhouses, those dreadful nuisances, which under the guise of an assumed humanity are become penal establishments, through each of which the enemies of our people send them, to the number of ninety a week, to their graves, . . . with such varied evidence of mortality and the utter heedlessness with which this is viewed by our ministers;—it would be like appealing to the ocean waves, to appeal to men so steeled against the impulses of humanity.

"This is the reason why those who witness such harrow-

ing scenes have ceased to urge them on the deaf ears, the seared and callous hearts of our rulers.

"You will not understand me, when I say 'our rulers,' to mean, even by implication, the Sovereign. . . . I mean those Ministers who of the duties and prerogatives of royalty exercise everything but its benevolence and its merciful justice. They can achieve the passing of Coercion Acts in a day; but are unable in entire weeks, by a miserable 'rate in aid', to sustain Her Majesty's living subjects. It is no apology for them that they do not meet the same sympathy and support in saving the lives of the people as they may surely count on in suspending the Constitution.

"On commencing this letter my first idea was to confine myself to a grateful acknowledgement of the kindness of the benevolent individuals whose charity enabled me to mitigate some small portion, and that for a few days, of the frightful distress. But, on comparing the amount of any individual contributions, however large, with a wide-spread famine that is mowing down the people by the thousands, it would appear that the pastors of the people were guilty of a gross dereliction of duty in not awakening, or striving to awaken, the conscience of the public functionaries to the desolation which testifies to the whole world how pernicious their policy has been.

"I, therefore, deem it my duty thus to state the reasons of our silence, founded on the conviction that any further appeals to Ministers are fruitless, . . . that the people are debarred from that access to the Sovereign's aid and sympathy which, under Governments more despotic in form, and more paternal in their influence, they are sure to experience, not only from courtesy, but from right and sacred custom. Moreover, there is no real hope for the lives or for the liberties of the people, but in the diminution of the insolent power of those ministerial factions, . . . and in the enlarged and practical development of the protective and saving duties of the Throne.

"I have the honor to be your very faithful servant,
"JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

Lord John Russell and his associates were not the men to be moved either by eloquent appeals or by the spectacle of a starving people, in whose extermination one might well believe that the Government felt a real satisfaction.

On May 7th, the Archbishop sent to the "Freeman's Journal" a long list of generous donations from individuals. Among these, as usual, the citizens of Dublin, ever foremost in charitable deeds, were most conspicuous. But what availed a few hundred pounds to meet the needs of an entire population?

Finally, as distress increased to an intolerable extremity about midsummer, the Archbishop resolved to unburden his own conscience by addressing an open letter to the Queen. He knew how idle it would be to have an episcopal deputation approach the Sovereign, even if the consent of the entire body of bishops were secured for a joint address,—and how little of the royal sentiments would be expressed in an answer from the Throne, when Ministers arrogated to themselves to dictate every public word and act of the Sovereign. At any rate, the Archbishop hoped that some fortunate agency would bring his letter beneath the eyes of Queen Victoria.

Few things have been written by John of Tuam which do so much honor to his heart and character, as this admirable letter:—

"ST. JARLATH'S, TUAM, Eve of the Feast of Pentecost, 1849.

"Neque Imperiale est libertatem dicendi denegare, neque Sacerdotale quod sentiat non dicere ('It is beneath the Imperial dignity to refuse any one the liberty of speaking out; it is unworthy of God's priest not to give utterance to his convictions').—*St. Ambrose to the Emperor Theodosius.*

"MADAM:—It may be a matter of surprise that, though we are now arrived at the fourth and severest year of a most destructive famine, neither by public document nor deputation from the suffering districts has your Majesty's

special attention been called to the perishing condition of a vast portion of the Irish people.

“ The long and strange omission of an appeal to the Sovereign in behalf of her dying subjects can only be accounted for on the ground that your Majesty’s power is not at all commensurate with the well-known benevolence of your feelings. It is only from a conviction of this truth that justice can be adequately done to your reign ; and it is only a similar conviction that could have hitherto vindicated what might appear the culpable silence of those who are bound, from their station and their duty, to convey to the ear of the Sovereign the unheard of sufferings of her faithful subjects.

“ It matters little how this truth of your Majesty’s limited power to do good may not be so easily reconciled with the boasted wealth and extent of your dominions. It will form a far brighter page in the annals of your reign, that your Majesty wished, nay, strove, with a portion of this wealth to save your people, than that, with resources far beyond those of any other empire, they were suffered to perish.

“ Even last week I have met some of them on the highways who were so suffered to starve, while other famished wretches are denied in death the decent rites of burial.

“ The sun is said never to set on your Majesty’s dominions. Yet, while its light is gladdening another hemisphere subjected to your sceptre, it goes down, in the immediate vicinity of your throne, on scenes of destitution and death as terrible and heart-rending as it has ever witnessed since it first rose upon mankind.

“ Your commerce penetrates every region, however remote ; and the produce of every clime is wafted in abundance to the favored shores of England. And yet, along the safer and more capacious harbors of the West of Ireland, the people are seen dying in numbers, destitute of the coarsest, nay, the most loathsome food that mortal ever ventured to snatch in the agonies of hunger. They endeavor, all in vain, to protract their lives by eating the poisonous vegetables of the field, or the no less poisonous sea-weeds along the shore.

“ These are not vague rumors, promiscuously poured on the public ear. . . . No ! I neither write nor speak from vague hearsay. I rush into no relations of a suspicious nature, often said to be ‘ exaggerated,’ because the writer, full of the sad incidents, may vent his feelings without stopping to calculate their probable effect.

“ The melancholy facts, with which, however, I shall not now fatigue the royal ear, were the result of my own observation during a triennial visit of duty among the poor of Connemara. The dismantled cabins of whole villages which one meets on approaching that sequestered country could not be more unsightly or desolate, had they been ravaged by an invading army. Not only have the vestiges of all human habitation been partially blotted out, but one looks about in vain for the herds of cattle once so numerous in the villages and along the mountain side.

“ To illustrate the ravages of famine and pestilence, and the cruel way in which the persons who should have professed assistance deserted the victims of their misrule, as well as to paint the heroic affection of our calumniated peasantry, here is a tale of filial piety, already descanted on by a benevolent Protestant clergyman of Ballinrobe, and which occurred a day or two before my return through the celebrated pass of Maine.

“ A young girl, anxious to procure for her aged mother, just dead of cholera, the rites of Christian burial, sought in vain for any one who might help her. But a few days before her bereavement the good young priest, who was wont to be ever at hand with his ministrations, fell a victim to his priestly charity towards his flock. . . . In the midst of the wilderness surrounding her cabin, the young girl, to whom her filial piety gave preternatural strength, carried the corpse of her parent for more than a mile, and buried it in a grave ; a day later she was herself laid by the side of her mother, a victim to the fearful malady, or rather to her own heroic daughterly love.

“ Other scenes which met our eyes in this peculiarly neglected portion of your Majesty’s dominions were sadly in

keeping with this occurrence. But, amidst all the privations of famine, the poor people flocked in crowds around us to partake of the comforts of religion. Such, however, was their utter exhaustion from the want of food, that several of those who thus received the consolations of religion expired on the following night.

“From the correspondence between the officials of the Treasury, on the one side, and those of the Poor-Laws on the other, as recorded in the public journals, it now is made manifest to the world that the instructions of the former regarding relief were so stringent,—inhuman, some would say,—that death from starvation became inevitable as a consequence of their enforcement.

“Yet, whilst I had before my eyes the effects of this ruthless decree, in the dying people whom I strove to reconcile to their lot, . . . one of your Majesty’s servants, the Prime Minister, is reported to have been assailing us in Parliament for having asserted what now, alas! is a fact of world-wide notoriety, attested by the desolation of one of the fairest of your provinces, that Ministers were utterly indifferent to the lives of your subjects.

“There are sins of omission, as well as of commission; and the former are those for which persons in high and public station are most frequently responsible.

“In an answer made by your Majesty’s Viceroy to the memorial address to him in October, 1847, praying the seasonable intervention of the Government to snatch, by timely aid, the people from famine, it was admitted that to save the lives of the people was the first and paramount duty of the Government. The strongest hopes were held out that this duty would be faithfully performed.

“Nay, the solemn assurances of seasonable relief then given by the Viceroy alone prevented several of the bishops from proceeding directly to London, and bespeaking your Majesty’s aid for your starving subjects.

“The history of the past two years may now bear witness to the manner in which this sacred duty of saving the lives of the people has been fulfilled. Seldom has there been a

more woful waste of human life than within this same disastrous period. If, then, it be the acknowledged duty of rulers to protect human life, and if it be an incontrovertible fact that your Ministers have neglected that duty, it must be an obvious inference that *they are indifferent to the lives of the people.*"

The Archbishop then comes to the most terrible count in this indictment of the infamous Russell Ministry, that, namely, the Landlord class, whom the Cabinet represented and whose fell policy it was carrying out, not only were quite indifferent to the death of the Irish millions swept away by famine, fever, and the cholera, but that they were strenuously endeavoring to uproot from the soil of Ireland the last remnant of the poor Irishman's right in its ownership.

Hear how John of Tuam puts the case to Queen Victoria.

"Your Ministers," he says, "parade the laws for providing for the poor, as a proof of the Government's solicitude to protect the lives of the people.

"But the amount of relief allowed, even if regularly applied, could not sustain life for any length of time. Again, so many impediments are thrown in the way of relief, that numbers perish ere they can obtain it. And, finally, those who, at vast sacrifices and by denying themselves the necessities of life, make some tillage, *are precluded from all relief unless they make a surrender of their land!*

"If Ministers wished to push the inroads of the famine into the next year, and so to render it permanent, they could not adopt a more efficacious enactment for that purpose than the law which withholds relief from the poor husbandman *until he resigns to some grasping proprietor the hopes of the ensuing harvest.*

"Surely, this meritorious class, who have made such efforts to save themselves and the country, are deserving of your Majesty's prompt interposition.

"The Ministers have been accosted in every form of petition and remonstrance; and never, during any period of the famine, were the people who retained and cultivated their land suffering so much from want of food.

“ If we have been tardy in appealing to your Majesty, it is owing to some constitutional forms which invest the Minister with the power of presenting or refusing, at his discretion, the prayers of the dying subjects to their Sovereign. Still, the pastors, zealous for their flocks, should try every constitutional avenue of approach to the throne, in order to save the remnant of your people.

“ Such has been the practice of the holy and intrepid pastors of the Church in every age. To confine myself to one example, I shall only instance the fact of St. Flavian pleading before Theodosius the cause of the people of Antioch. . . .

“ Would it not be an everlasting reproach that a pastor of the Catholic Church should not attempt, even though he should not succeed, in behalf of the doomed but innocent people of a province, what Flavian had achieved for the guilty people of Antioch? The people of Ireland have not insulted your Majesty; they have not broken your statues; they are guiltless of any crime. And yet they are enduring the most excruciating of all deaths, STARVATION, with a patience that transcends all belief.

“ The efforts of benevolent individuals in their behalf are beyond all praise. The instances of heroic charity shown by subscribers from England as well as from Ireland and, in short, from the continent of Europe as well as America, which have come within my own knowledge, are no less surprising than the silent and resigned endurance of the victims whom they are desirous of rescuing from death.

“ But private benevolence, how heroic soever, is not adequate to cope with the vastness of the calamity. The famine has still a space of three months to run its desolating career. It requires IMPERIAL AID, and aid on such a scale and administered in such a manner that, whilst it saves the lives of the people, it may enable them by profitable labor to draw out the unexplored riches of their fertile but neglected country.

“ To all our applications for such aid one unvaried answer has been given by your Majesty's servants, the inadequacy

of the means at their disposal and the reluctance of the legislature to increase their amount.

"Were an enemy to invade the shores of England, and to threaten the lives or the liberties of its inhabitants, all the available resources of the empire would instantly be placed at the disposal of the Minister to repel the hostile aggression. Let but the glory of the British arms suffer a temporary eclipse in far-distant India, millions are voted at the beck of the Minister, armies and navies are transported as if with a magic celerity, to repair the national disaster.

"Yet, now, when the lives of thousands of your faithful subjects in Ireland are sacrificed to an enemy that could be arrested by a far less expenditure, your Ministers tell the world that they have at their disposal no means to save your people's lives!

"This unfeeling indifference is a bad requital for the valor and fidelity with which Irishmen are pouring out their blood in defence of your Majesty's distant dominions, while their nearest relatives at home are perishing by starvation in the midst of plenty!

"It is not wise, it is not humane, to urge as their apology that Parliament is reluctant. . . . Such apologies are well calculated to produce the reluctance which Ministers anticipated, and which they would appear to court. The earnestness of a powerful minister has often persuaded a mutinous senate to grant money, when the object he had in view was far less laudable and less urgent than the saving to the sovereign the sinews and the hearts of a valuable portion of her empire.

"It would be a libel on the legislature to say, that they would refuse their sanction to any well-devised and efficient measures for saving Ireland from being a waste. But should they still persist in refusing to save the perishing remnant of your subjects, we implore your Majesty then to dismiss such unprofitable servants. Call to your councils 'able men, such as fear God, in whom there is truth, and hate avarice.'"¹

¹ MAC HALE MSS., and "Freeman's Journal."

The Queen had meanwhile resolved to pay a visit to Ireland, and her first appearance in the Green Isle after the desolation caused by a famine of four years duration set in violent motion all the currents of political ambition and intrigue in the capital. Both the Sovereign and the Prince Consort chose to make this visit as unostentatiously as possible. Still, from the first reliable announcement of their intention, it became, in clerical circles, a question as to how it was proper, under the circumstance, that the Catholic hierarchy should publicly testify their sentiments toward the august visitors.

Dr. Mac Hale, all through life, was unvaryingly, by religious principle and conscientious conviction, most loyally devoted to the British crown. The dependence, he believed and maintained, of the kingdom of Ireland on Great Britain was through the crown. The lawful legislature of Ireland, the Irish Parliament, which had existed during so many centuries, was, in his judgment, as in that of the best constitutional lawyers, the only legitimate power which intervened between the Irish people and their sovereign. The British monarch was the executive of the Irish nation; the Irish Lords and Commons was the national legislative power. This power had been unrighteously, unconstitutionally suppressed by the Act of Union.

But, strongly as such Irish patriots as Dr. Mac Hale protested against a British parliament in Westminster making laws for the Irish people, they freely acknowledged that allegiance was due by the nation to the crown and the sovereign. This allegiance, in the case of the Archbishop of Tuam, was coupled with the reverence which Catholic teaching enjoins as due to the lawful head of the State, receiving, in the temporal order, authority and power directly from God.

The Archbishop ever entertained toward Queen Victoria, as toward her immediate predecessors, sentiments of respect and attachment in conformity with Catholic doctrine and practice. Toward the responsible ministries who misgoverned Ireland under her, and who made the name of

royalty odious by usurping its powers, neglecting its duties, and misusing its prerogatives, the prelate demeaned himself in conformity with the accepted and universal custom of British subjects, discussing freely and criticising publicly the official acts of the Ministers.

That Lord John Russell and his Whig associates, who had been in power during the four disastrous years of the famine, had not fulfilled the most sacred of all duties incumbent on those who govern the State, *that of saving the lives of the people*; and that they were not, in the summer of 1849, discharging this primary obligation of the ruler, Dr. Mac Hale had asserted again and again, openly and in his letters addressed both to the Prime Minister and to the Viceroy.

In the open letter addressed to the Queen this charge was once more solemnly repeated. As all this produced no sensible effect on the mal-administration of affairs in Ireland, the archbishop deemed it his duty, should the body of bishops be called to the presence of the Queen, that, together with the expression of their unaltered loyalty, there should be an expression as well of their indignation at the unaltered neglect of the most vital obligations of sovereign authority.

Not so thought the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Murray, as the following correspondence between him and his brother-archbishop of Tuam but too painfully proves.

“DUBLIN, 20th July, 1849.

“MY LORD :—It is, I believe, the wish of some of our bishops, as it is also mine, to attend her Majesty’s levee on the occasion of her first visit to Ireland. Would it be your Grace’s wish to offer her, on that occasion, a simular mark of respect, either by yourself or any other bishop or bishops of your province? An early answer would oblige

“Your Grace’s humble servant,

“D. MURRAY.

“MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.”

“ DUBLIN, 21st July, 1849.

“ MY LORD :—Having heard that Dr. Slattery inquired of one of the Dublin clergy if there was an intention of proposing, on the part of our bishops, an address of loyalty to the Queen on the occasion of her visit to Ireland, I write to his Grace by this post, that I did not venture to propose such a step, lest there should not be unanimity ; but that, if it should be proposed by other influential prelates, it would have my hearty concurrence. I certainly would not like that her Majesty should quit our shores without receiving any expression of loyalty from our body, except from the clergy of Cork, Dublin, and perhaps Belfast.

“ The expression of your Grace’s wishes on this subject would oblige

Your Grace’s humble servant,

“ D. MURRAY.

“ MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.”

Before Dr. Murray wrote the above letters, the Archbishop of Tuam had drawn up a form of address, which we shall see further on, and which, if adopted by the united hierarchy, would convey to the Queen the proper expression of loyalty together with that of sorrow at the dreadful condition of the people and the refusal to Ireland of just and remedial legislation.

Of this form of address Dr. Cantwell writes his opinion on July 9 :—“ I read with much pleasure the form of address which your Grace so kindly sent me. They must be fastidious indeed who could object to any expression or sentiment contained in it. It will embarrass very much men of exclusive loyalty belonging to our body.” ¹

On July 10th Dr. Slattery writes on the same subject :—“ I received yours of the 7th a few days ago, but I was unable to write, and even now can only do so badly, having since I saw you at Maynooth lost my very best priest in this house by typhus fever.

“ I read over the draft of the address intended for the

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

Queen on her arrival here, regarding which I have only to say that, having very recently failed in my endeavors to get up one perhaps even more moderate, I have no expectation of being able to succeed on the present occasion, if an address there is to be at all.

“You apprehend that an advantage may be taken by a *few* to concoct an address in the *name of all*, that would embrace topics distasteful to several of the body. Now I have no such dread of anything being attempted. I am almost certain that the exposure made by me of such an attempt last year at Maynooth, as well as the subsequent defeat of the proceeding to cushion the general meeting last October, has taught them a lesson not yet forgotten, and that it will prevent anything of the kind.

“In my opinion no address was or is contemplated. If there was, I think I should have found it out at Maynooth, when we were there, and where I learned all about the intended visit. If there has been such a thing contemplated since, I shall be able to discover it, and help to blow it up, should it be of the kind you apprehend.

“Besides, it appears this visit of the Queen is not to be a state visit, but of a private nature, at which, the ‘Freeman’ of yesterday says, it is not the etiquette to present addresses; nay, more, that it has been studiously so arranged in order to prevent inconvenient matters being urged upon her Majesty.

“I think, then, that we should pause before *we* should be the persons to originate the question of an address. . . . The point for *us* to consider is whether we ought or ought not to give our presence at all at the levee, be it either in dress or undress, unless some benefit to our religion or our people is likely to result from our doing so.”¹

Again, on July 23, Dr. Slattery writes:—“I took care to communicate to the Archbishop of Dublin that I had a letter from you, and that I was convinced any milk-and-water or merely complimentary address the majority of bishops would not sign; and, such being the case, I thought

¹ *Ibid.* m.

it would be better to give up the address altogether, and let those who wished to attend the levee as a mark of personal respect to the Queen do so as might be convenient to them.”¹

The answer of the Archbishop of Tuam to Dr. Murray was still more decided as well as more explicit.

“PARTRY, BALLINROBE, July 24th, 1849.

“MY LORD:—I am in receipt of both of your Grace’s letters regarding the Queen’s intended visit to Ireland. There is not, I am sure, one of the bishops who would not be disposed to pay that homage of duty to her Majesty which our holy religion enjoins; though, I fear, on account of the misery of the country, we shall not have many to attend the forthcoming levee.

“As to an address, it may be a favorable opportunity for respectfully conveying to her Majesty a knowledge which has, probably, been withheld from her, of the terrible sufferings of her subjects, as well as of the cruel neglect with which they have been treated by her Ministers.

“As pastors of the people, we have serious duties to discharge toward the throne and toward our flocks; and, whilst we convey to her Majesty the assurance of our hearty allegiance, we must not, in duty to her and her subjects, neglect to inform her of the mischievous policy of her Ministers, which has so cruelly sacrificed the lives of so many of her loving people, and which is now threatening the purity of their faith by an undisguised attempt to force on us a system of education twice solemnly condemned by the highest authority in the Church.

“If there be unanimity in giving to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, there should be surely no lack of unanimity in vindicating for God what belongs to God.

“I have the honor to remain,

“Your Grace’s faithful servant,

“JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

“MOST REV. DR. MURRAY.”

¹ *Ibid.*

To a courtier prelate such as Dr. Murray unhappily was this "vindicating for God what belongs to God" in the presence of royalty and within the precincts of Dublin Castle, would be bringing in politics where there was no place for them. The very men who were steeped in politics could not bear that their brethren should rise, on such a solemn occasion, above the low and narrow spirit of courtly intrigue and interested servility which fitted the atmosphere they breathed.

Dr. Murray had resolved that he and the bishops of the minority would attend the royal levee and present an address to the Queen, whatever the Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel with the majority might choose to do on their side. So they resolved to do at once what they had to do. Would not the Sovereign and her court look upon Dr. Murray as the true representative of the Irish Church? Here is his reply to Dr Mac Hale.

"MOUNT JOY SQUARE, DUBLIN, July 25th, 1849.

"MY LORD:—As the time is too short for general deliberation, will your Grace think it right to affix your signature to the following address, or authorize any other person to do so?

"D. MURRAY."

We omit the address thus suddenly and peremptorily thrust upon the members of the hierarchy for their signature. The reply of the Archbishop of Tuam, which we are about to produce, caused his brother of Dublin to modify it somewhat. The reader will not fail to remark the abrupt and discourteous form of Dr. Murray's note. John of Tuam never forgot what he owed to himself and to others in his most hurried correspondence.

"TUAM, July 30, 1849.

"MY LORD:—From my reply to your two recent letters your Grace has, doubtless, anticipated that I could not affix my signature to any form of address deficient in the expression of those evangelical duties to our flocks, suffering

from famine and cruelty, on which Christian bishops should not be silent.

“Assurances of fealty and attachment to our Sovereign should form a leading portion of every such address. But in that forwarded I regret to find no allusion whatever to the sufferings of the people, or to the causes under the control of legislative enactments by which their sufferings are still aggravated.

“It is to be regretted that the subject was not entertained when we last met at Maynooth, when I suppose her Majesty's intended visit had been ascertained, and when there could have been time for deliberation. As your Grace appeared unwilling to propose an address, lest there should not be unanimity, the idea of an address will, I presume, be abandoned as the better course, if that unanimity cannot be secured.

“The Bishops are generally averse to the adopting any address in which the neglected sufferings of the people will not be prominently, but respectfully, put forward, with a view of having them mitigated through her Majesty's influence over the councils of her servants.

“Anxious to bring about this unanimity, in which attempt I may, no doubt, be unsuccessful, I have ventured to draw up a form of address, of which I enclose a copy, leaving out some of those topics to which I alluded in my late letter, in deference to your Grace's views, as well as those of some other prelates, introducing the unparalleled sufferings of the people, in accordance with sentiments and feelings of many of the body, and sufficiently, I trust, expressive of duty and attachment to her Majesty's throne and person to satisfy the allegiance felt towards her by all.

“The address has substantially obtained the approval of several of the bishops; and, in case any address were put forward, it would be fortunate if it were found, without any compromise of principle on the part of individuals, or the omission of any necessary topic, to express the sen-

timents of the Irish Catholic hierarchy on so important an occasion.

“ I have the honor to remain

“ Your Grace’s faithful servant,

“ JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.”

“ THE MOST REV. DR. MURRAY.”

Form of Address proposed by Dr. Mac Hale.

“ TO HER MAJESTY, VICTORIA, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, ETC.

“ The dutiful address of the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops in Ireland.

“ We, the Catholic archbishops and bishops in Ireland, beg leave to approach your Majesty for the purpose of tendering the profound homage of our dutiful fealty to your Majesty’s throne and person.

“ It is with heartfelt satisfaction we hail your Majesty’s auspicious arrival on our shores ; and we fondly trust that this your first visit will be but the precursor of many others of longer and still more beneficial duration amidst your Majesty’s most devoted subjects, the people of Ireland.

“ To us your Majesty’s visit is the more grateful, because it is but seldom, in latter times, that our long-neglected island has been trodden by the footsteps of Royalty. For we cannot divest ourselves of the conviction that our country would have been more prosperous, and its people more happy, had they been oftener favored with a visit from their Sovereign, whose presence would have gladdened them with the assurance of the interest felt by the royal breast in the condition of so important and valuable a portion of her dominions.

“ It is to us a source of affliction that the joy inspired by your Majesty’s coming among us is clouded by the thought that poverty and destitution unexampled in any other country of the civilized world, and aggravated by the continuance of four successive years of famine, have so prostrated the people of Ireland as to make them unable suitably to

indulge the gladness of their kindly disposition, or to invest the welcome of their generous hearts in the suitable outward expressions and enthusiastic manifestations with which they would not have failed, in less adverse circumstances, to greet the advent of a well-beloved Sovereign.

“The painful ordeal which your people have been traversing, and out of which the surviving remnant are yet struggling to come in safety, has in several parts of Ireland diminished your Majesty’s subjects by a fourth, and in some by a half, of their former numbers. And cruel evictions on the part of men not sufficiently restrained by the salutary provision of more humane legal enactments have terribly increased the evils of the famine, and doomed the victims to sufferings which, if sufficiently known to your Majesty, would have, doubtless, interested you in providing a remedy against their recurrence, by recommending the adoption of equitable legislative measures securing and protecting the rights and interests of all, proprietors and occupants, without respect of persons.

“Besides the laws which leave the industry and the very existence of the poor without protection, there are other recent enactments which oppress conscience and seriously affect our rights and duties as bishops, such as those regarding the appointment of Catholic clergymen to public institutions, and their dismissal therefrom; and, likewise, the recent legislative enactment relative to the sacred ordinance of marriage; all which are a source of immorality and disorder to the people, and of penal annoyance to the pastors.

“It is, however, most consoling that, amidst misery and privations unexampled, we are sure, as to several districts, in the annals of any other nation, our flocks have remained firm in the discharge of their obligations to the Throne, and unshaken in their dutiful attachment to the person of their Queen. However pressed by famine, or beset by the temptations which surround destitution, the people have remained faithful to the teaching of their pastors, inculcating on every Christian man ‘obedience to the higher power,

not from fear, but for conscience' sake, not serving to the eye, as if it were pleasing men; but as the servant of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, knowing that whatever good every one shall do, the same shall he receive from the Lord.'

"Bound to this safe anchorage, their fidelity has been and shall be proof against strange and dangerous opinions, by which others may be tossed to and fro; *nor does there appear any grounds for stripping such a people of their constitutional rights,*¹ or for distrusting the obedience of those to legitimate authority whose fidelity is founded on that paramount submission which they are taught to pay to the eternal ordinances of the Almighty.

"If in the case of your Majesty those uniform principles of obedience to the powers that be have undergone any change, it is that affection has been superadded to duty; and that the fealty challenged by the Sovereign has been transformed into filial attachment. . . . Queen Victoria has condescended to come, in the hour of their affliction, to console the desponding hearts of her children.

"That your Majesty's reign may be long and prosperous, and that in your future visits to Ireland you may, instead of the present comparative solitude, witness the realization of the words of the Wise Man: 'In the multitude of the people is the dignity of the monarch,' whilst you behold your person encircled with the devoted throngs whom your benevolent policy—swaying the future councils of your Ministers,—will, it is to be hoped, render prosperous and grateful, is the sincere and fervent wish of your Majesty's most dutiful and faithful servants."

Even had this address been signed by the entire hierarchy, there could have been little hope of its ever being accepted by the Queen's advisers or even by the Queen herself. Dr. Murray knew this, and wrote accordingly to the Archbishop of Tuam:—"Before I had the honor of re-

¹ The *Italics* here are our own. Surely, it was most seasonable to remind the Sovereign of these sublime teachings of the Catholic Church, and of the heroic virtues it produced among the people.

ceiving your Grace's letter I had altered our address to the accompanying form. It recalls to her Majesty's mind the sufferings of our poor, obliges her to give some expression of her feeling in their regard, and can give no offence.

"I read with great pleasure an admirable portion of the form drawn up by your Grace. But there are other portions of it which could do no good, and would be extremely likely to do harm.

"There will be other occasions enough for political dissensions and all kinds of complaints;—this is not one of them.

"The address which I enclose will be presented, and cannot now be altered. It at least can do no mischief; and it would gratify me beyond measure, were it to receive your Grace's signature. Let us be no longer a divided people!

"Anticipating a favorable answer, I remain,

"Your Grace's very humble servant,

"D. MURRAY.

"HIS GRACE, DR. MAC HALE.

"P. S.—The papers tell us that only four persons will be admitted to *present an address at the levee*; it would gratify me much if your Grace should be one of them. I believe that our address will be so presented, of which, however, I am not quite certain. But I understand that it will be received in the same manner as that of the Protestant bishops.

"Come! Your Grace's name on your card as presented by the Earl of Fingall (who has promised to present all the bishops) should be with her Majesty's Chamberlain on or before Friday."

We omit the "milk-and-water" address, as well as that to Prince Albert, even then so well known for his bitter anti-Catholic prejudices, and who never had moved hand or pen or tongue for the benefit of Ireland.

It is quite evident that Dr. Murray was "most anxious" to secure the presence at the levee of the uncompromising Archbishop of Tuam.

The following letter must have set the courtly prelate's mind at rest on that subject, while giving him some bitter thoughts for meditation during the Castle ceremonies.

“TUAM, August 1st, 1849.

“MY LORD:—If the address which your Grace enclosed is to be presented and cannot be altered, it only remains for those to affix their signatures to it who are satisfied to do so without being left any room for deliberation.

“The trifling alteration made can scarcely be called an improvement, since it leaves the original address still liable to the same objections of being entirely silent on the hideous cruelty inflicted, for want of legislative government protection, on our flocks, whom we see daily, through the operation of these very cruelties, perishing unpitied before our eyes.

“If to lay these crying grievances of our flocks before the Sovereign in a respectful manner, with a view to their redress, should appear to be ‘unseasonably introducing political disquisitions unsuited to the occasion,’ better far to abstain from any address than to leave the Queen under the impression that her starving subjects had no cause of complaint, and our flocks, that their sufferings were unheeded on the part of their bishops, from the anxiety felt by these to pay court to her Majesty's Ministers.

“Not a word in this form of address regarding the penal operation of the recent marriage act, or the invasion of our religious rights, and the usurpation of our episcopal office by functionaries of the Government, and some of them Catholics, too, who attempted to interfere with the bishop of the diocese in adjudicating the cases of the clergy regarding the fulfilment or the neglect of their spiritual duties.

“These are, surely, not ‘political disquisitions.’

“They affect our most sacred duties, as well as the dearest interests of our people. They might, however, not be palatable to those whose acts are aiming at the utter enslavement of the Catholic hierarchy.

"As for the address to his Royal Highness, Prince Albert, now sent for the first time, I trust that in its present form it will never be presented by any Catholic bishop. . . .

"Your Grace expresses a generous wish that we be no longer a divided people. To that wish I most fervently respond. But it is not by signing such addresses as the present that our divisions can be healed. They would, on the contrary, be likely to be more lasting and inveterate. They cannot be effectually removed without considering well the source from which they originated.

"In paying undue attention to the policy of an anti-Catholic Government, and too little to the sacred injunctions of the Apostolic See, these fatal divisions had their rise. And so long as any members of our hierarchy continue to bend themselves to the carrying out of Government views or legislative enactments, in direct opposition to the rights and duties of the great body of the bishops, so long will those divisions, to the great joy of our enemies, and the grief of our own flocks, flourish with full vigor.

"Lamentable, however, as would be that division, it would be a consolation that it could not last long, as all should feel the necessity of a more peaceful course. Enduring for a short time, it would be far preferable to that union sought by her Majesty's Ministers, founded on a surrender of all the rights and independence of the Catholic Church.

"Nothing is now wanting to unite us effectually in the bonds of peace and brotherhood but mutual and strenuous efforts to maintain the sacred authority, and carry out the instructions and injunctions of the Holy See. And, as far as your Grace is anxious for that desirable result, you shall have my cordial coöperation.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your Grace's very obedient servant,

"JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

"MOST REV. DR. MURRAY."

PART SECOND.

*FIRST PHASE OF DR. CULLEN'S INFLUENCE ON IRISH
AFFAIRS.*

CHAPTER VI.

1849-1850.

DR. CULLEN APPOINTED ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH—THE
CHIEF PART WHICH THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM HAD IN
THIS APPOINTMENT.

WHILE the events narrated in the last chapter were agitating public opinion in Ireland, the primatial see of Armagh had become vacant, and it was a matter of vital importance for the majority of the Irish prelates, on the one side, and for the British Government and the minority of bishops favorable to it, on the other, to secure for the vacant see of St. Patrick a man imbued with their own respective opinions and sentiments.

The late primate, the Most Rev. William Crolly, a man of eminent piety, like Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, had, unfortunately, fallen under the influence of the latter, and become wedded to all his political views and tendencies. The correspondence just placed before the reader will enable him to understand what was meant by the term "a Castle bishop," and what a baneful influence, in the opinion of the great majority of Irishmen, the prelates who deserved this appellation exercised over the dearest interests of the nation.

As we have seen, when, in 1839-1840, the question of the Government System of National Education was submitted by the Irish hierarchy to the solemn judgment of the Holy See, three of the four archbishops, with an overwhelming majority of their suffragans, sided with the Government and petitioned the Holy Father to approve and maintain the schools of which Dr. Murray was a strenuous supporter and advocate.

The lengths to which the majority proceeded on that occasion would seem to have opened the eyes of more than one of the prelates who composed it. For, when later both the Charitable Bequests Bill and the Government Scheme of University Education became laws, the Archbishop of Cashel and a number of other prelates declared openly against these new measures, and rallied around Dr. Mac Hale, thereby leaving the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin in a small minority.

The solemn condemnation by the Holy See of the Bequests Bill did not prevent the two primates from continuing to exercise till their death the office of commissioners on the Bequests Board. The repeated adverse judgment pronounced by Pius IX. on the Queen's Colleges never caused Dr. Murray and the other "Castle bishops" to vary one whit in their energetic support of what Sir James Graham had so well characterized as "a gigantic scheme of godless education."

This was the lamentable and scandalous division in the ranks of the Irish episcopacy and clergy, for which the Archbishop of Tuam and the prelates of the majority were not responsible before God or man.

This was the division which, on the death of Dr. Crolly, the Archbishop of Tuam set himself to work to remedy by having the see of Armagh filled by a man solely wedded to the vital interests of the Irish Catholic Church and people, and holding himself aloof from the corrupting currents of court influence, which had carried away and tainted some of Ireland's best and noblest prelates.

Of the three candidates elected by the clergy of Armagh to succeed Dr. Crolly, the two most conspicuous were Drs. O'Hanlon and Dixon, both professors in Maynooth College. The former was favored by the clergy of Armagh and the majority of the hierarchy; the latter was pressed upon the acceptance of the Propaganda and the Pope by all the united influence which Dr. Murray and the prelates of the minority, together with the British Government, could bring to bear, and this pressure was enormous.

Beset as Pius IX. and his counsellors were during the Pope's exile in Gaëta, it required consummate prudence not to allow anything like political motives to influence a choice so momentous to the Irish Church.

The See of Derry had lost its apostolic administrator, Dr. Maginn, early in 1849, leaving the aged bishop, whose reason had long been clouded, unable to fulfil any of his duties. It was no easy task to replace the young prelate thus cut off in his springtide. But far more difficult was it to fill the primatial see of St. Patrick under the troublous circumstances of the country.

The chapter thus opened is a most eventful one, and it will be well to allow the prelates who bore a conspicuous part in the struggle to speak here for themselves.

From the extracts already quoted from "Greville's Memoirs," in relation to the persistent interference of the British Government in every single nomination to a vacant See in Ireland, we might, without further reference to contemporary annals, conclude that, when death suddenly deprived the see of Derry of its apostolic administrator, Dr. Maginn, and a few months later carried off with still more startling suddenness the primate, Dr. Crolly, the Government, strenuously aided by Archbishop Murray, would leave no stone unturned in order to have men according to their own heart appointed to fill the vacancies.

From our old acquaintance, the Bishop of Clogher, so inflexibly true to the cause of religion and Ireland, we have most instructive letters on the events immediately following the death of these two prelates. The letters give a vivid picture of the state of men's minds in the North of Ireland, and contain eloquent lessons for the Irish clergy in all time to come.

"CLOGHER, Feburary 12th, 1849.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP :—While we had the great, good, and gifted Administrator-Bishop of Derry in this part of Ireland, we were able to give some efficient support to your views, and to coöperate usefully with your Grace

in defeating the schemes and intrigues of the active and powerful enemies of our religion and country. The loss which religion and Ireland have sustained is great beyond conception ; it is most deplorable. The Almighty, Who, in His inscrutable judgments, has taken Dr. Maginn from us, can alone give the assistance of which we now, more than ever, stand in need.

“Your Grace is, I believe, already aware of what occurred at the first interview of the Vicar Capitular of Derry with the Primate [Dr. Crolly]. His Grace started many difficulties in the way, as to his issuing the usual mandate for convening the clergy. ‘He had no official announcement that Dr. Maginn was apostolic administrator of Derry!’ . . . ‘He had no evidence that Dr. McLoughlin was incapable!’ . . . ‘And he must see the letter Dr. Maginn sent to Rome asking faculties as apostolic administrator!’ . . .

“After this interview the Vicar-Capitular wrote to me, and I, recollecting what had occurred on the former melancholy occurrence, recommended an immediate and direct application from the clergy of Derry to the Holy See. I wrote myself forthwith to Rome, and communicated with the Bishops of Meath and Ardagh, who, I believe, wrote also. The Vicar Capitular, I think, did not write. He had other interviews with the Primate ; and now, after a long interval, the clergy are convened for the 6th March, and the ‘Month’s Mind’ has been fixed for the following day.

“By a letter received yesterday I see that it is thought an attempt will be made to introduce a stranger into Derry, a parish priest of the diocese of Down and Connor, who, with his other qualifications for a mitre, is, it appears, an out-and-out admirer of Lord Clarendon’s government, etc.

“If, unhappily, the Bishops of Meath and Ardagh be absent from our approaching meeting in Derry, the consequences may be most disastrous. My health is at present not very good, but, with the blessing of God, I hope to be at my post.

“In writing to one or two of the bishops of your prov-

ince, I said that, although you had the largest portion of Ireland's calamities to bear, you had also the consolation of being unanimous in your provincial synod. I have been most painfully mortified to find that I was mistaken. I may some time show your Grace the burst of eloquent indignation that came to me in a letter from Londonderry, when the first symptom of weakness appeared in Galway.

"I have just published the Rescript with my instructions for Lent; and in the diocesan synod I may perhaps, by the Divine assistance, be able to do something more.

"I hope the health of the Bishop of Ardagh will permit him to be with us in Derry. A letter from your Grace might be useful. I hope soon to have the happiness of hearing again from your Grace, and remain ever

"Most faithfully and sincerely yours,

"C. MAC NALLY.

"HIS GRACE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."¹

The death of Dr. Crolly happened on April 9th, 1849, and this occasioned still further complications in the preliminary proceedings at Derry, besides giving a mighty impulse to the intrigues already going on in Dublin and Rome. Let us again hear Dr. Mac Nally.

"CLOGHER, May 3d, 1849.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—The notices issued and the delays which have occurred in reference to the expected meeting at Armagh, if they do not afford grounds for suspecting that something wrong is going forward, furnish at least abundant proof that there has been much bungling in the whole of the proceedings.

"I received some time ago notice that the 9th of this month had been fixed on for the 'Month's Mind,' and the day after for the meeting of the bishops and clergy. A few days after that notice, I received another from Letterkenny, setting forth that the Vicar Capitular had been directed to convene the parish priests for the 22d, that the nomination would be on the 15th, and the 'Month's Mind'

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

on the 23d. All this appeared to me strange and unintelligible, and it is only on this day that I have a letter from which it now seems settled that the meeting of both bishops and priests for the *nomination* is to be on the 22d, and the 'Month's Mind' on the day following.

"You have heard, I suppose, that our senior suffragan, immediately after the death of the Primate,—which was so awfully sudden and unexpected,—waited on the Archbishop of Dublin, under whose guidance he seems to be in all that has occurred since.

"All these things, joined to the inveterate divisions among the clergy of the diocese, as well as those unhappily existing in our own body, are calculated to fill us all with apprehension about an appointment the importance of which to religion and the country can scarcely be overrated.

"All sorts of rumors, not only through the newspapers, as you know, but through other channels, are circulated; and it is indeed painful to know that some have been seriously spoken of whose selection, so far from giving peace, union, and strength to our body, would increase and perpetuate the evils which we have to deplore.

"The Conservatives (Tories) here are alarmed to a most amusing extent lest the prelate so prominently qualified for being at the head of the bishops, and about whom, in a sound state of things, no second opinion could exist, should be placed in the primatial chair.

"In connection with this, a respectable Catholic layman told me at Armagh, on the day of the funeral, that some of the high Protestants who were there anxiously inquired of him, 'whether there was *any danger* of your Grace becoming primate.' But, without waiting, I believe, for an answer, they suddenly relieved themselves from their fears of your Grace's appointment by the profound conjecture *that the Pope himself might possibly become primate!*

"I wish some of the other rumors were merely amusing. Some of the clergy are, I hear, anxious for the translation of some bishop.¹ His Lordship of Meath would be an ex-

¹ Dr. Mac Nally himself was much spoken of.

cellent choice, if put in nomination, and if his consent could be obtained. He has, I believe, been much spoken of. But, in the state of things in Armagh, it is difficult to know what the priests will do.

"The manner of the appointment of the Vicar Capitular has caused great dissatisfaction among them. A very high and influential person, for whom I entertain great esteem, has written strongly to me in favor of the appointment of the Archbishop of Cashel. His Grace, I am sure, would never consent, nor do I think there would be the least chance of his success. Of the second order, Dr. Cullen, I think with your Grace, is the most desirable person that could be proposed. But we cannot guess how votes may go.

"With the greatest and sincerest esteem, I am, my dear Lord Archbishop,

"Most faithfully and affectionately yours,

"C. MAC NALLY.

"THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

Other voices from the buried past,—voices of prelates whose memory shall never cease to live in the hearts of Irishmen,—come forth from the MAC HALE CORRESPONDENCE, as if to bring back the struggle of 1849 in all its living reality.

Here is what Dr. O'Higgins, the Archbishop of Tuam's life-long friend and faithful fellow-soldier in every battle, writes after his return from Rome.

"BALLYMAHON, January 28, 1849.

"MY VERY DEAR LORD:—Many thanks for your Grace's New Year's gift, which reaches me this evening. Your short pastoral is in good time and in good taste. It will do much good.

"In coming from Dublin I spent some time with our true and tried friend, the good Bishop of Meath. We intended to make your Grace acquainted with our views respecting a provincial synod, but as we hope to collect the views of the Orthodox on the melancholy occasion of

recommending a successor for the great and good Dr. Maginn, we thought it well to let that event pass before taking steps to make the Primate do his duty.

"You shall hear from us from Derry, or before we go there, should anything of importance occur.

"Doctors Crolly, Denvir, McGettigan, Kennedy, and Browne of Kilmore, are in Dublin. No doubt they are taking hints from Lord Clarendon as to what they ought to do for the enforcement of the Pope's Rescript, and the protection of the faith in Ireland.

"Before leaving Dublin, I saw Miley and Cooper. They draw a hideous picture of the schismatical and unblushing obstinacy of a certain archbishop. The city is in a deplorable state! The body of the priests is sound; but, like the Romans, they allow the ruffians to have matters their own way. . . .

"The managing committee for the Tuam banquet in honor of your Grace have honored me with an invitation. But after consulting Dr. Cantwell, I have forwarded an apology. It contains a few *hints* about the enemies of the Rescript, and I think its publication, as well as that of Dr. Cantwell, might not be useless. This, of course, I say privately.

"The good people of this diocese seem to have lost a portion of their senses on my return among them. I would really feel their collective and individual compliments to be rather unpleasant, were they not so many evidences of their enthusiastic attachment to the faith.

"The enemy is active and unprincipled, and if we are not prompt and energetic, our triumph may be rendered useless.

"Wishing your Grace and friends a glorious day on Thursday, I remain, my dear Lord,

"Ever faithfully and affectionately yours,

"W. O'HIGGINS.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE."

"DUBLIN, COFFEY'S HOTEL, May 30, 1849.

"MY DEAR LORD :—I forward to your Grace a copy of our

letter to Rome in favor of O'Hanlon. We were obliged to be very circumspect on account of Dr. Blake's crotchets. But I think the arguments put forward in favor of our friend will weigh much with the authorities in Rome. However, I am joined by Drs. Cantwell and McNally in requesting in the most earnest manner that your Grace *and all the prelates of Connaught, or outside that province*, whom you can influence, will write on the subject to Rome without delay. On the decision of the Holy Father will depend the perpetuation or the extinction of those detestable principles regarding Catholic education, Catholic charities, and Irish liberty, that have already so much weakened our body, injured religion, and reduced our afflicted country to the extreme of misery.

"In plain truth, the Irish Church and the Irish nation are in the balance, and it is the obvious and imperative duty of every Irishman who loves the one or the other to put forth all his energies on the momentous crisis.

"Dixon's timidity amounts almost to pusillanimity. . . . Moreover, he does not conceal his decided approval of the Infidel Colleges, the Bequests Act, etc., so that, should he become primate, he would be the mere instrument and slave of the Castle party, and the scourge of Ireland in every respect. As to Kieran, he is of moderate abilities, and little or no information. He was supported by a corrupt section of the South priests, and on the subject of the Colleges, the Catholic Charities, etc., he is an incorrigible Castle-man.¹

"Several of the priests of all parties told us that, should he be appointed, they would never officiate in the diocese. The Notherners, with one or two exceptions, supported Dixon. They believed him to be of our principles, and those among them who were undeceived expressed their regret to Drs. Blake, O'Higgins, etc., that they had not voted for O'Hanlon.

"We met Dr. Slattery here yesterday. He is entirely for

¹ Both Drs. Dixon and Kieran afterward, under Dr. Cullen's patronage, filled the See of Armagh.

O'Hanlon ; but you must keep him to his fight. I am certain Dr. Keating will do as you may direct.

"In short, I think we shall be divided, as we were on the Colleges question ; and promptness, caution, and vigor are indispensable. . . .

"I start to-morrow for Ballymahon, to which place I expect the favor of a line.

"My dear Lord, ever, etc.,

"W. O'HIGGINS.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE."

"BALLYMAHON, July 10th, 1849.

"MY DEAR LORD :—Our excellent friend the Bishop of Meath has sent me by this morning's post a copy of your Grace's admirable petition to the Queen. It is drawn up to perfection, and will tell well with the public of the empire at large. I beg you will do me the favor of affixing my name to it.

"Meyler and Ennis are acting most infamously in Paris against Dr. O'Hanlon, your Grace, etc. They have had several interviews with the Nuncio, the vicars-general, the Archbishop, the chief writer in *l'Univers*, etc., and have uttered the grossest calumnies. . . . All this must make a dangerous impression unless speedily removed ; and I believe conscientiously that your Grace and Dr. Cantwell ought, without a moment's delay and in the most secret manner, proceed to Paris and put matters in their true light.

"If the Nuncio has written to Rome anything unfavorable, he would at once retract it. There is question of perpetuating our deplorable divisions, increasing heretical influence in our counsels, encouraging infidel education, and imminently endangering the faith. In such awful circumstances it would be worthy of your Grace's zeal and powerful abilities to frustrate the enemies of our country and creed.

"If you go, I shall pray for you to the hour of my death. I write a line to Dr. Cantwell on the same subject. There is not a moment to be lost. I shall be here until the morn-

ing of Thursday, on which day I start on the visitation to the counties of Leitrim, Sligo, and Cavan.

"My dear Lord, ever faithfully, etc.,

"Yours,

"W. O'HIGGINS.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

"P. S. Eight or ten days would be sufficient for the trip, and you could easily be in Dublin for the Queen's arrival."

To Dr. Cantwell the Bishop of Ardagh writes on the same day. It is touching to see how this stout-hearted prelate turns with absolute trust to the Archbishop of Tuam, as to the man who could alone save the Irish Church and cause at every crisis which arose. They had both just fought in Rome a hard battle to defeat the Queen's Colleges' scheme, the project of renewing diplomatic relations between Rome and England, of giving the Government a veto on ecclesiastical nominations in Ireland, and of pensioning the Irish clergy.

The appointing of an archbishop of Armagh once more renews the conflict between the patriot-bishops in Ireland and the supporters of all the Government policy.

"BALLYMAHON, July 10th, 1849.

"MY DEAR LORD :—Your note, together with the copy of the memorial to the Queen, has just come to hand. The document is perfect, and will tell well with the liberals of the empire at large.

"You will perceive by the enclosed, which I have received this morning, that all kinds of infamy are practised in Paris against Dr. O'Hanlon, and it is likely an unfavorable impression may be made on the Nuncio. This can never be effectually removed by letter-writing, and I must earnestly beseech his Grace of Tuam to proceed to Paris without a moment's delay, accompanied by the true-hearted Bishop of Meath.

"You know, my dear Lord, how much is at stake; and the effort would be worthy of your Lordship's general

character. If you go out, I shall pray for you to the hour of my death. . . .

"I was about suggesting that Mr. Gargan, accompanied by another trustworthy priest fluently speaking French, should be deputed. But your Lordship and "John of Tuam" would, alone, overturn the wicked councils of the enemies of the Irish Church and Irish freedom. I have written to the Nuncio; but, I repeat, in cases like the present mere letter-writing will do little or nothing. There is not one moment to be lost.

"My dear Lord, ever faithfully yours,

"W. O'HIGGINS.

"MOST REV. DR. CANTWELL."

* The Archbishop of Tuam, with Drs. Cantwell and Den-
vir, had been deputed by the last general meeting of
bishops to visit the Irish College in Paris. This, after some
inevitable delays, the prelates did during the month of
August.

Whatever success the Archbishop may have had in re-
moving the wrong impressions produced in Paris by Drs.
Ennis and Cooper, the contradictory statements about the
candidates for the primacy laid before the Propaganda
and the Pope made a selection very difficult, if not im-
possible.

The action of the Archbishop of Cashel was, naturally,
to have a great influence on the choice to be made by the
Holy See, if ever it became necessary to consult the arch-
bishops on the merits of the candidates proposed by the
clergy of Armagh and the provincial bishops. This was a
contingency to which Dr. Mac Hale looked forward from
the beginning, when he perceived how deeply and hope-
lessly both clergy and bishops were divided in the northern
province. He therefore wrote to Dr. Slattery about it,
as about a thing which he anticipated as exceedingly prob-
able, if not inevitable.

This is Dr. Slattery's characteristic answer:—

“THURLES, 7th June, 1849.

“MY DEAR LORD:—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 4th, and to say in reply that I am aware of the diversity of sentiments among the Ulster bishops respecting the persons recommended by the clergy of Armagh for the vacant See. I learned it from Dr. Cantwell, and regret very much the existence of such division on so important a subject.

“That a variety of influences will be brought to bear upon the matter, it is quite natural to suppose; and that the Holy See will be embarrassed by the conflicting sentiments of bishops and clergy is a thing upon which there can be scarcely a doubt entertained. But as far as I am personally concerned, my mind is completely made up on the course I mean to take,—having never in my life interfered either directly or indirectly in *extra-provincial* affairs regarding the episcopacy at home or abroad.

“I must decline doing so now, *unless I am called on by the authorities in Rome to give an opinion*. If they think proper to refer to me, I shall not hesitate to express my opinion plainly and honestly. But otherwise I will not intermeddle; and it strikes me, that amongst all the conflicting interests which will be brought into play, the expression of opinion in that way (if it be of any use at all) may carry more weight than if it were offered *proprio motu* by me.

“But while I determine upon that course for myself individually, I am far from saying or insinuating that others should act in the same way, or not take a different course, if they think it expedient or right to do so.

“Along with distress of every kind, we have been severely visited by cholera. I have lost a very near friend by it, and am just after getting an account that one of the priests near Cashel has fallen a victim to it.

“How afflicting the state of things at Rome must be to the Holy Father! I am after sending him £ 450, the united offerings of Cashel, Cloyne, Cork, and Killaloe. I trust the

Lord will soon restore him to the eternal city and direct him on the appointment to Armagh.

“ I remain, my dear Lord,

“ Yours faithfully,

“ M. SLATTERY.¹

“ MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.”

The Bishop of Meath was not less alive than Dr. O'Higgins to the perils of the situation and the necessity of prompt and energetic interference in Rome in order to defeat the cleverly laid schemes of the Government aided by Dr. Murray and his episcopal followers. Besides several letters written from Mullingar to the Archbishop of Tuam, the following will show how much the writer had at heart the triumph at Rome of the Catholic influence and principles represented by the majority.

“ MULLINGAR, June 6, 1849.

“ MY DEAR LORD :—On this day week I forwarded *the document*² fully signed and sealed by the four Orthodox. I addressed it under cover to Dr. Cullen. I, of course, sealed it; but I inclosed a copy for Dr. C. himself, with a request in the name of all that he would present it in person, and press its prayer on the Holy Father. I further supplied him with a long and useful commentary, which might be translated and put into the hands of other influential persons. . . .

“ It is now rumored and believed in the best informed quarters, that the political prelates, Mr. Dixon having intimated an insuperable unwillingness to become the primate, have thrown him aside, and are working conjointly with the Castle and aristocratic influences in favor of Mr. Kieran.

“ The last move communicated this morning is an address

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

² The *document* is the joint letter of the majority of the bishops of the Armagh province, placing the name of Dr. O'Hanlon first on the list, and strongly urging his nomination by the Propaganda. Three of the northern bishops favored Dr. Dixon.

to the Holy Father, signed by a large section of the Dixon and Kieran parties, praying that either of the two may be appointed. In that event, Dixon declining, Kieran would be successful. The memorial assails Dr. O'Hanlon *as the tool and echo of Dr. Mac Hale and his party* among the prelates, whose principles are dangerously unsuited and would be necessarily injurious to religion in the North of Ireland. They pray, should the statement of the address be doubted, reference by the Holy Father to the professors of the College (Maynooth). *There* they can safely calculate on being sustained. . . .

"Under these circumstances, I think, the more promptly and actively the orthodox prelates of Ireland take up the matter, so much the better. The enemies are all actively at work. Silence on a case of such vital importance to the dearest interests of religion and to the general welfare of the people might be construed into indifference about or content with any one of those recommended.

"The certainty of the efforts made by the enemies of religion would surely excuse and justify counteracting exertions on the part of the prelates, who can deal with this case not as a diocesan, but a national question.

"Your Grace will have no difficulty in devising a cautious, prudent, and effectual plan for defeating misrepresentations and protecting the interests of the Irish Church.

"If it were *certain* that reference to your Grace would be made, delay would be wise and proper. In the absence of this certainty, I recommend the maxim 'Delays are dangerous.'

"My dear Lord,

"Your Grace's affectionate and devoted servant,

"JOHN CANTWELL.

"THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

Later, on July 23d, Dr. Cantwell writes to the Archbishop:—"Dr. Cullen, an extract of whose letter appeared in the *Freeman*, received our *documents* and thinks the case

will be referred to the archbishops. If so, your Grace must work on Dr. Slattery."

Reference was, at length, made by the Holy See to the three archbishops, and Dr. Mac Hale was not slow in urging on the Archbishop of Cashel the necessity of their both returning an answer substantially identical. Dr. Murray was pledged to Dr. Dixon. So the other two archbishops, strong this time, as against Dr. Murray and the Castle, in the fact that they were the supporters in Ireland of the Papal Rescripts and the orthodox doctrine on education, were successful in their suit.

Dr. Cullen's own solemn testimony bears witness to the fact that he owed his appointment to the see of Armagh to the recommendation of the Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel. In his examination as a witness at the famous Callan Trials, he declared in open court and on oath that he "had been appointed to Armagh on the recommendation of archbishops of the Irish Church."

The leading part forced, in this conjuncture, by his brother-bishops on Dr. Mac Hale, his unwearied endeavors to have both clergy and people accept with reverence the repeated decrees of the Holy See, and the favorable impression left by his late visit to Rome, all tended to render his judgment acceptable to both the Pope and the Propaganda.

When at length the archbishops were asked by the Propaganda to enlighten the Holy See with regard to the respective merits of the candidates for the Primatial See, the following letter of the Archbishop of Tuam may be considered to have fixed the choice of the Cardinals and the Pope. We translate from the authentic copy of the original Latin letter.

"TUAM, September 29th, 1849.

"MOST EMINENT LORD:—I have just received the honored letter of your Eminence concerning the vacant See of Armagh. It is not surprising, when one considers the extreme importance of the matter, that so many letters should

have been written about it to our Most Holy Father. Although no less anxious about the result than those who have thus written, inasmuch as the affair is intimately connected with the safety of religion in the whole of this country, I should scarcely have presumed to write about it, had not your Eminence kindly asked me to give my opinion. Wherefore, in obedience to the invitation of my superior, I shall in all confidence say what I think, as well through my profound respect for your Eminence, as through zeal for the honor and salvation of the Irish Church and through reverence toward the Apostolic See.

“Were there simply question of the personal merits and qualities of the three clergymen recommended for the vacant See, without any regard to the other circumstances connected therewith, no one would deny that in talents and skilled experience in transacting business the Rev. John O’Hanlon, prefect of the senior students in Maynooth, is far superior to his two competitors. I am acquainted with all three of the reverend candidates.

“The Rev. Michael Kieran has had ample opportunity, and he has made good use of it, to inform himself of all that relates to the duties of a parish priest, a position which he now fills, and to discharge them worthily.

“The Rev. Joseph Dixon has all the gifts of industry and talent necessary toward faithfully teaching the younger students of Maynooth, and of these he has given evidence.

“The Rev. John O’Hanlon, endowed by nature with talents of the highest order, and with rare eloquence, has spent at least thirty years, although he is still in the flower of his age, in the College of Maynooth, both as a student and as a professor, till he was with unanimous applause appointed prefect of the Senior Department, on the elevation of his predecessor, the Rev. Charles Mac Nally, to the see of Clogher. And not only has Dr. O’Hanlon been always so distinguished for talent, but for what is more precious still, for piety, that several trustees of Maynooth, and among them the Archbishop of Dublin, were for bestowing on him the same prefectship several years previously,

namely, at the time when Dr. Mac Nally was appointed to it.

“These are simple historical facts beyond question or dispute, which, independently of the contentions of friends or enemies, prove evidently by themselves that the Rev. John O’Hanlon merits by his talents, his learning, and the varied maturity of all his gifts, as well as by the fruitful results of his labors in every position he has filled, to be preferred far above the two others on the list. •

“This is what, in the abstract, with regard to these three priests, my judgment and memory enables me to write. But if we examine and compare them in the relation in which they now stand recommended to the Holy See, namely, that one of them be selected to be the primate of all Ireland, and if we take into consideration the present times, the perils which threaten our holy faith, and the tendency manifested by so many, and even by churchmen, to try paths untrodden till now in the matter of faith and discipline in Ireland,—not only do I think that the Rev. John O’Hanlon should be preferred to the others, but that these two, if I may write what I think, are, the one entirely unworthy of the office, I mean Rev. Mr. Kieran, and the other, Rev. Mr. Dixon, entirely unequal to its requirements.

“My reasons for this judgment are the following:—

“Although both the one and the other might, in ordinary times, when faith was safe and discipline was secure against the insidious efforts of the men who sought to impair it, with the approbation of a certain portion of the clergy and the countenance of a few bishops, be placed at the head of a suffragan diocese, having thereby the advice and authority of the other bishops to keep them on the right track, they would, nevertheless, be quite unfit to face the higher and more weighty duties of the primatial office.

“... Our bishops at present are surrounded on every side by artful and designing wickedness, and tempted by all manner of seduction, impelling them to leave their flocks to their fate, and to allow wolves clad in sheep’s clothing to educate, or rather to destroy, Catholic youth. Should

they not manifest a disposition to yield to such corruption, they must prepare to meet with harsh treatment.

“As to the tendency of the times we are passing through, we can judge of it by the efforts made to encourage the success of the colleges already twice condemned by the Sacred Congregation and even by our Most Holy Father, as well as by the bold conduct of our enemies and by the general silence of the bishops, with a few exceptions, in face of so many fearful temptations openly held out to the Catholic youth.

“They who thus hold their peace, cry out aloud; and while these guardians of the flock remain silent, who should cry out aloud to re-echo the voice of the Supreme Pastor, the Ministers of her Majesty do not blush to make this silence turn to their own advantage, by pushing forward the College Scheme.

“Again, when quite lately Queen Victoria visited Ireland, all of our body, archbishops and bishops, were unanimous in our desire to offer to her Majesty an expression of our respect and loyalty. But our address could not be made acceptable to the prelates who are in favor of the Government and the Colleges, if it contained a single word asking for relief for our starving poor, or remonstrating against the invasion of our episcopal rights or the snares laid for our Catholic youth.

“So we had, per force, to be silent until we had an opportunity to explain our silence, rather than betray the interests of the poor and of our holy religion by a mere adulating address.

“All these things clearly prove the dangers which threaten the Catholic faith, and the necessity of defending, fostering, and increasing the authority of the Apostolic See.

“For the discharge of all these important duties the Rev. John O’Hanlon is fitted by character, and so skilled in the knowledge of ecclesiastical history and canonical discipline, that he is a man equal to all the exigencies of the trying times we are in.

“Therefore it is that I deem the Rev. Mr. O’Hanlon not

only a person to be preferred to the others, but I judge these to be in every way unequal to the requirements of so exalted an office.

“As to the objections made to him, or which may yet be made, I am completely ignorant. I am convinced, however, that only calumnious assertions can be brought against him, and, I say it with deep sorrow, these are weapons which churchmen do sometimes not blush to make use of.

“There is a rumor that the supporters of both Mr. Dixon and Mr. Kieran have entered into a friendly compact, by which they bind themselves to be satisfied with the appointment of either of these two gentlemen. If this be so, such an unworthy compact only furnishes a new argument in favor of Mr. O’Hanlon. It would go to show that this iniquitous agreement never originated spontaneously with themselves, but that it is the suggestion of the enemies of religion, one familiar to these adversaries whenever they want to ruin the cause of justice and truth.

“The decision to be arrived at involves the most vital interests. In order to come to it the Sovereign Pontiff should be left the untrammelled use of his freedom and authority. We on our side, whatever our position, are only appointed by the Apostolic See to contribute to throw light on such counsels.

“Wherefore, inasmuch as I only find one of the three candidates designated whom I judge to be worthy, I should most earnestly recommend, in case the Rev. Mr. O’Hanlon is not chosen, the Very Rev. Paul Cullen, president of the Irish College in Rome, a man not only admirably qualified for such a dignity, as is well known to your Eminence and to the Fathers of the Sacred Congregation, but who would be most acceptable to the entire body of bishops and to the Irish clergy.

“Under him or Dr. O’Hanlon there would be all security for the Catholic faith and the authority of the Holy See.

“I pray God long to preserve your Eminence, etc.,

“JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

“TO HIS EMINENCE, THE CARDINAL FRANSONI.”

This letter, the suggestions of which were sustained by the prelates of the majority, who shared the views and sentiments of the Archbishop of Tuam, at once fixed the judgment of the Holy See. But an unforeseen obstacle arose from the unwillingness of Dr. Cullen to accept the heavy burden sought to be laid upon him.

We have, on this point, the written testimony of one who had lived long in Dr. Cullen's intimacy, who enjoyed to the end his unbounded confidence, and still lives to bear witness to the vicissitudes of the battle fought in Rome for the dearest interests of the Catholic faith and the national rights of Ireland: that is, the venerable Dr. Kirby, at present rector of the Irish College in Rome and titular archbishop of Ephesus.

Dr. Kirby was vice-rector of the College under Dr. Cullen, when the Congregation of Propaganda and Pius IX. came to their final decision regarding the primacy. It was, naturally, to the Archbishop of Tuam that Dr. Kirby turned, before anybody else, to announce the nomination of Dr. Cullen.

“ROME, Feast of St. John the Evangelist (Dec. 27), 1849.

“MY DEAREST LORD :—I have *this moment* read the letter of Cardinal Frasoni announcing the final decision of His Holiness regarding the see of Armagh, viz., that he has appointed as archbishop of that see and primate of all Ireland our dear, our admirable Dr. Cullen. The news has come upon him like a clap of thunder. He repeatedly refused, within the last two months, and sustained his refusal by what appeared to him the most cogent reasons.

“Within the last ten days he was beginning to have hopes of escaping. But this morning's post has overwhelmed him with confusion. . . .

“The Cardinal (Prefect) says that he hopes himself to consecrate him by the middle of January.

“Be pleased to give my kindest regards to Father Thomas, and believe me, my dearest Lord,

"Most truly your devoted and humble servant,

"T. KIRBY.¹

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE."

The Letter to Cardinal Fransoni from the Archbishop of Tuam is dated September 29th. It must have reached Rome, at the latest, about the 8th of October, and Gaëta about the 10th. If the prefect of Propaganda had given Dr. Cullen an opportunity to "refuse repeatedly within the two last months" preceding the 27th of December, the Sacred Congregation must have at once adopted Dr. Mac Hale's suggestion, set aside the three candidates proposed by the clergy and the provincial bishops, and chosen Dr. Cullen as one not only unobjectionable, but in every way qualified for the primatial office.

The following letter will, therefore, be read with no little interest and curiosity:—

"IRISH COLLEGE, ROME, 24th Nov., 1849.

"MY LORD:—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's letter of the 12th instant, and to thank you for the interesting particulars which you gave of the last meeting of the prelates. I have not secured anything from Dr. Cantwell; so we had not any account of matters until yours had arrived.

"It was an excellent thing to fix upon the holding of a national council. It cannot but produce good effects. But it will be necessary to have all the matters to be treated of made the subject of previous study, and all the decrees well prepared. The Pope and the Propaganda will be very glad to hear that you have adopted so wise a resolution.

"There is nothing done as yet about the primacy. The Cardinals appear to be in what the Americans call 'a fix' between Dr. O'Hanlon and Dr. Dixon. . . . Probably the election will not take place until the Cardinals have returned to Rome. . . .

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

"With profoundest respect and veneration, I have the honor to be your Grace's humble devoted servant,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE."

Were any further documentary proof needed to show that Dr. Cullen owed his elevation to the See of Armagh chiefly to the recommendation of the Archbishop of Tuam, the following letter will go far to dispel all doubts on that point.

"IRISH COLLEGE, ROME, 27th December, 1849.

"MY LORD:—I have this moment received a letter from Cardinal Frasoni in which he informs me that His Holiness has been pleased to nominate me archbishop of Armagh. This intelligence is most afflicting to me, as I know my unfitness for so arduous an office. I tremble at the difficulties with which I shall have to contend.

"I fear your Grace will have a great deal to answer for having put forward my unworthy name. I hope you will now kindly assist me, in the difficult position in which I shall be placed, by your prayers and your advice.

"By my promotion this College will remain without a rector. I beg your Grace will consent to the appointment of Dr. Kirby. I need not enumerate his merits to your Grace. You know how worthy he is of every protection. I wrote to Dr. Slattery, and I write to Dr. Murray on this same subject. If Dr. Kirby were not appointed to succeed me, I would not leave this.

"There has been no congregation¹ as yet; but it is expected there will be one in January, when the statutes will be examined. Nothing, however, is known about [the time fixed for] the Pope's return.

"I beg your Grace will write a line and suggest anything I should do before I leave Rome. I cannot be out of this before February.

¹ That is, the Cardinals composing the Congregation of Propaganda had not met for business at the usual time on account of the Pope's prolonged absence.

"Believe me to be, my Lord, with profoundest respect and veneration, your Grace's humble, devoted servant,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE, etc."

From Dr. Mac Nally, Bishop of Clogher, another of the "Ever True," we have in the following letter a 'orous echo of the intelligence from Rome:—

"CLOGHER, 15th January, 1850.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—After my return from Carrickmacross, where I spent the Christmas and some time longer, I had the happiness of receiving your Grace's letter. But having then reason to be in daily expectation of a letter from Rome, I delayed writing to you, in order to be able to communicate something regarding the primacy.

"That the Holy Father had turned his thoughts to Dr. Cullen had been known for some time back. But it was also known to us that Dr. Cullen had been using every means to prevent his appointment. His efforts, thanks be to God, were unsuccessful, and I have had this day a letter from his Grace announcing the gratifying intelligence that he is now archbishop elect of Armagh, and primate of all Ireland.

"The official document from the Propaganda reached him on the last day of the year, and his letter to me is dated the 4th of this month.

"Cardinal Franson, who was still at Naples and not expected in Rome for a fortnight from the date of my letter, is, according to his expressed wish, to consecrate our new primate.

"His Grace does not expect to leave Rome until the middle of February, and I suppose we may look forward to the happiness of having him among us about the end of the next month.

"Since our last meeting in Dublin I have, I confess, been pressed down with feelings of deep despondency. But this glorious appointment has filled me with hope and joy and

confidence. We all owe much to the Holy Father for his great kindness toward Ireland, and for his fortitude in resisting the powerful enemies of our religion and country. This appointment far surpasses anything hitherto done for us. From it we may anticipate every good and the prevention of incalculable evils.

"The affair of Armagh, on various accounts, was of the most perplexing nature; but the Divine Goodness has directed all for the best. . . .

"As to the synod, this appointment makes it unnecessary for me to say anything about it at present.

"I send you a copy of the letter I received from the Pope. There are a few mistakes in the lithograph. I am obliged to close this in haste, by wishing your Grace many, many happy New Years.

"Most faithfully and affectionately,

"C. McNALLY.

"HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

CHAPTER VII.

THE NATIONAL SYNOD OF THURLES.

1850.

FROM the various letters quoted in the last chapter, it will be seen that, after the return from Rome of Drs. Mac Hale and O'Higgins, one of the things which they and their brother-bishops of the majority at once set their hearts on bringing about was the convening of a national or plenary council, to be celebrated with all the canonical formalities and solemnity which the Church enjoins. This assembly they considered to be of the utmost efficacy toward restoring union and harmony among the members of the Irish hierarchy, and arriving at a uniform rule of action with regard to the vexed public questions, which seemed to divide hopelessly the prelates among themselves.

The death of the primate, Dr. Crolly, and the appointment of Dr. Cullen as his successor, appeared to facilitate in a providential manner the fulfilment in this respect of the dearest, holiest wishes of the Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel and of those of their brethren who shared their views on education and on the peculiar course of politico-ecclesiastical policy required by the trying circumstances of the time.

On this, one of the cherished dreams of his life, there was between Dr. Mac Hale and the new primate perfect unity of thought. Before his consecration the latter was full of the importance of this great national assemblage, by which he was to inaugurate his career in Ireland. The following letter, written by him to the Archbishop of Tuam, shows how the two prelates were preparing to work together in

healing all the wounds inflicted by centuries of persecution, misrule, and perfidious policy on the Church of St. Patrick.

“ROME, Jan. 29th, 1850.

“MY LORD:—I had the honor of receiving your Grace's kind letter a few days ago, and I hasten to write a line in reply. As I have a great deal of business on my hands, I shall for the present merely say that I am much obliged to your Grace for your good wishes and your prayers.

“The Pope and Cardinals are still absent from Rome, with the exception of a few of their Eminences; so the business of the Propaganda cannot go on as yet.

“The Cardinal (Fransoni) wishes that I should wait until he returns, and he says he will consecrate me on the second Sunday in Lent. I shall then set out without delay for Ireland.

“It will be well to be there in time to prepare something for the synod. The points your Grace indicates must necessarily form the subject of most important discussions. I hope with the help and grace of God we shall succeed in putting down godless education and in establishing a good Catholic University. It is necessary, however, to proceed in the meantime with caution, and to endeavor to win over those who are in favor of the (Queen's) Colleges.

“In the synod I think we should also treat of many other important matters, and lay the foundation of a good and general system of Canon Law for the Irish Church. But we shall talk over this matter when I reach Ireland. In the meantime I have determined to present a memorial to the Propaganda, begging the Cardinals to point out the ceremonial to be adopted in the council, the mode of convocation, the persons to be convoked, and anything else they may suggest. As no national councils have been held for many years, it will be well to have something previously regulated about what ought to be done, lest there should be any disagreement among ourselves, or lest we should do anything contrary to form or law. I do not know whether I shall receive any answer to my application.

But in case they do answer, I shall send copies to your Grace and the other archbishops.

"I have heard that some people in Ireland are making a great noise about two little pamphlets which were published against the Colleges. I think it would be a good thing to put an end to all talk about them by publishing them. There can be a considerable number of notes added, illustrating what has been said. I have the materials, and I shall put them in order before I reach Ireland. The publication of the documents in question will not, I trust, do the (Godless) Colleges any good; and the world will have an opportunity of judging whether they are so devoid of argument as the friends of the Colleges would have us believe.

"I received a letter from Dr. Murray, in which he fully consents to Dr. Kirby's appointment, so that all is right. Godless education will not have a friend in him in Rome.

"If your Grace is so kind as to write a line when this reaches you, I shall receive it in time before I leave. I hope no further delay will now take place.

"Believe me to be with profoundest respect.

"Your Grace's devoted, obedient servant,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE."

Inevitable delay's did, however, occur. Grave political considerations prevented the Pope, week after week, from returning to Rome, and the vast machinery of the government of the universal Church, much disturbed by the absence of Pope and Cardinals at Gaëta, could not work efficiently or rapidly till their return. So the new primate had to wait in Rome, while the Irish archbishops and bishops were busy at home preparing for the national council, and battling with the many difficulties which the famine, and the "Great Clearances" consequent upon its desolating march, were creating in every district of the stricken island.

"I am sorry to inform your Grace," Dr. Cullen writes

from the Irish College on March 24th, "that I am still in Rome. I went last week to Portici to see His Holiness, who is quite well, and is preparing to return. He expects to be here on the 10th of April. I spoke to His Holiness about the Colleges. He is afflicted at the success which they have hitherto had, and at the dissensions they have created. He wishes above all things that we should all exert ourselves at the synod to establish peace and exclude every subject of contention from the Irish Church.

"The Cardinal (Prefect) has promised to write to the bishops of the different places where the (Queen's) Colleges are situated, advising them not to allow priests to have anything to do with these Colleges. He will also communicate this determination to the archbishops.

"Regarding the laity, he said that it would be better for the bishops at the synod to make some regulation by common accord. They think at the Propaganda that it is hard for Rome to decide everything.

"I regret that I have been so much delayed here. Your Grace knows how difficult it is to get things done rapidly. I am waiting for instructions regarding the synod. A national council is of such rare occurrence, that it is difficult to get anything in Canon Law about such an assembly. There are many things to be examined. . . . I have asked for information on all these points; and in a few days I expect to get an answer. In the mean time I think it will be well to draw up the heads of the questions which we should treat of. We must enter most accurately into all questions concerning education, and all other such matters that affect the faith of the people and the liberty of the Church. It will also be necessary, I suppose, to treat of the condition of the poor. But we cannot avoid, I dare say, making some regulations for the clergy, secular and regular, and commencing to remove any abuses that may have sprung up in the times of persecution. But your Grace will know much better than I can suggest what ought to be treated of.

"The great point will be to have everything prepared beforehand, in order that our decrees may be more full

and more accurate. I trust we shall have a great majority, if not unanimity, on all questions regarding the rights of the Church and the preservation of the faith. . . .

"I forgot to mention that Cardinal Fransoni has just arrived. His return to Rome will facilitate the despatch of business at the Propaganda ; so, please God, I shall be able to leave Rome in a few days.

"Excuse haste ; and believe me to be, my Lord, with sincerest esteem,

"Your Grace's devoted, humble servant,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.

"P. S.—I forgot to say a word about the University. I shall do everything possible to promote the project. I fear, however, that the Committee now acting will do no good. Mr. Battersby and Father Spratt are not well fitted to commence the work. Perhaps it may be discredited, unless some of the first men in Ireland, lay and clerical, be induced to give their names to the Committee. It would be better to delay a few weeks, in order to get a regular committee appointed. I wrote to Rev. Mr. Cooper and begged of him to explain how matters stand. Above all things, we are to endeavor to avoid dissensions on the question ; otherwise we cannot succeed. P. C. " ¹

The national synod was, indeed, a subject which well deserved the utmost attention the prelates could bestow on it. The letters addressed by the new primate to the Archbishop of Tuam, after the former's arrival in Ireland, clearly prove how much they were at one on all the deeply important matters to be treated in that now memorable assemblage, and in their hopes of mighty and abiding results for religion.

"ST. VINCENT'S, CASTLEKNOCK, 5th May, 1850.

"MY DEAR LORD :—I have at length got over to Ireland after a tedious journey. . . .

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

“Since I arrived here, I called on Dr. Murray to inquire about the time of holding our conference to make the preliminary arrangements for the synod. He says that he will be always prepared, and that at any time that we fix on he will be ready to meet us. It would be well, therefore, that we should begin to do something. At any time that it will be convenient to your Grace, I can meet you in Dublin. . . .

“In my last letter I suggested Carlow as the place for holding the synod. However, I have no particular desire for any place. . . . The advantages in favor of Carlow are the church, and its not being a Government establishment. Maynooth has other advantages ; so we must choose whichever place will appear to suit us best.

“It will be well to make a list of all the questions to be treated of. The education question must occupy the first place. I suppose we must examine the state of the poor and the poor-houses, the attempts at proselytism, etc. God grant that we may succeed in establishing union in our body.

“If we were united, we could obtain everything from the Government ; but so long as we are divided, we can effect no good.

“When the time for the synod is fixed, it will be well that we have public prayers for its success.

“Excuse this hurried note, and believe me to be, with profoundest respect,

“Your Grace’s devoted servant,

“PAUL CULLEN.

“MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.”

For holding the synod, Thurles, in compliment to Dr. Slattery, was selected, as may be seen by the following letters from Rev. Dr. Leahy, then president of Thurles College, and afterwards archbishop of Cashel.

“THE COLLEGE, THURLES, 23d May, 1850.

“MY LORD :—My reliance on your own considerate indulgence and my knowledge of your sincere regard for the

Archbishop of Cashel encourage me to take a liberty, and that no small one, with you and with him. I do so with the less hesitation, because I venture to think that, so far from overstepping the limits of propriety, I but do a thing not unacceptable to either of you.

“Without further preface, may I suggest to your Grace that you will confer a particular favor on Dr. Slattery, greatly gratify his feelings, and consult for his personal convenience, perhaps for the preservation of his health, by employing your influence to have Thurles named as the place for holding the national synod?

“I can freely convey to you what delicacy of feeling would in all likelihood prevent his expressing. . . . He could easily give his presence at the synod if held here; whilst most probably it would very much distress him to attend it elsewhere. . . . And I may be permitted to observe that, if in the choice of a place for holding the synod the personal convenience of any of the bishops were to be consulted, few or none would be found to say the compliment is undeserved by one who, as your Grace is aware, has rendered such service to the Church of Ireland throughout the protracted controversies arising out of the education question.

“Praying your Grace to excuse the great liberty I have taken, I have the honor to be, my Lord, with the most profound respect,

“Your Grace’s most obedient, humble servant,

“PATRICK LEAHY.

“HIS GRACE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.”

Both the new primate and Dr. Mac Hale promptly and gratefully acquiesced in a wish which was, at the same time, that of the venerable invalid himself.

So it was resolved that the most solemn ecclesiastical assemblage ever held in Ireland, or at least held there for centuries, should be convened in Thurles. It was to Dr. Slattery both a national compliment and a national reward.

After several delays required by Dr. Cullen’s health,

tried as it was by the climate of Ireland, the synod was opened on Thursday, August the 22d, 1850.

It was an event which excited extraordinary interest throughout the length and breadth of the land. To the popular masses this meeting of their prelates and dignified clergy in solemn national council meant the triumph of the national religion, after more than three centuries of persecution. It meant also,—and the popular heart felt it,—the triumph of those among their archbishops and bishops who were the champions of the national cause, the constant advocates of rightful liberty and political justice.

Thurles, too, though shorn, like most of the ancient towns of Ireland, of its former splendor, was associated in the worship of Irish patriotism with “Cashel of the Kings,”—the once proud residence of Irish royalty. There was, therefore, on the day appointed for the opening of the synod, a prodigious concourse in Thurles. The archbishops and bishops, with their theologians and the other dignitaries who had a right to sit in the council, found hospitality in the beautiful and spacious college edifice over which the Very Rev. Mr. Leahy presided. But there were hundreds of priests besides, hundreds, as well, of distinguished laymen from every part of Ireland, for whom it was impossible to find accommodation in the town. The surrounding populations had flocked in from all sides and were counted by thousands.

“As early as eight o’clock, in the morning of the 22d,” writes the correspondent of a London secular newspaper,¹ “groups of gravely attired clergymen might be seen making their way from the college, from which building the procession was to issue at ten o’clock, the time appointed. This building presents a grand and imposing aspect externally, its splendid range of front being of cut stone, while, interiorly, its spacious and lofty halls, its beautiful chambers and long corridors, as well as its broad staircases of stone, impart to it a truly collegiate character.

“The interior was eminently imposing: its halls, landing-

¹ The “Illustrated News,”

places, and staircases were crowded with groups of priests in soutane and surplice, some of whom (the parish-priests of the diocese of Cashel) also wore the stole. Now and then there appeared a bishop, dressed in his robes and with his attendants, or a superior of one of the religious orders, wearing the distinctive habit of his order, partly concealed beneath a rich cope. These, and the officiating priests of the solemn ceremonial of the day, imparted an animation and picturesque beauty to the scene which could not fail to impress one who beheld it for the first time.

“As some great man approached, his name was circulated by a whisper from group to group, frequently with admiration, but occasionally with enthusiasm.

“We must not omit to mention that Charles Bianconi had lent some exquisite paintings from his collection, one of the best in the country, to decorate the hall of the College and walls of the Cathedral. Two were suspended in the outside hall, and represented the death of St. Francis of Assisi and the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin.

“Exactly at ten the prelates, dignitaries, and officiating clergy assembled in the College Chapel, where the *Veni Creator* was chanted, and the procession filed through the long corridors, descended the great staircase, passed through the hall and along the broad path leading from the door of the College to the grand entrance of the Cathedral, some 500 yards distant.

“The bell from the Cathedral tower tolled solemnly, and the Litany was chanted in true Gregorian cadence, while the procession passed along in splendid array, until it was lost sight of under the arched portal of the Cathedral.”

But no pen can describe the multitudes of worshippers who filled the Cathedral and overflowed into the adjoining streets, or convey any notion of the sentiments of thanksgiving and exultation which welled up in these long-tried Irish hearts amid their country's desolation and the mourning which filled their own homes.

To men who had just passed through worse than the bitterness of death, and who seemed to have no firm hold

of a foot of their own native soil, there was something in the spectacle of the decorated temple, with its shining array of prelates, its thrilling strains of sacred music, the solemn sacrifice of Catholic worship, with its incense and its soul-moving belief,—which made the lowliest, poorest adorer there think himself to be at the gates of heaven and within the shadow of the peace eternal.

So these multitudes of worshippers, inside and outside the Cathedral, forgot for some blissful hours the bitterness of the past and the forewarnings of the coming trials, more bitter still, if possible, and more protracted.

The Archbishop of Tuam was selected to preach at the second public session of the Council, held on Thursday, the 29th of September. He chose for his subject “the Church, Christ’s Kingdom upon earth,” dwelling principally upon the divine authority of the Papacy and the benefits conferred on mankind by this immortal institution.

It was a timely subject. No delegate of the Holy See had appeared in Ireland since Rinuccini had presided, upwards of 200 years before, at the great meeting of confederated Catholics in Kilkenny. Then the struggle was to maintain the religious rights and liberties of the Irish nation under its lawful sovereign, as against the rebellious British Parliament and the persecuting Protestant ascendancy. At Thurles there was no question of political sovereignty or divided allegiance. The Irish Church had solemnly met, under the direction of the Delegate of the Holy See, who was at the same time the successor of St. Patrick. The immediate object of their thus meeting was to reaffirm the divine right of the Church to superintend and direct the public education of Christian youth, and to affirm as well the supreme authority of the Holy See in deciding all questions pertaining to doctrine and morals in the matter of education.

Both the authority of the local pastors and that of the Supreme Pontiff had been set aside by the Government in their educational schemes; and the usurpation had been practically acquiesced in by a portion of the Irish episco-

pacy and priesthood. The decrees of the Council were only to be a solemn and emphatic vindication of a right which was in itself essential and inalienable.

Moreover, the legitimate pastors had been ejected from their churches, their residences, their property, and subjected to what was still, after more than three centuries, a state of practical outlawry. Persecution, and all the evils produced for ages by a condition of irregularity and instability, had been attended by many unavoidable deviations from the wise and holy laws of canonical discipline. Rome now demanded that every breach should be built up in the fair and venerable edifice of the Church of St. Patrick, St. Columbkille, and St. Malachy.

All this was in men's minds, when John of Tuam, after the Pontifical High Mass celebrated by the Archbishop of Dublin, addressed the august assembly and the crowded congregation.

"Of the great Kingdom of the Church," he said, "our nation and people have, from their first annexation to its dominion, formed a goodly and a faithful portion. And in this episcopal senate, assembled under the auspices and control of the successor of St. Patrick, clothed with the delegated dignity of the Holy See, you have a fair sample of those grave legislative assemblies by which the permanent government of this spiritual kingdom is secured.

"When Christ called His apostles, He sent them forth with the commission: '... Going, preach, saying, *The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.*'¹

"In whatever form, then, the Church's authority is exercised, its pastors are entitled to the respect and obedience of the faithful, when they are bound in communion with the Chief Pastor, to whom, in the person of Peter, He confided the care and solicitude and government of His entire fold.

"But it is through the medium of its congregated councils, through acts that embody the wisdom and authority of its bishops under its venerable Head, that the majesty of this kingdom is particularly displayed.

¹ St. Matth. x. 7.

“The infallible Apostles, when a great controversy arose, communed with each other in council, where Peter arose, declaring that the yoke of circumcision should not be imposed on the Gentile converts.

“This Council of Jerusalem has been looked upon as a sacred model for all future councils, . . . deriving incontestable claims to reverence and submission from their obedience to the head of the Universal Church, the Bishop of Rome.

“No matter from what quarter the wind of error was blowing, it was to the successor of Peter that every eye was turned against the danger of the rising storm. No matter in what region of the earth the standard of revolt was unfurled, it was to the same successor of St. Peter the adjuration of the Church was sent forth, to strike the guilty and irreclaimable insurgents with the sword of the sanctuary.

“The Pope is everywhere. His voice is heard, his influence is felt, and his authority is owned, not only in the august œcumenical assemblies, . . . but whenever the faith is endangered, or its intrepid champions exposed to peril, or the holy discipline of the Church attempted to be changed or trampled on. . . . It is interdicted by ecclesiastical rule to any churches to make laws without the authority of the Bishop of Rome. . . .

“Not only on questions intimately and essentially connected with the faith, such as withdrawing the flock from poisonous practices, . . . but on all the duties of man, from the throne to the cottage, was the authority of the Pope recognized and revered. . . . Hence the frequent and necessary interference of the Roman Pontiff in guarding the right of marriage against the inroads of immorality, and the holy institution of celibacy against concubinage. . . .

“Those were intrepid pontiffs who wrestled with the monstrous iniquities of their times. They labored incessantly to extend freedom to the slave, education to the ignorant, comfort to the disconsolate. . . .

“From the same centre issued the impulse to which

Europe was indebted for the erection and support of its schools and colleges, which sprung up with amazing rapidity and success, encouraged and sustained everywhere by episcopal synods and councils.

“On the lamentable causes by which they were checked, I need not occupy your attention long. They are associated with those disastrous revolutions by which the peace of the Church all over Europe was shaken, and its authority forcibly transferred to secular agencies.

“The great Schism of the 14th century enervated for a time the Pontifical influence and the beneficent action of episcopal councils.

“The papal pretenders who transferred, the second time, their seat to Avignon, relied on the French kings for the maintenance of their schismatical power, and in return made large and unwarrantable concessions of authority to their supporters.

“Behold the latter source of those royal invasions of the spiritual jurisdiction by which the Church began to be enslaved, and to which some of the intoxicated slaves were taught to give the name of *LIBERTIES* ! For these a sanction was sought in the Councils of Basle and Bourges. And thus, by persevering violence, the venerable ecclesiastical hierarchy of France was pushed from the canonical track of its predecessors.

“Witness the Assembly of 1682 ! . . . It begat revolt, then heresy, and next infidelity. . . .

“From the close of the Council of Trent to the present period, the Church has been in fetters throughout almost all Europe, and incapable of that free and harmonious action which, through its canonical councils, always regulated by the Popes, it exercised in the preceding ages.

“With the authority of the bishops thus shackled, the charitable and educational establishments, which they were wont to foster and to guide, fell almost exclusively under the control of secular agencies. The step-dame influence of the secular power was felt in the comparative neglect of the orphaned children, who, no longer guarded by a moth-

er's care, were allowed to stray beyond the fences of religion and virtue.

"Then was there a 'Minister of This' and a 'Minister of That' duty, once more appropriately, as more effectually, discharged by the Church, which now became enfeebled by the partition of her functions and their entire subtraction from her merciful control.

"Between Virtue and Knowledge, between Morality and Science, an unnatural divorce was attempted, as if they had not flourished in all their vigor when wedded together under the tutelage of the Catholic Church.

"Of the shoots of the Tree of Knowledge, bitter experience has taught the fruit to be the knowledge of evil as well as of good; whereas, it is only when engrafted on the stem of Faith, and watered with the dews from Heaven, it becomes so rich and fragrant as to give a foretaste of eternal life.

"Science itself is subjected to minute analysis for the purpose of resolving it into independent sources, as if all knowledge could not be traced to its own heavenly origin, or as if the various colors and names it assumes from the refracting mediums through which it passes were not, like the variegated rays of the solar spectrum, all derived from the great original and eternal light of the WORD, 'which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world.'¹

"It would seem as if one distinct domain, and that sufficiently limited, had been assigned to the Church, whilst a larger one, of indefinite extent, is claimed for secular science, over which, it is contended, she should exercise no control.

"But, holding her high and sacred position, as the noblest emanation of God's infinite knowledge in this world, she has not ceased, and never will cease, to exercise her reasonable dominion over all the subordinate sciences, allowing the human mind the fullest scope in their cultivation and development, provided they come not in collision with those sacred truths that are entrusted to her custody.

¹ St. John i. 9.

“Yes; this supreme dominion, given her to make captive every human intellect, she can never abdicate; and the loftiest as well as the lowliest of the secular sciences are so many handmaids in harmonious accordance, whose legitimate office is to swell the majesty of her train.

“For more than fifteen centuries the entire dominion of the civilized world belonged to her,—the well-earned fruits of her early conquests,—its sciences, its arts, its civilization, its history, its laws, and its institutions for promoting the welfare of mankind. And am I to be told that the treasures of her wisdom, and the trophies of her authority,—those arsenals of her munitions, and records of her power,—are to be rifled and given over to some of her disobedient children against that very Church by which they were created?”¹

This was lifting the question of education, and the principle of the Church's inherent authority over all species of scholar instruction, from the low and narrow level of local discussion and passions. It was asserting for the great parent of modern civilization her divinely appointed place at the head of the intellectual progress of human society.

The Archbishop, toward the conclusion of his discourse, made a striking allusion to the Vandalic conduct of the Mazzinian and Garibaldian republicans in Rome. And then, pointing to the fact that God had permitted the storm of modern convulsion and revolution to sweep over Christendom in order to bring from out all these upheavals the liberty of the Church, he triumphantly quotes the evidences of a larger freedom enjoyed by the Church in Continental Europe, while in America and Australia new and flourishing churches are arising from out the wilderness.

The decrees of the National Synod of Thurles were not passed by unanimous vote. The Archbishop of Dublin and the Government bishops, his followers, strenuously opposed the resolutions regarding purely Catholic education, the Queen's Colleges, and the erection of the proposed Catholic University. Nevertheless, the three other arch-

¹ Sermons and Discourses, by the Most Reverend John Mac Hale, D.D. Archbishop of Tuam. 08 seq.

bishops and the majority of their suffragans enabled the Apostolic Delegate to carry out his well considered measures and the wishes of the Holy See.

So the National Synod was closed as it had opened, amid the joyous acclamations of the Irish people and their religious guides.

Unseemly Conduct of the Government Clergy.

The advocates of the Queen's Colleges and the opponents of the contemplated Catholic University were neither to be daunted nor silenced by the decrees just enacted by the National Council. These decrees, to be sure, had not yet received the sanction of the Holy See. Still, it was well known not only among the bishops and the leading members of the inferior clergy, but among the laity as well, that the measures and conclusions arrived at in Thurles on these two specific subjects were exactly in accordance with the judgment and intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff.

Nevertheless, and in spite of the secrecy imposed on all the members of the Synod until such time as the confirmation of its acts and decrees had been obtained from Rome, what was most important and most secret in the deliberations was openly spoken of and passionately commented on in the public papers.

There happened, in connection with the decrees of the Synod, some things even more offensive to the religious sense of the community than this. Of these untoward occurrences we shall allow the new rector of the Irish College in Rome to speak in his letters to the Archbishop of Tuam.

“TIVOLI, *Sancta Teresa*, Oct. 15th, 1850.

“MY DEAR LORD:—I think it right to inform your Grace that I was in Rome on last Saturday and had a very long conversation with the Cardinal Secretary regarding your affairs in Ireland. Several days previously I had given in the celebrated *Memorandum*¹ for the information

¹ This *Memorandum* was a protest forwarded to Rome against the decrees regarding the Queen's Colleges and the proposed Catholic University by the bishops of the minority.

of the Sacred Congregation ; and I can state to your Grace that this document excited the indignation of all. Mgr. Barnabo told me that he received also from Ireland a copy of the Synodal Address, a large portion of which we read over together. It pleased him exceedingly ; and the part referring to the (Queen's) Colleges seemed also to him apposite and well developed.

" *I know for certain* that the *Memorandum* has exceedingly displeased even his Holiness ; and I also believe that Cardinal Frasoni has written a very severe rebuke against certain persons, who published in the newspapers the secrets of the deliberations in the Synod, and against certain bishops, who, if report be true, did certain other things after the Synod and pending the examination of the acts which seem wholly irreconcilable with the respect due to the Holy See, as if they believed that the acts of the Synod could be despised with impunity before their confirmation.

" I think it only right to mention these things in confidence to your Grace, to whose noble exertions the cause of our holy faith is so much indebted. I think it would be useful for your Grace to write to the Cardinal (Prefect) on these subjects, and to explain to him what temerity there is in the proceedings of the advocates of the Colleges, and the detriment that religion is likely to suffer from them, if not checked by prompt and efficacious measures on the part of the Holy See.

" Dr. Slattery has written a very good letter to the Cardinal on the same subject. He has also recommended that the Primate should be armed with some extraordinary powers during the present need, and until the matter is finally arranged. . . . It would do no harm if Drs. Cantwell, Derry, and other bishops wrote good letters directly to Propaganda, giving them the facts which occur, and their views and sentiments regarding them. It is better such letters should be written to Rome instead of being published in the newspapers. . . .

" Knowing too well your Grace's humility and conde-

scension, I shall offer no apology for all this. Kindest regards to Dr. Thomas (Mac Hale), to whom, I am so happy to learn, the late synod in no small degree was indebted for so much of its decorum. We expect the Primate here toward the middle of next month.

"Believe me, my dear Lord, with the greatest respect and esteem,

"Your Grace's most devoted and faithful servant,

"T. KIRBY.

"THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE, *Ab'p of Tuam.*"

To the many virtues which adorned Archbishop Murray's private and public life no one was more ready to pay homage than Dr. Mac Hale. From the venerable successor of St. Lawrence O'Toole he had received both the priestly unction and episcopal consecration. But between the two, on the question of education and the relations between the Catholic clergy and the Government, there was a wide and life-long antagonism.

Just as the condemnation by the Holy See of the Queen's Colleges and of mixed education in general had in no wise prevented Dr. Murray from pursuing the line of policy held so long by him, so the decrees of the Synod of Thurles and the resolutions regarding the necessity of a Catholic University in Ireland were by him treated with something very much like contempt. The Government journals and the few Catholic newspapers favorable to the views of the the Archbishop of Dublin ceased not, after the Synod of Thurles as well as before, to uphold and advocate the scheme of Godless education so solemnly condemned by the Church and repudiated by the majority of the nation.

It is to this course of open disobedience, almost of rebellion, that Dr. Kirby refers in the following letter :—

"ROME, IRISH COLLEGE, Nov. 7th, 1850.

"MY DEAREST LORD :—I hasten to acquaint your Grace that I had this morning an audience with His Holiness for the purpose of presenting to him Dean Gaffney of Maynooth. His Holiness asked whether he was in Ireland at the cele-

bration of the Synod, and then quickly passed on to speak of the late disedification given in the newspapers. He reprobated in the strongest and most indignant terms the conduct of a certain archbishop, whose name he did not even suppress; and after many most severe remarks, characterized his conduct as truly scandalous: *c'était un vrai scandale*.

"I can assure your Grace that the tone and language of the Holy Father awed me in the extreme. I can never forget it. You may imagine what Dean Gaffney (felt). I do not know, from my past knowledge of him, how he exactly feels. I know that he spoke strongly against the Colleges there (in the audience); whether from interior conviction or from the high temperature of the air of the Vatican at that moment, your Grace will be the better judge.

"Another anecdote lately occurred. The Rev. Mr. Murphy, *locum tenens* of F. Matthew of Cork, came here about a fortnight ago to blow up, I presume, the National Synod into the elements, with the Pastoral and its supporters. He was admitted to an audience with the Pope some days after his arrival, and it appears that His Holiness gave him such a reception that he left Rome with the greatest precipitancy *immediately afterwards*. He himself confessed that he was *requested* by his superiors to return immediately (to Ireland).

"I wish also to state to your Grace that the vice-rector, Dr. Smith, had a conversation this morning with Cardinal Mai, and that his Eminence unhesitatingly asserted that, making all imaginable allowances for his age, etc., the conduct of the Archbishop of Dublin cannot be tolerated any longer.

"I mention these facts for your Grace's information, knowing that they will give you and your venerable colleagues no small encouragement in proceeding with the Catholic University even with increased vigor. Everything, under God, consists in this great work. It alone can render the Church of Ireland proof against further attacks. I was told a few days ago in the Propaganda, that, unless the Catholic University goes on, *non si remediera niente*. Without it, in fact, we shall be always exposed to the fire of a powerful

enemy, without having anything to protect us against their attacks. The Catholic University would give us a safe training school for our youth, and take away forever from false Catholics all reasonable motives for supporting in the future treacherous Government schemes.

“The present moment, no doubt, is a trying one in Ireland. But the Almighty must be counted on as something, when we do our best. I have seen your Grace’s name where it ought to be on the list. . . . May the Almighty long spare you to advocate the good cause and to defend it from its enemies! If so, our holy religion will have little to dread from its opponents, even though these may reckon on some *ex falsis fratribus*.

“Kind love to Dr. Thomas Mac Hale. And believe me, my dearest Lord, with the greatest esteem and respect,

“Your Grace’s most devoted, humble servant,

“T. KIRBY.

“THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.”

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SECOND ACT IN THE DRAMA OF THE WHIG CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE THREE KINGDOMS:—LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S "ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES BILL."

1850-'51

THE National Synod of Thurles, presided over by Dr. Cullen, Archbishop of Armagh, Delegate Apostolic, and issuing in the reiterated condemnation of the Queen's Colleges, and the solemn determination to create a Catholic university for the youth of Ireland, was a bitter defeat for Lord John Russell and Lord Clarendon. It was, also, a disappointment for the Archbishop of Dublin, if not for Dr. Wiseman, whose politico-ecclesiastical scheme for the right government of the Catholic Church in Great Britain and Ireland we have seen outlined at the beginning of a previous chapter.¹

The publication of the Papal Bull restoring the hierarchy in England, with Dr. Wiseman created cardinal and placed at its head as archbishop of Westminster, was made almost simultaneously with the conclusion of the Synod of Thurles. Indeed, while the Archbishop of Tuam was preaching, at the second solemn session of the Synod, the sermon we have quoted in the last chapter, Pius IX. was proclaiming in solemn consistory the creation of the English Hierarchy. Then came the Prime Minister's irate letter to the Bishop of Durham, which, falling like a spark on one of our Western prairies in a July drought, inflamed the long dormant anti-papal bigotry of the Protestant masses, and

¹ See Chapter IV. of this volume and the extracts there quoted from "Greville's Memoirs."

enveloped the whole island in a blaze of fury against the Catholics. All through the autumn and the winter months the revived fires of the Titus Oates period seemed only to gather fresh energy from the declamations of the press,—headed, as usual, by the “Times,”—of the pulpit, and the public platform. When Parliament met, in 1851, the Prime Minister introduced a bill making it penal for any Catholic archbishop or bishop within the Three Kingdoms to use the title of his see. . . .

But during the period elapsed from the publication of the Papal Bull, the appearance of the Durham Letter, and the assembling of Parliament, the British Government had applied through its accredited representatives abroad to all the Cabinets of Europe, asking for information about the relations of these Cabinets with the Court of Rome, especially as regards the nomination of bishops and the publication of Pontifical Bulls and Rescripts.

As the Swiss Federal Government was under particular obligations to the Cabinet of St. James, on account of the open and active aid received by the Protestant Cantons in their late war on the Catholic Cantons, and the persecution of the Jesuits and other religious orders,—the Berne authorities hastened to send a circular to the Cantonal magistrates, soliciting answers in conformity with the demands of the British Minister. “It is of essential importance”—the Circular said—“for the English Government to know whether the bishops are appointed directly by the Cantonal authorities of the diocese, or are appointed subject only to their approbation; and if the publication of Bulls and Briefs takes place with or without being previously notified to the Government and with or without authorization from the same.”

So the gigantic conspiracy defeated in Rome by Drs. Mac Hale and O’Higgins, and still further defeated at the National Council of Thurles, was now pushed forward by its authors with an energy which the very defeat intensified. Moreover, the Holy See had, at the petition of the Bishop of Cloyne in the County Cork, divided his diocese, and

erected a new episcopal see in the portion cut off from Cloyne. This was an aggravation of the insult offered, British Protestants said, to the British Crown, by erecting, independently of the Queen, separate ecclesiastical provinces and independent spiritual jurisdictions within her realms. The "Examiner," the bigoted semi-official organ of Lord John Russell and his abettors in the Ministry, demanded a new penal law to punish Papal interference in the temporal affairs of Great Britain, such as the action of the archbishops and bishops assembled in Thurles and presuming to condemn the Queen's Colleges.

The Tory leader of the opposition, Mr. Disraeli, ridiculed, in the House of Commons, the foolish and wicked agitation set on foot in England by Lord John Russell, and the inquiries made in continental countries regarding episcopal appointments and the free intercourse of the body of bishops with the head of the Church. It had been authoritatively asserted,—and the fact is absolutely undeniable,—that Lord Minto had given Pius IX. to understand that the creation of the new English hierarchy would not be opposed by the Russell Cabinet. This fact Lord John Russell found it politic to deny in the House of Commons. But Disraeli as openly told the Prime Minister that he did not believe him. Besides, from the Continental Governments but very little information had been obtained in answer to the official inquiry set on foot by the British Ambassadors and Ministers. This result, as contained in the Parliamentary Blue Book, and the Penal Bill against bishops, the Tory leader compared to the mouse begotten of such a mountain of agitation.

What, in reality, had roused all the anti-Catholic frenzy of Lord John Russell was the triumph of Dr. Mac Hale over all the diplomatic strategy of the Government, the celebration of the National Council of Thurles, and the erection of a new diocese in the County Cork at the very moment the Durham Letter was denouncing Papal aggressions.

"Now," said Disraeli, taunting the Prime Minister with

his hollow pretences, "I find the noble Lord seeking as the basis of his Bill, not the visit of Dr. Wiseman to England, BUT THE SYNOD OF THURLES."

"One of the first effects of this Bill, as it appeared in the middle of February, would have been practically to repeal the Bequests Act, to cheat the Irish bishops, and to throw Irish trust funds into confusion. By clause 3, any trust money left to any bishop in virtue of his office was to be confiscated to the Crown, so that, if property, real or personal, were left to 'Nicholas Wiseman' or 'Daniel Murray,' by name, directly for the use of his diocese or for any object that could be tortured into an upholding of his diocesan establishment, the secret intention of the donor could, by a bill of discovery, be ascertained on forced oath, and the legacy and donation forfeited. The first clause of the Bill inflicted a penalty of £100 on any bishop every time he used his title.

"This was bad enough; but the reason for the enactment of the measure, as stated, with the accustomed legal verbiage, in the preamble of the Bill, was in one sense even worse; for it was a plain, palpable falsehood. It declared that 'the attempt to establish, under color of the authority of the See of Rome, sees, provinces, or dioceses' not bearing the names of sees already in existence, was 'illegal.' But in fact there was nothing illegal in the establishment of the hierarchy. The very object and intention of the Bill was to create an illegality where there was none before."¹

The Archbishop of Tuam, who saw clearly what were the motives and intentions of Lord John Russell, made up his mind, while this bill of penalties was discussed in the House of Commons, to unmask the Prime Minister and to defy him openly to try on himself, JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM, the utmost severity of the new legislation. He addressed him, therefore, a public letter, from which we select the most striking passages and which he signed with his full title.

¹ "Life of F. Lucas," i., pp. 437, 438.

“St. JARLATH’S, TUAM, Feb. 20, 1851.

“MY LORD :—From the very nature of your responsible position you are jealous of the due observance of the laws.

“So are we.

“You must feel anxious that a becoming respect should be always paid to authority.

“So do we.

“You should, then, feel an equal solicitude that these laws should be in perfect consonance with reason, with liberty, with conscience ; and that the authority for which you are anxious to secure respect should not trench on the higher authority of God. . . .

“Only snap one link of that mysterious chain that connects our obedience with the throne of heaven, you break the firmest bonds of society asunder.

“If your laws teach a violation of the laws of God, you are thereby laying the foundation of a disregard for all subordinate authority. You may once more bring the rack and the gibbet, the dungeon and the sword to your aid in enforcing the penal enactments by which freedom may be outraged, conscience violated, sacred rights trampled on, and the persons against whom such wicked ordinances are framed exposed to a repetition of the cruellest tortures found in the records of your own sanguinary legislation.

“What will be the issue of this conflict into which you are rushing with such headlong precipitancy, but another glorious monument among the many yet recorded of the utter powerlessness of the world to subdue the Catholic Church, as well as of the frustrate attempts of England to annihilate the Catholic hierarchy.

“I have just read the draft of your ministerial edict for the destruction of the episcopacy in Ireland, and for the confiscation of Catholic charities ; and, I must confess, were it not that there is nothing new under the sun, . . . I should feel surprise and horror at the wider ange of physical and moral extermination which it embraces.

“Now, my Lord, you appear in your genuine colors,—the true and legitimate heir of the house of Russell, ‘running the accustomed career of your sires in the hatred of the Catholic Church? By this your house has been uniformly distinguished since the memorable epoch of Sir John Russell, who turned a suppressed abbey into a dwelling-house, and the abbey church into a stable.

“What is it—we may inquire,—that has thus roused your hereditary hatred of the Catholic body so to vie with Sir John himself in this sweeping spoliation of trusts and charities.

“Until now we heard nothing but denunciations of the Catholic Church and its prelates, as abettors of ignorance, because they had condemned your State Colleges, and because of our inability to create institutions of learning such as were once profusely spread over Ireland, and afterward destroyed by such men as seized Woburn Abbey and other monasteries in England.

“Yet, no sooner is a generous effort made to refute this calumny, scarcely do the Irish prelates appeal to their faithful clergy and people, still weighed down by a protracted famine, to contribute toward the foundation of a Catholic University,—an appeal responded to by a steady stream of generous contributions,—when . . . you come out with a penal enactment to paralyze the heart of Ireland with the just fear that the treasures collected for the spread of Catholic education will be seized once more by the ruthless enemies of our holy religion.

“After this, will your Lordship affect a peculiar zeal for enlightenment? Or will you, in the face of Europe, charge the Catholic Church with an habitual enslavement of the human mind?

“In the comprehensive proscription of our religion and our priesthood, which you thus proclaim and venture to submit to Parliament, we may trace the spirit that once animated the breast of another destroying Minister,¹ who thus whispered to his sovereign:—‘There is a people scat-

¹ Haman, the favorite of Ahasuerus.—See Book of Esther.

tered through all the provinces of thy kingdom that use new laws and ceremonies, and, moreover, despise the King's ordinances. And thou knowest very well that it is not expedient for thy kingdom that they should grow insolent by impunity. If it please thee, decree that they be destroyed.' ¹

"Your Bill contemplates a similiar destruction of the Catholic people; for it openly and avowedly contemplates the destruction of their priesthood, embracing all the orders of the hierarchy, without which no Catholic people, as such, could survive.

"It renders void 'every deed or writing made, signed, or executed, after the passing of the Bill, by or under the authority of any person, in or under any name, style, or title, which same person is, by the recited Act, prohibited from assuming; and for every offence of the assumption of the name, style, or title of archbishop, bishop, or dean of city, town, or district of the United Kingdom, . . . every prelate not belonging to that favored Establishment, which you admire so much for its toleration, shall pay an hundred pounds.

"Why! there is scarcely a day of his life in which a Catholic bishop has not to perform such deeds and sign such documents. And, unless you suppose that at his solemn consecration he pledged himself to duties of which he was ashamed, or assumed a character which it would be disreputable to avow; or that he should surrender to schismatical intruders and usurpers those title-deeds by which alone he can justify the various spiritual acts which he performs,—not all California itself would liquidate the pecuniary forfeits which he would incur during a moderate term of episcopacy.

"However, as the produce would not, in all probability, realize such sanguine hopes, a sort of general episcopal bankruptcy is the result you calculate on, which would leave the flocks again to the prowling wolves, whilst the pastors, as of yore, would be doomed to expiate the

¹ Book of Esther, iii. 8. 9.

treason of their spiritual and legitimate titles in prison or in exile.

“Then might the roving impostors, who are trading on English credulity by lying accounts of their progress in proselytizing, be enabled to realize some of those gross fictions, when the pastors would be stricken and the defenceless flocks placed at their mercy. This, no doubt, would be a most gratifying consequence to a minister at the eve of a new census, when the records of the real or forged increase of the Protestant population might enable him to give a still more stringent tension to those ulterior measures of penal enactments of which he only had given an outline in the present session.

“Then might the “ten churches” in Connemara, so long and so ostentatiously advertised, be conveniently erected, and the English dupes be led into the belief that the erection of these empty monuments of money speculation was evidence of the growth of Protestantism.

“How many of such churches had not a flock more numerous than the parish-clerk to attend them, you have seen incontestably proved in the Parliamentary Reports which preceded the inauspicious enactment of the rent charge. And that the projected churches in Connemara and other places would experience a similar fate, notwithstanding all the mendacious notices of conversion stuffed into the English papers, may be illustrated by a reference to a like imposition practised in one of the islands of Arran. There, too, if you were to believe the reports of strolling deceivers, the Protestant prelate of this Western district had achieved such wonders that it became necessary to erect a church for the accommodation of the native converts. Yet he had not perverted a single family. . . . He has, indeed, built and paraded his church; but he has no congregation in Arran, if you except a few of the police and coast-guards, and such other straggling officials.

“With the exception of such casual visitors, who have no hold upon the soil or sympathy with its people, Arran is totally free from the infection of your State Church mission-

aries; even of your Cromwell's garrison¹ not one solitary vestige has remained. The Catholic religion flourishes there as pure as if the sainted surface of the isle had never been profaned by heretical footsteps since the day when Columba left to Arran his farewell benediction.

"And it is for fruitless and abortive efforts such as these, fruitless in everything save in fraud and imposture, that the Catholic Church is to be assailed by fresh persecutions, and the frame of society again rent by the violence of intestine contention! Has not your Protestant Establishment had sufficient time for the full growth of its virtue, if of virtue it was capable, in the long period of three hundred years?

"Why, then, endanger once more the peace of the kingdom, and sacrifice the happiness of the people, for this worthless establishment, which cannot stand unless defended by material battlements, tolerant of everything but truth alone? Why propose penal laws on the untenable ground that the Sovereign is insulted or her rights invaded? . . .

"Should her Majesty experience anxious hours, and desire to beguile them, like Ahasuerus, by perusal of the annals of her kingdom, some faithful chronicler will not fail, I trust, to remind her of the conspiracy once formed to intercept her accession to the throne, and of the fidelity of the body now doomed to persecution, by whom that conspiracy was, in a great measure, exposed and defeated. She will not easily credit the report² that those who were distinguished for such services could be wanting in respect and devotion to the person of their Sovereign, or in attachment to the Throne. . . .

But whether you persevere or not in your indictment

¹ When, after the cruel suppression of the insurrection of 1641 and the following years, Cromwell had driven the Catholics of the insurgent provinces across the Shannon and into Connaught, he surrounded Connaught by sea and land with a belt of fortified military establishments. One of these was situated on Arran Island.

² Unhappily Dr. Mac Hale's judgment, as regards the Queen's personal sentiments, all through the agitation caused by the Durham Letter and the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, was not borne out by the events. She resented the Bull of Pius IX. as a personal affront.

against the Catholics of the United Kingdom—I should say against the millions, members of the Catholic Church over the world,—there is one powerful section of your wanted Parliamentary supporters by whom you must be abandoned. . . . The noble band of twenty that has brought terror, if not political contrition, to the Ministerial Benches deserve the lasting gratitude of Ireland.

“And, as for the Catholic hierarchy, and the titles of its bishops, your Lordship may be without any solicitude on that point. For, without any encroachment on the Royal prerogative, or any want of fealty to the Throne, the Catholic bishops enjoyed the titles of their sees long before their Protestant competitors or their titled patrons were heard of in history. And they will continue to enjoy them long after such competitors and their patrons shall have passed away.

“I am your Lordship’s obedient servant,

“JOHN, *Archbishop of Tuam.*”¹

“TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD JOHN RUSSELL.”

Frederick Lucas, who had transferred the “Tablet” publication office from London to Dublin, assailed the Prime Minister with a courage and an energy which told not a little on English public opinion. Lucas rightly thought that the era of religious persecution in the United Kingdom had passed away never to return. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, he was convinced, would be a dead letter from the very day of its promulgation, and the disgraceful ebullition of fanatical anti-Catholic passions, which a little later on culminated in the Stopford riots, would spend itself in the very violence of the outburst, leaving its promoters and actors covered with confusion.

This result, however, was not due to any want of downright malice in the Prime Minister. This, also, Lucas well knew; and he supported the Archbishop of Tuam’s attack by a powerful exposure of Lord John’s policy and animus in an editorial headed “Lord Titus Oates.”

¹ MAC HALE MSS. and Papers.

"Thank God," he said, "Lord John Russell has at length spoken out and shown himself in his true colors. Since that day, now a quarter of a century ago, when in his famous Huntington speech he declared that he supported Emancipation as a means of putting down Popery, all sensible men have known the value of his friendship, have perfectly understood that the old bitter spirit of the robbers of the Reformation, his ancestors, is in him; that the ally of Titus Oates lived among us in soul and heart, though with changed outside; and that the real purpose of all his professions of liberality was inspired by hostility to our religion.

"Those Catholics who have sold themselves, whether for gold, for partisanship, for Whig favor, or the name of social and political respectability, to the present Government, have now their just reward in the contempt of the puppet they have so ignominiously worshipped.

"The Prime Minister will revive and enforce so much of the Penal Code as remains unrepealed. Thank you, my Lord. Do we quarrel with you for this? Very hardly can we find it in our hearts to quarrel with you for such an act done, for such a motive. Why should we quarrel with you for making the fullest revelation of qualities and intentions which, so long as they are open, we despise with all our hearts, and which are only dangerous in their concealment.

"We quarrel with you not. We see in your (Durham) letter much that gratifies us—the clearest proof that the base Minto conspiracy has been defeated, and has been defeated past all hope of recovery, and that the anger at this notorious defeat is the real ground of this public and insolent profession of your anger."¹

Both Dr. Mac Hale and Lucas had, in Very Rev. Dr. Whitty, Vicar-General of Westminster, a man who, though ever unwilling to thrust himself into public notoriety, was heart and soul with them in his advocacy of Irish national claims, and in stern opposition to the policy of place-hunting and subserviency to the Government.

¹ "Life of Frederick Lucas," i., pp. 422—424.

Dr. Whitty prevailed on Cardinal Wiseman to despise the threats of Lord John Russell and the mob-violence which the Durham Letter and the discussions in Parliament had given rise to. The Cardinal came over to London in November, 1850, and set about the administration of his diocese, heedless of the tempest raging around him. He had now abundant evidence of the practical wisdom of Dr. Mac Hale and the majority of the Irish bishops, of the folly and weakness of Dr. Murray and the prelates bound with him to the car of either Whig or Tory Government. Under the influence of a vicar-general of such sterling patriotism, of such unquestioned learning and virtue as Dr. Whitty, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster had leisure to repent of the countenance given by him to the Clarendon-Minto conspiracy, and of the mischievous counsels offered to the British cabinet on Irish ecclesiastical affairs, as Greville records in his memoirs.

With the advice of Dr. Whitty, who was cordially seconded by Right Rev. Dr. Briggs, and after consultation with Dr. Cullen, the idea of a Defence Association comprising the leading Catholics of the United Kingdom was now warmly taken up on both sides of the channel. But it took some months to mature this idea.

A few of the brief notes written meanwhile by the new primate to the Archbishop of Tuam will serve the double purpose of showing the relations in which both prelates stood in their altered positions, and of indicating the direction of Dr. Cullen's opinions about public men and matters.

“DROGHEDA, 9th Jan., 1851.

“MY DEAR LORD:—I hope you will come to the next meeting of the University Committee. We ought to determine what course should be adopted if penal laws be spoken of. The young Irishmen say we ought not to interfere in favor of the English Catholics. But *they* are ready also to say and to hold that the country ought not to interfere in favor of priests or bishops, if laws be enacted merely against these.

"I think we ought to do all we can in favor of Catholicity in England, and overlook, on such an occasion, all the bad conduct of English Catholics towards us. If your Grace comes to Dublin, we can consult on the business, and determine what is best to be done.

"I hope we shall have a long list of subscriptions for next meeting, to show Parliament that we are in earnest.

"Believe me to be, my dear Lord, with profoundest respect, your devoted servant,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE."

"DROGHEDA, Jan. 22d, 1851.

"MY DEAR LORD: Next Tuesday I shall hold a meeting of the clergy of this diocese to congratulate with the English on the re-establishment of their hierarchy, etc., to protest against penal laws, and to do something for the University. I shall put in a resolution also against all vetoistical¹ measures of our Government.

"I hope you will be in Dublin at the next meeting. We must make great exertions; otherwise we cannot succeed, with the opposition we have against us.

"Excuse haste, and believe me to be, with the profoundest respect,

"Your Grace's devoted servant,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE."

At the approach of the opening of Parliament Dr. Mac Hale went to England, both to concert with leading Catholics there what steps should be taken in face of the persecuting attitude of the Government, and to animate all with the courage and determination felt by himself. As we shall see further on, the sister-in-law of the Earl of Shrewsbury, Mrs. Washington Hibbert, and her husband were so little influenced by their noble relative, in his persistent warfare on the Archbishop, that they extended to

¹ "Vetoistical," that is, every measure tending to give the Government a voice or *Veto* in the nomination of Irish bishops.

his Grace a warm welcome, with a pressing invitation to visit them and make their house his own.

It is to this visit to England and the service rendered to the proposed University that Dr. Cullen alludes in the following letter.

“DROGHEDA, Feb. 2, 1851.

“MY DEAR LORD:—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace’s letter from Dublin. I was glad to learn that so much sympathy existed in England for the University. I think, in general, the matter is looking well.

“The reports from Rome about the Synod of Thurles have not the least foundation. I believe Dr. Nicholson has a great deal to do with them. He is ‘the High authority’ quoted so often;—at least, I suspect strongly that he is. Cardinal Fornari,¹ too, is referred to; but he speaks on all sides of the question, like all diplomatists. The condemnation of Vericoni’s book shows that they are not much afraid in Rome.

“We had a large meeting of the clergy a few days ago in Dundalk. Your Grace will see the proceedings in the papers. I hope you will approve of the resolutions. I also hope they are not too plain-spoken. They will not be palatable to some. I thought, at all events, that it would be very foolish to make public such resolutions as were adopted in Cork and Dublin. Perhaps we have gone to the other extreme.

“I hope your Grace will be in Dublin on the 12th, when we shall know *quid agendum*, or, at least, we shall know what the Government intends to do.

“I have seen the address presented to your Grace in Manchester. It is a good proof of the feeling of England.

“Believe me to be, with the profoundest respect,

“Your devoted servant,

“PAUL CULLEN.

“MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.”

¹ Formerly nuncio at Paris.

“DROGHEDA, Feb. 13, 1851.

“MY DEAR LORD:—I am happy to inform your Grace that all the bishops who attended the Committee were of opinion that a general meeting of the bishops should be held to consult upon Lord John Russell’s iniquitous measures. Dr. Derry and Dr. Mac Nally waited on Dr. Murray to consult him; and he also agreed on the absolute necessity of a meeting. The day proposed was Tuesday, the 25th of the present month, at 12 o’clock, in Marlboro’ Street Presbytery. I shall write to all the bishops to-morrow to convoke them. This present line will suffice for your Grace.

“It is of the utmost importance that we should do something decisive. Perhaps our enemies may compel us to be united. Lord John Russell’s measure is far worse than it appears at first sight.

“Our meeting at the Committee (University) was very satisfactory: about £1100 received.

“By letters from Rome it appears that we shall soon have the confirmation of the Decrees of Thurles. A letter was written to Cork and Galway telling the bishops to act on the instructions already given by Rome, and not to contravene the Synodical Decrees.

“Will the bishops obey?

“God grant that at least we may unite in resisting the Penal Laws.

“Believe me to be, with the profoundest respect,

“Your devoted, obedient servant,

“PAUL CULLEN.

“MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.”

The Archbishop of Tuam’s letter to the Prime Minister, published above, was written on Feb. 20th. The Primate had not seen it in print, when he again wrote to Dr. Mac Hale to urge him to be present at the general meeting of the bishops convened for the 25th.

“DROGHEDA, Feb. 22d, 1851.

“MY LORD:—I wrote to your Grace this day week inviting you to attend a general meeting of the bishops on next

Tuesday in Dublin. I hope nothing will prevent your Grace from attending. Perhaps we may become a united body again. It would be a happy result of Lord John Russell's measures.

"It will be well to make every effort to bring about so desirable an effect. Hoping to see your Grace on Monday, I remain with the profoundest respect,

"Your devoted, obedient servant,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE."

What Dr. Murray may have done, in the meeting, toward promoting or preventing that unity of thought and purpose in the hierarchy, so ardently wished for by the new primate, we cannot say; he certainly gave the purpose and plans of the majority no countenance, while immensely gratifying the Government in the letter mentioned below, and which appeared soon after that same meeting.

"DROGHEDA, March 10th, 1851.

"MY DEAR LORD:—Have you seen Dr. Murray's letter of yesterday about the Collection for the University? It is really provoking. However, I believe it is better to let him go on quietly to the end of his career, which cannot now be far off. His letter will injure the collection seriously everywhere among the squireens, who only wanted a pretext to hold back. But the good, honest people will be generous, and on them we must depend. Altogether, I hope we shall get a large sum.

"I have seen one of Lord Clarendon's lucubrations regarding the state of Ireland. It is a most villainous composition, to say the best of it. He attacks the Synod of Thurles, the Catholic clergy, and even the laity, and accuses all the clergy as a body of being ready to rush into rebellion.

"The letter was sent to me by an M. P.; but I cannot publish it. Could I get leave to send it to the papers, it would crush Clarendon completely. He is a sad protector for a Catholic people.

"There is nothing new from Rome. But we may expect the decrees very soon. It is only a wish to wait till the fury subsides in England, that keeps them back.

"I hope your Grace is in good health, and that the fasting will not effect you.

"Believe me to be, my Lord,

"With profoundest respect, etc.,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.

"P. S.—To-morrow will decide, I suppose, whether we shall have anything more to do against Lord John's measure. I think a little persecution would be quite necessary to wean us from the castle."

"DROGHEDA, 12th May, 1851.

"MY DEAR LORD :—I am sorry your Grace cannot attend the (University) Committee. However, we shall endeavor to defer every important step until the June meeting.

"I believe the Statutes of Thurles were examined on the 29th April, and the Cardinals seem to have been unanimous in approving them. Still, great delay may occur, as the Pope may be kept from sanctioning the decree of the Propaganda by the intrigues of the British agents. Several appear to be at work. Delay may therefore still ensue. But, after a short time, *veritas prævalebit*.

"I hope we shall be all united, and all of one mind.

"Lord Clarendon's letter ¹ is a most extraordinary one. Lucas appears to have got it from England. He certainly has chastised his Excellency very well. I shall take some opportunity of showing that I am no socialist, and that I had no part in the rebellion of 1848, or the battle of Ballin-garry. I was very snug in Frascati, at the Propaganda country house, in that season. And yet Lord Clarendon

¹ This was a letter written on Dec. 20, 1850, to Lord Shrewsbury, then in Rome, and which, beside the accusations against the Irish bishops and clergy, said that, "Mr. Lucas, editor of one of the most virulent and offensive newspapers in Europe, was the chief instigator, as his paper was the chief organ, of the Tenant League, the object of which was to abolish the rights of property, and to shake to its very foundations everything on which 'society depends.'"

accuses me of having almost encouraged the rebellion; or, at least, he charges me with not having impeded the clergy from taking any part in that unhappy and foolish outbreak.

"It is well that the world should know how our rulers wish to deal with Catholic affairs and with the Catholic clergy."

"Believe me to be, my dear Lord, with profoundest respect, your Grace's devoted servant,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.

"P. S.—I suppose the Penal Laws will pass. I think it well they should be opposed. But, at the same time [I think] that the law cannot injure us very much. Perhaps it may have the effect of making us all unite, as we ought."

The Pope at length made up his mind to pay no heed to the remonstrances made by British agents against the Acts of the National Synod of Thurles. The unanimous report of the Cardinals of Propaganda in favor of approving them was confirmed by Pius IX., on May 4, 1851. This was a great triumph for the Archbishop of Tuam and his brother-prelates of the majority, who had battled so long against the Government schemes of godless education. Dr. Cullen thus notifies the Archbishop of the termination of that long struggle.

"DROGHEDA, 7th June, 1851.

"MY DEAR LORD:—I received yesterday the decree confirming our statutes. When we meet at Maynooth we can take the necessary steps to put them in execution. A few words have been changed in the matters regarding Faith and the Sacraments; but everything connected with education was left as adopted by us. I hope now we may be all of one mind, and that all will listen to the voice of Peter. It will be well to use every means to bring about so happy a result. Perhaps your Grace could intimate the matter to Dr. O'Donnell¹ privately, and get him to *remove the ecclē-*

¹ Then Bishop of Galway, and who supported the Government in establishing one of the Queen's Colleges in his episcopal city.

siastics connected with the College without any noise. It would be less disgraceful to them than to have them suspended. By a little management, perhaps, union might be effected.

"I have written *mitissimis verbis* to Dr. Murray, to see what he will do. Thanks be to God, much ground has been gained, and perhaps we shall yet be all united.

"I have some hope still that the penal measure will not become law *this year*; even if it pass the Commons, it may be delayed in the Lords. If it passes, we can determine what course to follow.

"Believe me to be, my Lord, with profoundest respect,

"Your devoted servant,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE."

The example, influence, and active exertions of the Archbishop of Dublin contributed much, so long as he lived, to neutralize all the endeavors of the majority of the bishops, backed by the authority of Rome, to bring about the *unity* so often mentioned by Dr. Cullen, and for which he evidently yearned.

One of the great means by which he and others hoped to restore harmony among the Catholic prelates and laity of the United Kingdom was the proposed Catholic Defence Association, and the great Aggregate Meeting of Catholics in Dublin, convened for the middle of August, 1851.

This is the subject of the following letter.

"DROGHEDA, August, 14, 1851.

"MY DEAR LORD:—On next Tuesday the aggregate meeting of Catholics, so long spoken of, is to take place. I have agreed to take the chair. Dr. Slattery and some other bishops will attend. I hope your Grace will be with us. It is important to show at the present moment that we are strong and united. I hope the Association may effect much good. It would be desirable that your Grace should get some of your suffragans to be with us. Dr. Murray, of course, will not sanction the proceedings.

“ Believe me, with the profoundest respect,

“ Your devoted servant,

“ PAUL CULLEN.

“ MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.”

Dr. Mac Hale, like Frederick Lucas, favored the establishment of the Defence Association, as well as the great aggregate meeting of Catholics, because he hoped that both of these would lead to the creation of the Independent Irish Parliamentary Party, which had been so long the object of his most ardent desires.

We have seen, in the last letter addressed by him to Lord John Russell, how he praised the small band of Irish representatives, who had resisted, step by step, in the House of Commons, the progress of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. Among the foremost of these champions of Catholic rights there were, however, men whom the Archbishop distrusted. This feeling of distrust was also shared by the sagacious, unselfish, and conscientious Lucas. These “suspects” had succeeded in getting the control of the preliminary measures for holding the aggregate meeting and founding the contemplated association. They had captured Dr. Cullen, and shut out Frederick Lucas, whose paper, the *TABLET*, was now published in Dublin, not only from all share in these preparations, but from taking any part whatever in the public proceedings of the meeting itself.

The Archbishop of Tuam,—as the reader may guess from the letter just quoted,—was also carefully shut out from the councils of these conspirators;—for, as the sequel unhappily shows, a foul conspiracy against the dearest interests cherished by Dr. Mac Hale was hatched under cover of a great religious movement.

The brief speeches delivered before the aggregate meeting by the Primate and the Archbishop of Tuam are especially deserving of notice:—that of Dr. Cullen, because his utterances on that occasion have been contrasted with his subsequent declarations and conduct; that of Dr. Mac

Hale, because he only repeated before the great meeting principles and professions from which he never deviated throughout his long public career.

"My inclinations," said the new primate, on taking the chair, "would lead me to seek for quiet and retirement. It would be my greatest ambition to devote myself exclusively to the humble and useful duties of a Catholic pastor. But on occasions like the present every Catholic must sacrifice his own private feelings, and come forward in defense of his religion. When their presence was necessary toward the preservation of the faith, even the solitaries of Egypt left their desert and mixed in the tumult of cities.

"In thus coming forward to-day, I do not consider that I am intruding into the domain of politics, or travelling beyond the sphere of ecclesiastical duty. The present does not appear to be in any way a political movement. It is, rather, a great manifestation of Catholic feeling in favor of the liberty of our holy Church, a manifestation that has the strongest claim to be guided by the voice and sanctified by the prayers and blessings of the priests of the Most High.

"The Catholics of this empire have done nothing to bring about the present state of things. . . But a few months ago our brethren in England were rejoicing in the spiritual favors which the Sovereign Pontiff, in the exercise of his power as Vicar of Christ, had conferred on them. They never imagined that he or they were committing any aggression, or invading the rights of others, or violating any law. They had been led to believe that they had obtained a form of ecclesiastical government which would be most acceptable to our rulers, and which had been frequently approved of by them and their predecessors.

"In the meantime, what was our position in Ireland? This poor country had been visited, as no country ever had been before, by famine and pestilence. Our tale of ruin had excited the commiseration of the remotest regions of the earth: even the Hindoo, Mohammedan, and the disciple of Confucius had shed a tear over our afflictions, and

stretched forth a hand to our relief. Why select such a moment to add to our misfortunes? It is not necessary to allude to the 'Durham Letter.' It kindled the dying embers of discord. . . .

"But if we are threatened with the persecution of violence and force, an end is put to the more dangerous persecution, the treachery of false friends. Their smiles and petty favors were scattered around for the purpose of enslaving us, of gradually encroaching on our religion and its rights. Under the pretence of perfect liberality, these friends put truth and error, light and darkness on the same footing. To propagate their principles more effectually, they would take into their own hands the education of our youth.

"Thus did Julian the Apostate persecute the Christians of his time; and thus persecuted the Arian Emperor Constantius.

"St. Hilary describes the way in which the latter proceeded: 'Our struggle' he says, 'is with a persecutor skilled in deception, with a foe who deals in blandishments, who cares not to scourge the backs of men, but appeals to their appetites; who does not proscribe the lives of his victims, but deals out death by his bribes. He does not lacerate their sides, but gets hold of their hearts. His sword does not smite their necks; but his golden seductions kill their souls. . . . He builds up churches for the sole purpose of ruining the faith of the worshippers.'

"So were we treated by false friends. But the mask has been torn from them. We may now thank God that the course of events has taught us to put no trust in them, but to rely on heaven and on ourselves."

In such a strain of religious and patriotic eloquence, worthy of the great occasion, did the Primate of Ireland express himself.

The Archbishop of Tuam was the next speaker.

"He was received," says the 'Freeman's Journal' report of the meeting, "with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of applause, which were again and again repeated, amid

waving of hats and handkerchiefs, the entire meeting standing and exhibiting every mark of veneration and respect.

With remarkable tact and good taste, Dr. Mac Hale did not attempt a long speech or enter upon an elaborate argument in support of the position taken by the Primate. Alluding, however, to the repeated attempts made by the British Government to extinguish the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland, he said: "Were some of those who recently labored with such zeal to clear this island of its territorial hierarchy (as it is called here) to look upon this assemblage, they would be astonished at the suddenness with which this same hierarchy has returned to life. Twenty years ago our titles were ignored; again their legal destruction has been repeated. If those, then, who twice slew the slain could be present here, they would not fail, like the persecutors of the martyr Venantius, so often supposed to be dead, to ascribe the miracle of such vitality to magic. But the pious Catholic would not fail to ascribe it to the divine virtue with which the Founder has promised to sustain His Church. For of this Church our own is a conspicuous portion,—one so often doomed to die, yet fated to be deathless.

"Hence, had we not been pressed, yea, adjured by your pious importunity to come forward, we should rather have kept aloof, lest the nerves or the loyalty of certain spectators might be shaken, by beholding in an assemblage of living men so many forbidden episcopal apparitions.

"Had Ireland and its inhabitants not been long in an anomalous condition, and particularly, had not its hierarchy been strangers to those laws and influences by which society is ordinarily governed,—the Catholic bishops might be allowed to express astonishment at the strange manner in which their disinterested services to the commonwealth have been recently requited.

"We had just passed through as severe a crisis as ever tested the patience and the fidelity of the pastors of the Catholic Church. We had witnessed the diminution of our flocks and the desolation of our country. We had beheld

scenes of suffering which few bishops were ever fated to contemplate, and but few flocks to endure. We had exhorted our devoted people to respect property to such an extent that a conscientious casuist might well question if this respect did not interfere with the first principle of self-preservation. And seeing our precepts practically carried out by a patience so prodigious that no Spartan virtue ever approached it,—nay, such as the heroic acts of the martyrs never surpassed,—who could imagine that the prelates, who were instrumental in soothing the public discontent and preserving the public tranquillity amid these awful trials, were to be singled out by our rulers as the first victims of a bigoted proscription?

“It is fortunate that our holy religion continues faithful to the peaceful lessons of its Founder; that the allegiance of the Catholic people is ever regulated by a higher and holier sanction than can be derived from any human legislation.

“Why, then, this unrelenting hatred with which the ancient hierarchy of the Catholic people of Ireland is pursued? To perpetuate and keep in temper an alien establishment, sprung from the secular power and fostered by its patronage, and, like every such petted offspring, continually appealing for extraordinary support to prolong its unsteady existence.

“It is to this establishment, planted in Ireland and maintained by the same force to which it owes its origin, that we are indebted for the uninterrupted series of penal laws by which we are constantly aggrieved.

“To the reduction of this overgrown and cumbersome establishment, and to the regulation of its titles, all derived from the State, the Minister may well and consistently apply himself. And, surely, that establishment cannot complain if reformed again and again by that secular power whose creature it is. Already has the Legislature extinguished ten of their candlesticks. And, whenever it pleases some future Parliament to put out the twelve which remain, the loss of light will be as unfelt and unheeded by the na-

tion as the recent partial eclipse, which passed away without inconvenience and almost without observation.

"But the Catholic Church and her hierarchy, derived as they are from a Divine Source, it is beyond the Minister's power to extinguish. If he cannot extinguish one episcopal lamp, much less can he put out twenty-eight such lamps streaming their broad effulgence in the face of heaven.

"But I must have done. This is not a meeting of one district, or province, or even of Ireland alone. It is made up of Catholics from the Three Kingdoms. Here we have the learned Bishop of Edinburgh, ¹ who is restoring the fallen temples of his own country, and kindling with the heat of his own eloquence the sacred fire, which, in times of persecution, was concealed by his predecessors, and lay since then so long hidden among the valleys of Scotland.

"On so extensive a surface, contracted to the narrow dimensions of the Rotundo, it is but natural that ordinary objects should be scarcely visible, while those magnificent objects, that lose not their broad proportions on any scale, must always command attention.

"You must, therefore, be anxious to hear those champions of our country's rights and religion who have recently filled such a space in the public eye. On their wrestling with tyranny, in the great Parliamentary circus, the grateful admiration of Ireland was fixed. Not with silent tongue, yet with tranquil scorn, they received on their ample shields the burning shafts of rage and bigotry which were hissing from every quarter. On their ears, fatigued and torn with continued abuse and blasphemy, the music of their country's applause must now fall with peculiar sweetness. They are men from whose gallant bearing and Fabian tactics of delay the impetuous persecutor was only able to wrest a tardy and doubtful triumph, scarcely worthy of the name, and which must recall, amidst his troubled dreams, the ominous sentiment of the King of Macedon,—that another such victory would involve his own discomfiture and disgrace." ²

¹ The Right Rev. Dr. Gillis, famed as a preacher both in French and English.

² From the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*.

The newspaper report from which these extracts are taken, says of the conclusion of the Archbishop's discourse: "His Grace resumed his seat amid a storm of applause, such as, in the enthusiasm of an Irish assembly, has been rarely equalled, and perhaps never exceeded."

The Archbishop was succeeded by Mr. William Keogh, M. P., whose eloquent resistance to Lord John Russell's Titles Bill had won him such unbounded popularity. John Sadleir, M. P., and Ouseley Higgins, M. P., had been appointed secretaries of this great meeting on the motion of Vincent Scully, M. P.—all names destined to enjoy, although in unequal degrees, undying infamy.

It is manifest, from the heartiness with which the Archbishop praises the parliamentary services of these men, that he had then no certain knowledge of their true character or of their guilty ambition. He, whose long-cherished dream had been, as regarded Irish politics, a Parliamentary party of independent opposition, had found reason to bless God for Lord John Russell's short-lived and abortive persecution, since it had united, or seemed to unite during one or two sessions of Parliament, a number of the Irish Catholic Members in a phalanx which the English sneeringly called "the Pope's Brass Band," but which in Ireland was fondly designated as the "Irish Brigade."

In his speech at that memorable meeting of Tuesday, August 23d, 1851, Mr. Keogh thrilled all present by declaring that, "We will have no terms with any Minister, no matter who he may be, until he repeals that Act of Parliament (the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill) and every other which places the Roman Catholic on a lower platform than his Protestant fellow-subject."

The second act in this eventful drama of conspiracy against Catholic Ireland thus resulted in defeat for the Government. What part the Archbishop of Tuam had in bringing this result about the reader has partly seen.

But we can only judge of the priceless services rendered by him to Ireland during the decade which elapsed from 1850 to 1860, by studying the ceaseless efforts he made to

organize and maintain a party of independent opposition in Parliament, and by founding throughout Ireland, among the people and the proprietary and professional classes, a Tenant Right League, based on the sacred principles of justice to both landlord and tenant, on the universally recognized principles of true political economy, and on a sound, enlightened public opinion.

This brings us to the culminating point in the career of JOHN MAC HALE, *when, as statesman, prelate, and patriot, he stood at the head of his nation.*

In the light of his teaching and of the partial and temporary success achieved by him and by the pure patriots and noble churchmen who followed his leadership,—we shall clearly behold the ruin wrought by that “Brass Band” of traitors just mentioned, and by the false and fatal ecclesiastical policy introduced into Ireland in spite of the Archbishop of Tuam’s prophetic warnings and strenuous opposition.

It is a sad story we have to tell; but it is one pregnant with instruction for the men called to keep forever alive the faith in the land of St. Patrick, and for those who would restore the ancient kingdom to its rightful place among the family of nations.

PART THIRD.

*THE GREAT NATIONAL MOVEMENT OF 1850-1852.—THE PARTS
PLAYED, RESPECTIVELY, BY DRS. CULLEN AND MAC HALE.*

CHAPTER IX.

TENANT-RIGHT AND INDEPENDENT OPPOSITION.

THE great National Movement foreshadowed in the last chapter had been going forward during two years, when, in February, 1852, the Most Reverend Daniel Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, died suddenly, leaving behind him in the many communities of both sexes which he had either founded or fostered from feeble beginnings to a fruitful prosperity, a memory revered and blessed at the present day, and the sweet odor of many priestly and episcopal virtues. Like his predecessor, Archbishop Troy, Dr. Murray's infancy and boyhood had been nursed amid the perilous days of the Penal Laws; and like him, he had been obliged to seek in foreign lands for the higher education and training which fitted him for his missionary career in Ireland.

Restored to his native land, after having thus been trained in the half-revolutionary, half-monarchical atmosphere of Spain and France, living under a government which professed to protect the Christian religion, while extending to Catholics a half-toleration, and fulfilling the duties of his priestly ministry beneath the shadow of Dublin Castle,—it is no wonder that Dr. Murray, like Dr. Troy and Dr. Troy's immediate predecessors, looked up to the Viceregal authority, behind the walls of the Castle, as to the sun of the Irish political world, without whose light and vital warmth the timid growth of Catholic institutions and Catholic liberties could not put forth a bud or venture to assert freedom of self-existence.

On the other hand, as we have had more than one opportunity to learn in these pages, the British Government, in grudgingly bestowing on the Catholics of Ireland successive

measures of relief from the operation of the terrible Penal Laws, had constantly cherished the hope that the toleration of the nineteenth century might effect what the relentless oppression of the three preceding centuries had failed to produce,—to Protestantize Ireland.

There is no denying, at the present day, the grand purpose of the Imperial Government with regard to the Catholic Church in Ireland. What it was forced to concede to the great body of the nation, professing the ancient faith, whether in civil equality, in religious freedom, educational facilities, or even in a scanty share of public office and emoluments,—was only yielded with the hope that a participation in the social life, movement, and progress of the whole people of the empire would result in detaching Irish Catholics from their ancestral creed, and identifying them in all things with British thought, and sentiment, and aims.

This purpose, in so far as the educational schemes devised for the Irish people are concerned, was clearly revealed in the writings of Archbishop Whately of Dublin, the most efficient instrument of the Government in carrying out that cleverly disguised plan of Proselytism,—the National System of Education. In this well-conceived scheme for gradually Protestantizing or at least “Liberalizing” the young generations of Irish Catholics, Dr. Murray was enlisted as a hearty worker from the beginning. No remonstrance, no warnings, no persuasion or reproach, whether coming from his brother-prelates or from the authorities in Rome, ever availed to turn the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin from the side of Archbishop Whately, as they stood together for more than a quarter of a century, in the forefront of battle, in the war carried on against the faith of the Catholic millions in Ireland.

And when the Government introduced into Parliament the Bill for Academical Education, providing for the university education of the middle-class youth of Ireland, it found in Dr. Murray its most steady and successful advocate and supporter. He stood out in unwavering opposition

to the great majority of the Irish bishops, against the almost unanimous and declared reprobation of both priests and people, against the solemn and repeated condemnation of the Holy See.

To his dying day nothing could induce him to give his support or his sympathy to the project of a Catholic university in Ireland,—enthusiastically adopted as this was by the National Synod of Thurles, solemnly approved and ardently urged as it was by Pius IX. and his counsellors. No word of his is on record recalling his many public utterances in favor of the mixed system of education,—primary, intermediate, and university,—which the Holy See, by the authoritative sentence of the Congregation of the Inquisition, declared “intrinsically dangerous to the faith and morals” of Catholic youth. No act of the venerable archbishop ever retracted his almost life-long labors on the Board of National Education, on the Board of Charitable Bequests, and in the foremost ranks of those who gave efficient aid to the Queen’s Colleges.

Whether his conscience smote him or not for the almost schismatic and unquestionably heterodox nature of his opposition to the decrees of the Holy See, we leave to those who lived in his intimacy to the last to say. Death came to him with such awful suddenness that no space for retraction was left. Nor shall we presume to say that the great error of his life,—great as it most assuredly was,—has not been outweighed at the Judgment Seat by the virtues and the fruitful zeal that won him the filial love, the gratitude, and the veneration of his wide flock.

Among those who were ever most ready to give utterance to these sentiments of veneration and affection was the Archbishop of Tuam, who had received at the hands of the departed prelate the priestly unction and episcopal consecration.

The mistaken sentiments of subservience both to the Imperial Government at Westminster, and to its representative in Dublin Castle, and the misguided intellectual and moral conscience which made Archbishop Murray a

real apostle of a most dangerous and un-Catholic system of education, also led him to be a place-taker himself under a Government avowedly hostile to his religion.

Parallel with the purpose of perverting the youth of Ireland by a gigantic system of mixed or neutral schools, or by such religious instruction as was openly anti-Catholic,—ran, all through the public policy of Great Britain for the last hundred years, the persistent endeavor to obtain from the Holy See, directly or indirectly, the right of veto over the nomination of bishops and beneficed clergymen in Ireland.

One of the brightest spots in the life of Dr. Murray is that which records his public, eloquent, and energetic denunciation of the famous Quarantotti Rescript; this was while he was only coadjutor bishop to Dr. Troy.

In this the good prelate was moved by the exhortations and examples of two learned and saintly bishops, one from Great Britain, the Right Reverend Doctor Milner, the other an Irishman, Dr. Hayes.

But Dr. Murray had in him nothing of the statesman, however many and admirable his qualities were as a priest and a bishop. The influence and attractions of Dublin Castle were too much for him. For him, as for the courtier-generations of Dubliners among whom he lived to the last, the *summum bonum* was to bask in the smiles and favors of the Viceregal court. To be sure, were Irish Catholics practically, before the law and in the enjoyment of distributive justice, the equals of their Protestant fellow-citizens, the obtaining or the filling of public offices would not be for the long-ostracised Catholic Celt or Saxon the powerful temptation to subservience that it is, that it has been ever since this century began, and that it promises to be for another generation at least.

Dr. Murray held the Government commission when death overtook him. And the patronage which he exercised as a commissioner of National Education, as a commissioner of Bequests, and a member of the Board of Queen's Colleges, enabled him to gratify the cupidity or the ambition of a no inconsiderable following of laymen and clergymen.

It was, therefore, natural that neither he nor they should deem their subservience an evil,—a crime either against the best interests of their nation or against the independence of their religion.

He was the typical "Castle-bishop." As such, and in the whole course of his relations with the Government, and in the principles which guided his acts on the points above alluded to,—Paul Cullen was believed by Dr. Mac Hale to be a man according to his own heart, penetrated with the great principles which were the guiding light of his own public conduct, and as lovingly wedded as he was himself to the interests of CHRIST'S POOR IN IRELAND, that is, the persecuted, oppressed, and impoverished mass of the nation,—and he besought the Holy See to place Paul Cullen in the chair of St. Patrick.

1850 was the year which witnessed the arrival in Ireland of Dr. Cullen as archbishop of Armagh, and his opening the National Council of Thurles, as delegate apostolic. The Tenant-Right Conference in Dublin and the establishment of the Tenant League, and the holding of the National Synod happened within a few weeks of each other, raising the popular enthusiasm to an extraordinary height, because it was known and said that the new Archbishop of Armagh was of one mind and one heart with the Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel and the great majority of their brother-prelates on all the great questions which nearly concerned the national cause.

This popular conviction, and the joyous hopes which it authorized, were more than confirmed by the synodical address issued by the bishops in council and signed in their name by the Apostolic Delegate.

Prominent among the topics thus solemnly urged on the attention of the entire Catholic body, and, indirectly at least, on the serious consideration of the Government, were the relations between landlord and tenant, the dreadful condition of the Irish agricultural population, "the victims," the synodical address declared, "of the most ruthless oppression that ever disgraced the annals of humanity." It went

on to say to the people that they "were treated with a cruelty which would cause the heart to ache if inflicted on the beasts of the field, and for which it would be difficult to find a parallel save in the atrocities of savage life."

Assuredly, no more powerful language was ever addressed, even by a body of mere secular politicians, to a sensitive and excitable people, suffering under the accumulated wrongs of centuries, and whom it was not intended to stir up into armed rebellion; no bolder language of denunciation could be directed against the misdeeds or criminal neglect of any government by any body of discontents. The discourses or writings for which priests were, a very few years after 1850, censured, punished, degraded, acts for which archbishops and bishops were arraigned in the court of Rome as dangerous and mischievous political agitators, never, in any one single instance known to the public, gave utterance to such a condemnation as this of the iniquity of Irish land-laws, and the inhumanity with which they were administered.

On what, then, did the assembled prelates of the Catholic Church in Ireland, fulfilling one of their most solemn duties as pastors of the national flock, base this denunciation and condemnation?

Solely on the universally felt certainty that the cause of the Irish Catholic millions, reduced, on their own native soil, to a condition more precarious than that of savages, to a poverty more absolute, more helpless, dependent, and hopeless than that of the serf or the slave,—*was intrinsically the cause of the Catholic Religion*. It was the very existence of the Catholic Church in Ireland which was threatened (as it is threatened at this very day) by the inhuman laws of eviction, which array against the Irish tenant-farmer in his mud-hovel all the powers of the law-courts, the constabulary, and the British standing army in Ireland.

Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, and Delegate of the Apostolic See, never would have put his name to that synodical address in 1850, unless he felt in his heart and conscience that their religion it was

which had been the prime motive for making of an ancient race, intelligent, progressive, ambitious, and eminently moral, "the victims of the most ruthless oppression that ever disgraced the annals of humanity."

Taking into account the circumstances of the national movement in 1850, such language as this, and falling from the very representative of the Holy See, all who felt as the assembled prelates did must have been impelled by it, whether priests or laymen, to succor the victims of this "oppression," to right the enormous wrong by every constitutional means. No more solemn, no more explicit sanction could have been given to the efforts of the three noble priests who began in Callan the tenant-right movement, the very Rev. Father Mullins, with his devoted curates, Father Matthew Keefe and Father Thomas O'Shea.

So did all Ireland understand it in the autumn of 1850.

Let us follow the great national movement in its relations with this biography, and see the part taken in it by the Apostolic Delegate and the Archbishop of Tuam.

It was but natural that the latter, living amid the oppressed and half-famished populations of Mayo and Galway, should look upon the tenant-right question as one, literally, of life or death for his people. This was also the feeling which pervaded the whole body of his clergy.

It is evident, from the many letters of Dr. Cullen given in these volumes, that, while at the head of the Irish College in Rome, this prelate was fully and cordially in sympathy with the Archbishop of Tuam in the latter's long struggle to obtain JUSTICE for the tenant class in Ireland. The expressions contained in the letter soon to be quoted afford evidence that both are heartily in favor of the movement inaugurated in 1850 for obtaining a reform in the land-laws of Ireland. The movement itself had grown out of "The Callan Tenant Protection Society," founded in the diocese of Ossory, in 1849, for the purpose of checking "by public exposure the frightful acts of tyranny which were being perpetrated in Callan and its neighborhood; and further, to obtain by legal means for the tenants some small

share of that protection for person and property which, both in theory and practice, has always been denied to the Irish tenant.

"From Callan, under the direction of the local clergy, similar societies spread into other parishes and districts and counties, where the same local necessities prevailed; and in order to strengthen the action of these local societies, and to give them a common direction, they were all united together, in the year 1850, in Dublin, into a national society called 'The Irish Tenant League.' This was not done until, in 1847 and 1848, the bishops of Ireland had twice unanimously made earnest application to the Government for '*an equitable arrangement of the relations between landlords and tenants, founded on commutative justice,*' as '*necessary*' for the '*protection of the poor*' and the '*peace and prosperity of the country.*'

"And the very year in which the Tenant League was founded (1850), the. . . Apostolic Delegate and all the bishops of Ireland told the people in their synodical address that they were 'the victims of the most ruthless oppression that ever disgraced the annals of humanity;' and that they were 'treated with a cruelty which would cause the heart to ache if inflicted on the beasts of the field, and for which it would be difficult to find a parallel, save in the atrocities of savage life.'" ¹

But, even before the National Council of Thurles had assembled, or the synodical address had been drawn up, the Archbishop of Tuam had spoken publicly and emphatically on the Tenant Right Question. On May 4, 1850, he wrote to Mr. John O'Connell, who was still laboring to revive in its pristine vigor the Repeal Association, a letter the conclusion of which is an appeal to all Irishmen to unite on that vital question.

"There is one great question," he says, "one paramount grievance, which is calculated to annihilate our unfortunate divisions and restore the spirit of union among Irishmen; and that is the LAND QUESTION, or the assertion of the

¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 223, 224.

primitive right of man, sacred in every Christian country, to enjoy in security and peace the fruit of his industry and labor.

"I rejoice at the amalgamation of interests and of opinions which the assertion of the Poor Man's right is about to create, without any danger of the infusion of noxious doctrines; and I rejoice particularly that this absorbing question—the vital one for our people—is so prominent among the discussions of the Repeal Association."¹

This assertion of "the primitive right of man" reminds us of the joint memorial of the Irish bishops to the Viceroy, Lord Clarendon, in 1848, in which the Archbishop in the name of his colleagues so powerfully stated the case of the Irish tenants, as the indefeasible "right to live," in opposition to the absolute and unconditional claim of the landlords to the soil and its fruits.

On November 27, 1851, Dr. Mac Hale found a fitting opportunity at Ballina, in a great banquet to the Irish Representatives, to give a great impulse to Tenant Right. The utter desolation which he met with in his native district, compared with the desolation more utter still, if possible, which he had left behind in the diocese of Tuam, filled his soul with a holy wrath that vented itself in denunciation of the wrong-doers and in eloquent exhortation to unite for effective redress.

"It is not without feelings of reluctance," he said, "that I came to share in this festivity. . . . If the dreadful truth of Goldsmith's 'Deserted Village' makes on the reader, at every stage of life, such a deep impression,—faint as that picture must be in the face of the reality,—what, think you, must have been my feelings when two years ago I revisited this diocese? Instead of one, I traversed a wilderness, of deserted villages, in which not a human being was to be met? There a few years before all had been bustle and cheerful life; and there now all is sad, and still, and gloomy, as if the land was resting on the Sabbath of its desolation. Of all the districts in Ireland this, as well as the border

¹ *Tuam Herald*.

parishes of my own, appears to me to be the region in which, for its extent, you can count the most monuments of famine, pestilence, cruelty, and extermination.... Yet these monuments did not stare you in the face. Neither dismantled cottages, nor their smouldering roofs, nor unsightly gables, so numerous and so ghastly in other parts of our land, have been here allowed to remain to attest the terrible destruction of human life.

"No! All these ruins have disappeared. As soon as the inhabitants had been driven forth, every wattle of the cottage was carried away or consumed by fire, lest the fugitives of the bailiff's ferocity should be able to find materials wherewith to construct a rude shelter in the neighboring sandpit; lest parents and shivering, starving children might there snatch a few broken slumbers for the night.

"And what was the prospect that lay before these victims of extermination?

"The following morning, after their fevered sleep, the rising sun, which to others brought light and joy, to them showed nothing but the dismal alternative of death at the portals of the workhouse, or the emigrant ship; the workhouse with its crowded inmates, its pestilential and morally polluted atmosphere, or the emigrant ship, carrying them beyond the sight of land only to find a grave in the Atlantic.

"Is this an imaginary scene?

"The vessel which thus perished is said to have sailed from the next headland, almost in sight of this town. Her Majesty's Minister for foreign affairs, in his next dispatches to the Court of Naples, or Vienna, or Rome itself, may undertake to lecture them on the economical methods used by Whig humanitarians to get rid of a poor population.

"Surely, these advocates of humanity, these champions of the rights and redressers of the wrongs of foreign peoples, will not be offended at our putting on record the way they treat their own. They must be glad of an opportunity to let the serfs of the European continent know to what a high

level of social and material happiness they have contrived to raise a population blessed with their political rule.

"It is time that all our social anomalies should be put an end to.

"The ministers of God have been sometimes reproached with having lent themselves to the enemies of the rights of property. God forbid that such should ever have been the case. But now, that a great deal of our disasters are over, I say with all seriousness and solemnity, that if the ministers of God, the priests of the people, have anything to answer for, it is for having erred more in the severity to the people than to the proprietors of the land. They will have more to fear at the Judgment Seat *for not vindicating the rights of the poor* in the midst of their distress, than for all they have done to enforce the rights of the wretched on the consideration of the proprietary class and the Government.

"It is high time that this question should be adjusted. It is the interest of the landlords as well as the tenants that it should be adjusted speedily and satisfactorily.

"The accomplishment of the results I have mentioned cannot be brought about without an (independent) Irish Parliamentary party. You have heard, not only in sensible, but in very eloquent language, the expression of the policy which is to be pursued by that party. I give my full approval to what has fallen from Mr. Moore, with this single exception, that, while constituencies would be asking candidates for parliamentary honors to give pledges never, perhaps, intended to be fulfilled, I should ask these same constituencies, for the sake of justice, not to require of their representatives to do what they would not themselves perform; not to throw upon the shoulders of their members a burden which they would not themselves move their little fingers to help to support."

And then come golden words of warning on the policy of place-hunting and patronage, which was so soon to prove the bane of the wise and salutary course of statesmanship advocated by the Archbishop.

"It is not," he continues, with the voice of a prophet,

"it is not by a small dribbling of patronage that the interests of our country are to be advanced. . . . Is not the man in fault who, when the country is bleeding and lying prostrate, the victim of unprincipled Whig misrule, goes and barter with the Government to get a small share of patronage, and thus gives aid to the very oppression which he denounced with his tongue, but which he approves and confirms in his heart?"

"Remember that the followers of Gideon, when sent to free their country, were told not to stop in passing the river to drink their fill of water, but to lift to their lips what they could hold in the hollow of their hands. The men who stooped to drink were discarded as unworthy of battling for freedom. And the self-denying and faithful few were victorious over the enemies of their country.

"This is the policy which I recommend to you and to our people. In no other way can we win the battle for Ireland.

"We are passing through a fiery ordeal. But amid its flames we stand united: all the orders of our hierarchy and our people are hand in hand. We have to reconstruct our national social edifice from the loose materials scattered over the land. To do so effectually, let us imitate the Hebrews returned from captivity, begin by building up the ruined walls of our Jerusalem and restoring the glory of our Temple, priests and people working lovingly together."¹

This claim of JUSTICE, and only justice, for the Irish tenants, had been solemnly indorsed by the new primate, Archbishop Cullen, from the beginning, almost, of his administration. We anticipate slightly by recalling one fact: In October, 1851, a deputation was appointed by the Tenant League, *organized about a year previously*, to collect in the North of Ireland the funds necessary for continuing the good work undertaken by it. The deputation consisted of three clergymen and Mr. Frederick Lucas, then secretary to the Tenant League. In Drogheda, where Archbishop

¹ MAC HALE MSS., and "Evening Freeman's Journal" of Nov. 27th, 1851.

Cullen resided, they were by him received with great kindness, as the following letter abundantly testifies.

“DROGHEDA, 27th October, 1851.

“DEAR SIR:—I cheerfully add my mite to the collection now commenced, which has for its object to aid in obtaining legal relief for the suffering agricultural population of Ireland. Their case is sad indeed; every man endowed with Christian charity must feel a deep interest in it. It is most desirable to have the matter brought in a full and satisfactory manner before Parliament, with the view to get some measure adopted by which the rights and interests of both proprietors and occupiers of the soil may be regulated and protected.

“It is clear that the present state of things has been most detrimental to landlord and tenant; and it is undoubted that the country will be irretrievably ruined unless the Legislature will adopt some wise and just measure to save it.

“Wishing you and your colleagues every success in your charitable endeavors to assist the poor and oppressed,

“I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

“PAUL CULLEN.

“REV. MR. DOWLING, P. P. CLONMELLON.”

Father Dowling was at the head of the deputation; and “with this letter in hand,” says Mr. Lucas, “we went from door to door to the principal Catholic inhabitants of Drogheda. The chief spokesman of the deputation was, of course, the priest whom the Archbishop had selected as in his judgment its fittest representative.”¹

After the Archbishop, Frederick Lucas, who had just transferred to Dublin the publication office of the “*Tablet*,” was the most efficient agent in calling into being the Tenant League, and in directing toward one common aim the energies and talents of both priests and laymen. We quote here from his unpublished letters.

¹ “*Life of Frederick Lucas*,” vol. II., pp. 227, 228

“ DUBLIN, April 20th, 1850.

“ MY DEAR LORD:—The arrangements about a conference in Dublin on the subject of the land-law are advancing. A form of requisition for a meeting at which the Northerners are to attend has been agreed to, and was to be sent last night by Dr. Gray to the Northerners in London for their approval. The time proposed is the *second* week in May. And if that is not disagreeable to the gentlemen invited, and amongst others very principally your Grace, I suppose that time will be fixed, if it also suits the Northerners, leaving it to a later period to fix the exact day.

“ Every one agrees that it is most important to have a strong expression of opinion from the West; and the hope among those with whom I have spoken is universal that your Grace would use your influence to have the West well represented in the conference. The best of all possible representatives would be your Grace; and it is here universally hoped that, if you cannot attend in person, your opinions and views may be urged by such gentlemen,—clergy or lay,—as you may be able to persuade to come so far east as Dublin.

“ The requisition, or circular, is to include all shades of liberal opinion, and will be signed by John O’Connell, Dr. Gray, Mr. Duffy, Mr. Greer, *I think* Sir Coleman O’Laughlin, perhaps Dr. McKnight, and myself.

“ I hope we shall have the inestimable advantage of your Grace’s influence to help us.

“ I have had a good deal of conversation with the Rev. Mr. Duggan, and,—if I may say so to your Grace,—am delighted with his intelligence and frankness. I hope we shall have his help.

“ I have the honor to be, etc.,

“ F. LUCAS.”

In the next letter, of April 27, Mr. Lucas writes of the use which he wishes to make of the Archbishop’s name not only in the conference itself, but in writing to the prelates

and others whom he wished to enlist in the great work he had in hand.

"I hope," he writes, "I have not done wrong in using your Grace's name in connection with the conference. I imagined that I had authority to do so, and wish very much that I had thought of writing for express permission, because then, perhaps, I should have been able to publish your Grace's coöperation in your own words. Having to write to other prelates for that purpose, I found myself in possession of letters from their Lordships written expressly for publication; the thing being done in a hurry, and many letters having to be written, I incautiously and unthinkingly contented myself with what your Grace had already written, and which, though not written for publication, sufficiently conveyed the fact.

"It seems probable that the conference *will* meet; but before it meets, if any good is to come of it, a good deal must be done in the way of preparing matter for its deliberations. For this purpose I feel sure the Preparatory Committee will have many meetings and ought to do a great deal. As we understand that the Primate is to be in Dublin, I hope, from what your Grace said recently, that we may be honored by your presence, and aided in our deliberations during your stay in town. But would it not also be well to have some one from your Grace's diocese to attend to the Preparatory Committee from day to day, and enforce whatever special views your Grace and the archdiocese may generally wish to have enforced? I write by this post to Mr. Duggan on the subject. . . .

"I should mention that, in writing to the other prelates, asking permission to use their names, I took the liberty of mentioning that we had the great benefit of your Grace's approval.

"I have the honor to be, etc.,

" F. LUCAS.

"P. S.—Could I be favored with a letter from your Grace to publish in next week's *Tablet*?"

“TABLET OFFICE, May 15, 1850.

“MY DEAR LORD :—You will have seen, I dare say, the address issued by the Preparatory Committee, and the announcement of the days on which the Committee hold their sittings. Of course, it is not to be supposed that your Grace could leave the pressing duties of your archdiocese to honor our humble labors with your personal presence ; but if the deliberations of the Committee are to end in any practical result, if it is of importance that they should propose to the conference only what the conference and the country at large will be willing to accept, I venture most respectfully to suggest that there should be amongst us some Western voice to push us on if we lag behind the necessities of the West, and to put on the drag chain if we go too far.

“We believe the Committee will recommend to the conference three things: the plan of a tenant law ; the plan of a tenant league ; the plan of an agitation. Success is attainable only by the country being unanimous (or tolerably so) on the leading principles of these three plans.

“The plan of the Tenant Law will involve, of course, three points: (1) Valuation of Rents; (2) Compensation; (3) Perpetuity of Tenure.¹ On all these questions there are considerable difficulties; whether the committee will pronounce *pro* or *con* on any of them, I am not authorized to say; but having heard a good deal of general discussion on the subject, and thought a little on it myself, I am sure we are in a state in which it becomes very advisable to have a clear understanding of what the West may think too rash or too timid. My impression is that all three will be affirmed.

“On the *League* I need say nothing except that the entire disposition of the Committee is to throw the working power of the League into the provinces, and to make it as provincial as possible.

“On the plan of agitation I can tell your Grace nothing

¹ These points were what is now known as the “three F’s,” viz., fair rents, free sale (with compensation for improvements), and fixity of tenure.

but my own views, which may be shortly expressed thus : that valuation of rents (including compensation) is both the main end to be struggled for and the chief means of securing success. I am now privately taking counsel's opinion on this point,—whether, if the farmers of a particular union or barony, or of several adjoining unions or baronies, were to meet together in the central place of each union or barony, and were to agree to name an honest and skilful valuator to value the lands of the district ; and if the farmers were to agree to abide by his valuation, and to *take* no holdings at any higher rates than the valuation,—whether this would be against law.

“ Having studied the acts on this matter, it is my impression that such a course would be legal ; and I think also that, if legal, it affords standing ground enough to *compel* a valuation on equitable terms without the tedious process of convincing corrupt Parliaments. But even so it is not for the Committee, if they should agree with me, to recommend such a course without mature inquiry and sanction. This form of agitation has already commenced rather extensively in Kilkenny, where Rev. Mr. O'Shea has had green cards printed and has been administering a pledge, which I believe to be illegal, and not half so effectual as the one I propose. He is anxious to change it to what I now propose, if that be found legal ; and I hope I need not assure your Grace that I would have nothing to do with any course that were not, in my poor judgment, at once legal, safe, and effectual.

“ Suppose, however, a legal ground such as I describe to be got ; and suppose a commencement to be made in Kilkenny, where they seem to be ripe for it ;—might not that county be made a new Clare, and secure emancipation for the tenant, as Clare secured it for the upper and middle classes of society ?

“ My own impression is that it both might and would,—if the *whole* country were roused as a great part of it was roused on the Father Matthew movement, and if a considerable fund could be collected to fight the battle effec-

tively and in detail, to defend cases of oppression in courts of law and to prosecute landlords illegally oppressing.

"On all these points, however, we poor Committee men need a higher and wider sanction; and I should be very glad if in some shape or other we could have before us your Grace's opinion for our guidance.

"In conclusion, may I beg your Grace not hastily to dismiss from your mind, as impracticable, the plan of agitation I have suggested, even if at first sight it appears to be so. Perhaps this is intruding a little too far, but something akin to parental fondness urges me.

"I have the honor to be, etc.,

"F. LUCAS."¹

On the 6th of August the long-expected Conference was held in Dublin. Two hundred delegates from all parts of Ireland met in the Rotundo. Men of every religious denomination sat side by side to deliberate on the present condition and future prospects of the Irish tenant-farmers. "The unanimity was complete,² and the demands of the meeting were so formulated as to furnish a parliamentary party with a definite basis upon which to go to the House of Commons. The resolutions, in the drafting of which Mr. Lucas had taken a prominent part, were first submitted to a large public meeting (held in Dublin), by which they were enthusiastically adopted. One of the most important of these, and one on which Lucas placed very great stress indeed, declared:—

"That our efforts will be ineffectual unless we have as representatives men of known honesty, who will withhold support from any cabinet that will not advance these principles,' i. e., the principles laid down in the previous resolutions.

"This was the beginning of what came to be afterwards known as the Independent Opposition in the House of Commons. In principle this policy had been, as the reader has seen, proclaimed in the very first number of the

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

² "Life of Frederick Lucas," vol. I., pp. 385 seq.

'Tablet.'¹ Its practical application to parliamentary proceedings was alone new, and the necessity of binding candidates and members by strict pledges was very strongly felt. . . . The resolution, then, so far as he was concerned, was merely an effort, while asserting the determination to establish a third party in the House, *to have promises enforced so publicly and so explicitly, that pledgers should be ashamed to break them.*² The resolution was misrepresented after the usual British fashion.

"That there was nothing revolutionary in the principles of the party, is clear from the following proposals made by Lucas, and carried at the conference :—

" 'That an equitable valuation of land for rent should divide between the landlord and tenant the net profits of cultivation, in the same way that profits would be divided between partners in any other business where one of them is the dormant partner and the other the working capitalist, who takes upon him the whole risk.'

"And again :—

" 'That nothing should be included in the valuation, or be paid under the valuation to the landlord, on account of improvements made by the tenant, or those under whom

¹ "We believe there is very little difference between Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel in the desire to maintain the present, or very nearly the present, mixture of aristocracy and democracy. . . . Both of them are desirous to maintain the Anglican Establishment in a certain degree of pre-eminence over the Catholic Church and the sects which the Establishment has brought forth. . . . On many points we should agree with both . . . but we should give our support to the party to whose exertions the triumph of the principles of toleration and justice is owing, rather than to the party on whose acceptance they have been forced." Speaking of the Tories, Lucas says: "Fanatical without religion, unbending in their purposes but unscrupulous in their means, and capable of waiving their principles for a time in order to secure their ultimate more sure triumph; restless, meddling, rash, heedless, and impatient . . . they have in England made hateful the designation of ultra-Tory, and in Ireland have consigned to eternal infamy the name of Orangeman."—

Quoted from first number of *Tablet*, 16th May, 1840.

² This, doubtless, was also the reason which induced the Archbishop of Tuam to attend the public dinners, etc., given in honor of the "Irish Brigade;" and, as we have said in analyzing the speeches made by him on these occasions, his purpose, doubtless, was *to have promises* (made by such men as Keogh and Sadlier) *enforced so publicly and explicitly, that pledgers should be ashamed to break them.*

he claims, unless these have been paid for by the landlord in reduced rent or in some other way.'

"Now, though the Rev. Mr. Rutherford and other speakers had anticipated Mr. Parnell in declaring that, in most cases and strictly speaking, the prairie value alone could be justly claimed by the landlord, yet the league repudiated all notion of a greatly retrospective valuation. Though they had no respect for the theory of compensating periods, their great anxiety was to establish the theory of Tenant-Right, and to secure that the wrong should cease from that time forward, such reductions of rent being made as could be arrived at by arbitration. The method by which a fair rent should be ascertained was a valuation either by arbitration or by public officers; and the editor of the *Tablet* wrote that the Conference 'would not allow their resolute determination to secure right to the tenant to lead them into any step at variance with the plain dictates of justice.'

"That they should be so led astray was indeed highly improbable; for not one of the leaders, and none less than Frederick Lucas, had any personal interest to serve in the agitation. The motives which actuated them were considerations of common humanity and common justice, intensified by the knowledge that the suffering population was altogether unable to help itself. The idea of plundering the landowners was very far removed from their minds. They were willing rather to submit to some injustice.

"The Tenant League was formally constituted on the 10th of August, 1850. It was understood that Parliament would be prorogued on the 17th of the month, and Mr. Shea Lalor was at once despatched to London by the council of the League. He was furnished with instructions drawn up by a committee appointed for that purpose, and in particular with the heads of a bill for the protection of the tenants during the coming year. The proposal was:—

"That valuers should be appointed to estimate the amount necessary for each tenant's family, together with laborers' wages, cost of seed corn, and other necessary ex-

penses, with rates and taxes to which he was liable, and that the balance only should be recoverable for arrears of rent?'

"This does not strike one as very revolutionary, or as in any way confiscatory or savoring of Communism. The Irish Whig Members, however, Catholic and Protestant, who were still in town, gave Mr. Lalor no encouragement, and would only introduce him to Lord John Russell on the distinct understanding that they could not support the proposed Bill; and so they told the Premier."¹

It is scarcely too much to say that in conducting this great movement in favor of the agricultural tenants of Ireland the Archbishop of Tuam and Mr. Lucas labored as if they had but one heart and one mind. The great journalist took his inspiration and direction from the prelate, theologian, and statesman, and then followed out the convictions at which he had arrived by a most careful study of the condition of the Irish tenants and the working of the Irish land laws. The journalist was indefatigable in doing by pen and voice what the Archbishop could not do; while the latter lent the whole weight of his authority and influence to the principles and reforms advocated by his friend, well knowing how enlightened, disinterested, and thoroughly conscientious the latter was in thus struggling for the poor oppressed populations of Ireland.

There will, there must, perhaps, come a time, a not far-distant time, when the supreme judgment of the Court of Rome, as arbitrator, will be invoked in settling once and forever the conflicting claims of the landlords of Ireland and their rack-rented tenants. It will not do to allow the Sovereign Pontiff and his counsellors and assessors in this final inquiry to be either misinformed or imperfectly informed on a question which involves the very existence of a Catholic people,—an ancient nation demanding only what is strictly in accordance with natural justice.

The resolutions and propositions recited above embody only a part of what the Archbishop of Tuam had been

¹ "Life of Frederick Lucas," vol. I., *ibidem*.

continually urging on the attention of the Imperial Legislature, through Prime Minister after Prime Minister, Whigs and Tories alike,—during his episcopal career. But Legislators and Ministers were alike deaf to his eloquent pleas for justice, and justice only, because they were the landlord class, who were interested in perpetuating the iniquity of centuries. The nation's advocate wearied not for all that, because he believed in the eternity and immutability of justice. But while the inevitable day of reparation was put off from year to year, the Archbishop was held up as an ambitious agitator and demagogue, and his character was studiously painted, both in the Three Kingdoms and in Rome, as that of a man who delighted in keeping his countrymen in a chronic state of discontent, irritation, and commotion.

The anti-Irish and anti-Catholic press of the Three Kingdoms daily denounced him as such. What wonder if misrepresentation should succeed in poisoning the very atmosphere of the highest sanctuary which Truth and Justice possessed on earth?

The Tenant League, animated and encouraged by such prelates as Drs. Mac Hale and Cantwell, having the countenance and coöperation of the Presbyterians of the North of Ireland and of the other patriotic Protestants mentioned above, and worked by such energetic and practical men as Lucas and George Henry Moore, forced the fair-minded in Great Britain to give ear to the claims of the Irish tenant class. Englishmen, Welshmen, Scotchmen heard, considered, studied a question thus set before them,—and they admitted that the tenants were right, and the landlords wrong. The Press of Great Britain, as represented by the London "Times," was against them.

The "Times" echoed the saying of Lord Palmerston that Tenant Right meant Landlord Wrong, and the inferior journals studiously reëchoed the "Times." It seemed a hopeless task to endeavor to convince the editors of these powerful journals, or the public who took from them, cut and dry, the opinions set forth and the policy inculcated,

morning and evening, that the Tenant League agitators, lay and clerical, purposed to do anything else but to confiscate the property of the Irish landlords in favor of their tenants. To right the tenants, therefore, as the League aimed to do, was, the British public thought and said, to wrong the landowners.

It was in vain that Mr. Lucas, immediately after the formation of the Tenant League and its Council, wrote to the "Times," stating with his usual clearness and ability the objects of the League, and the proposal made for a Bill settling, on the terms of equity and reason, the relations and interests of the proprietors of the soil and of the tenants who tilled it and made it fruitful.

The "Times" adopted on this matter the teaching of Archbishop Whately, afterward embodied in the manuals placed in the hand of the pupils of the National Schools.¹ "If a piece of land is your property," says the Archbishop, "you ought to be at liberty to dispose of it *like any other property*: either to sell it, or to cultivate it yourself, or to employ a bailiff and laborers to cultivate it for you, or to let it to a farmer."

Thirty years later, however, in 1881, a British Parliament set aside these maxims of Dr. Whately, and gave law-courts the power of fixing the "Fair Rent" asked by Frederick Lucas and the Tenant League.

Public opinion in Great Britain thus took a long time to begin to right the wrongs of the Irish tenantry. But Lucas and the Archbishop of Tuam labored strenuously, in spite of misrepresentation and discouragement, to show the English people that there were enormous wrongs to right in the sister island.

The "Times," in its contest with Mr. Lucas, relied on the readiness with which its own version of the Tenant League proceedings and its views of the claims advanced would be received by the prejudiced millions of Great Britain. But the editor of the "Tablet" was chiefly anxious to be granted permission to state in the columns of the great leading jour-

¹ Fifth Reading Book, pp. 257, 262; 6th Ed.

nal the case of Ireland as he had studied it. He felt as sure that the clouds of error and national prejudice would sooner or later pass away from the minds of his countrymen, as that the densest London fog would lift after a few days.

"The friends and advocates of Tenant Right," he says, "had no hope of success except through persuasion; as they believed that, by the adoption of their principles, all classes would be benefited, and none injured; and as they were persuaded that the arrangement contemplated would give riches and security to the Irish landlord and a wider field to English commerce, they were determined to do their best to remove the unfounded prejudice, and to make it known that their ranks were not composed of 'ranting enthusiasts,' but of men of sense and reason, from whom the calamities of the time might now and then extort a rash phrase or a vehement illustration, but who desired nothing, and would be content with nothing, but practical remedies for an intolerable abuse."¹

The great argument of the "Times," as against the enacting of a new law in favor of the Irish tenants, was founded on the falsely supposed identity of their condition with that of the same class in England. Mr. Lucas, in replying to this, only repeats what the Archbishop of Tuam had proved a hundred times. "In England," he says, "no sane landlord deals with his land as the merchant with his goods; it is not the practice in England to insist upon the highest rent that can be got for the land. As a class the English landlords look on both sides of the bargain, consult for the interests of the tenant, expend their own capital on the farm, carefully make it their own interest that the tenants shall thrive and prosper, and would hold it at once disreputable and foolish to hold up their lands to private auction, and to lease them to the highest bidder. . . . The necessity for interference in Ireland arises mainly from the long-continued, permanent, and hopeless refusal of the Irish landlords to follow the example of their English brethren."²

¹ "Life of Frederick Lucas," I., p. 392.

² *Ibidem*, pp. 393-394.

But the "Times," or its editors, had not always been of the same way of thinking with regard to the grievances of the Irish tenants. In 1843 it had said upon this very subject:—

"In any case, the landlord is not a tradesman. He stands to his tenantry *in loco parentis*. He is there as well for their good as for his own. They are not mere contractors with him, to hold his land as capital, and pay him the full interest or incur a forfeiture; they are rather the agents placed in his hands, and under his care and protection, for the purpose of working his land, and whose natural relations with him cannot be determined except by negligence or ill conduct. If land is treated like money, and the tenantry as borrowers, people may be sure that the landlord will be an usurer. *In Ireland the tenant has not the shadow of the character of a voluntary contractor. With the Irish tenant there is no alternative: he must either continue on his quarter of an acre, or starve; rack-rent is misery, but ejection is ruin.*"¹

It was of no use to recall to the editor of the great journal its former serious and studied utterances on the question in debate. Mr. Lucas was only answered by a wretched evasion. He had fairly driven his antagonist off the field. But thus beaten, a newspaper can argue still and always have the last word. But as the editor of the "Tablet" was in reality addressing himself to the public of the Three Kingdoms, he again replied in a long letter filled with the most exhaustive evidence, demonstrating beyond the possibility of contradiction the just, the purely just claims of the Irish tenant class.

Meanwhile Great Britain was all aflame with the religious passions kindled by the Durham Letter and the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. In Ireland the Tenant Right movement went on, gathering force in spite of the politico-religious storm which raged in Parliament and throughout the country. Northern Presbyterians and Catholics from the East, South, and West continued to act together in the

¹ *Ibidem*, quoted, the Italics are our own.

Tenant League Council and in the many enthusiastic meetings held in almost every county in Ireland. All through 1850, 1851, and 1852 the cause so long and so warmly advocated by the Archbishop of Tuam continued to gather strength, till its leaders seemed more assured of success than O'Connell had been on the eve of carrying Emancipation.

The Bishop of Meath gave to the movement and to Mr. Lucas, who devoted his whole energies to its advancement, the whole-hearted support he had ever given to anything connected with the cause of Ireland. At one meeting held at Monaghan, Mr. Lucas, as his brother writes, "contented himself with reading two letters addressed to him, one by Dr. Mac Hale, Archbishop of Tuam, and the other by the Bishop of Meath, Dr. Cantwell."

It was deemed sufficient to read to the assembled thousands the letters of the two prelates most revered in Ireland, to enlist the coöperation of those who still held back or who were deterred by the rumors that by other bishops the whole movement was regarded as revolutionary, and the proposal for a legal valuation of rents as Communism or something very much akin to it.

To this unfounded assertion Mr. Lucas replied, a week after the meeting in Monaghan, in a speech delivered at Navan to an assemblage of 15,000 persons, diocesans of Dr. Cantwell, to whom Mr. Sharman Crawford also addressed a stirring appeal.

"The politicians who make this charge," Mr. Lucas said, "do not go so far as to say we are Communists; only that our principles lead to Communism. Lead to Communism! . . . Let every man speak for himself. They don't lead *me* to Communism. Judging by Mr. Crawford's speech, they don't lead him to Communism. To the best of my knowledge and belief, they don't lead any friend or member of the League to Communism. . . . No doubt, by accident, anything may lead anybody anywhere, especially if he be a fool. One is led to ask, *How* valuation leads to Communism? and the answer is, that it renders necessary a legal adjustment of wages. I deny that a legal adjust-

ment of wages is Communism. It may be wise or foolish, but Communism it is not."¹

It was impossible that such doctrines, embodying claims of the most rigorous justice, and advocated by a man like Frederick Lucas, who was at that moment sacrificing to the cause of Ireland a life filled with such high promise, should not be enthusiastically received by the Irish people, and should not, as well, make a deep impression in Great Britain.

The important point, now that the Tenant League with its council was organized, and that its objects were so clearly stated and so generally accepted, was to have in Parliament a compact body of men pledged to the advocacy of those objects.

Such a party, independent of Whigs and Tories alike, had been the life-long ideal of the Archbishop of Tuam; and he seemed now in a fair way of realizing it.

The Russell Ministry, who had passed the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in 1851, with the concurrence of the Tories, more anti-Catholic and anti-Irish even than their antagonists, were driven out of power on February the 20th, 1852. Lord Derby, the new Prime Minister, announced that Parliament would be dissolved in the summer.

A general election was the golden opportunity for the Tenant League and for the men who yearned for the long-wished-for party of independent opposition. Drs. Mac Hale and Cantwell, and the prelates who were of one mind with them, redoubled their exertions during the months which preceded the election. Never since the memorable year of 1828 had Ireland been so moved by the hope of soon redressing the wrongs of centuries. Never had British statesmen so providential an opportunity to do justice to an oppressed people and to give them with justice the simple meed of religious liberty, which they were fain to demand from Catholic governments all over the world for Protestants.

The active part taken by the Archbishop of Tuam in this

¹ *Ibidem* pp. 403-404.

momentous electoral struggle produced all the results hoped for. The agricultural masses were risking everything in voting for tenant right and independent representatives. They were buoyed up by what appeared a prospect of certain success. They refused their votes to all landlords and candidates who would not pledge themselves to maintain the popular and national policy. They succeeded beyond the expectations of all who remembered past struggles.

Between forty and fifty members pledged to this salutary policy were elected, among whom were men on whose name no shadow or stain ever fell: George Henry Moore, Frederick Lucas, John Francis Maguire, Patrick McMahon, Tristram Kennedy, Richard Swift (an Englishman, like Lucas), John Brady, and Charles Gavan Duffy, who had contracted a warm friendship for Lucas, and who had won the confidence of Archbishop Mac Hale by an open and manly repudiation of the policy and principles which had made the Young Ireland party an object of suspicion to Catholics.

On September the 8th, 1852, all the Irish members were summoned to a tenant right conference in Dublin. Forty representatives attended, and a resolution was adopted, couched in the following words:—

“RESOLVED:—That in the opinion of this conference it is essential to the proper management of this cause, that the Members of Parliament who have been returned on Tenant Right principles, should hold themselves perfectly independent of, and in opposition to, all governments which do not make it a part of their policy, and a cabinet question, to give to the tenantry of Ireland a measure embodying the principles of Mr. Sharman Crawford’s Bill.”

This resolution was proposed by Mr. William Keogh, Member for Athlone, and met with but one dissentient voice, that of Mr. Burke Roche, afterward Lord Fermoy.

The Tories, as we have said, were in power; but their party was a house divided against itself. A fraction of them, the Peelites, had opposed John Russell’s Penalty Bill

and were pledged to have it repealed ; the remainder, the Protectionist Conservatives, were led by Disraeli. It was, therefore, in the power of a compact and united Irish independent party of forty members to make the parliamentary balance incline in favor of either Whigs or Tories.

This was the unique and providential opportunity.

What, then, came to mar these bright prospects, and to disappoint the cherished hope of a nation?

It is a sad, a tragic chapter ; but it must be told once more in connection with the Life we are narrating. Among the many great sorrows of JOHN OF TUAM, no one was greater than that caused by the betrayal we are going to sketch briefly, and by the wide-spread extermination of the tenantry caused by the vindictive and triumphant landlord class.

CHAPTER X.

Second Phase of the National Movement of 1850-52.

PLEDGES SOLEMNLY TAKEN, AND CRUELLY BROKEN—DR.
MAC HALE'S STERN DENUNCIATION OF THE TRAITORS.

THE reader who, at the present day, reviews the records of the Tenant League Movement of 1850, will not fail, as the Irish Representatives pass before his mental vision, to distinguish from "*the Irish Brigade*" who resisted in Parliament the progress of Lord John Russell's Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, the band of noisy and self-seeking politicians, whose aims and character were early divined in Parliament, where they were called "*the Brass Band.*" Even in the parliamentary discussions of 1850, '51, '52, sagacious observers in and out of the House of Commons began to regard the latter with suspicion or with dread.

But there were other Catholic members sitting on these same parliamentary benches who, while defending Catholic interests with distinguished zeal and ability, never for a moment then or thereafter faltered in their devotion to the cause of the Irish tenant: these were the men who clustered around GEORGE HENRY MOORE, another illustrious disciple of John of Tuam.

As the reader, however, comes upon that "*Brass Band,*" that Keogh-Sadleir group of corruptionists, hypocrites, and perjurers, he will ask, "But had Dr. Mac Hale no suspicion of the character and purposes of these men as he sat by their side in that great Banquet at Athlone, in October 1851, and received the fulsome compliments of Mr. William Keogh? Had Dr. Cullen, the Delegate Apostolic, no intimation of what these men were, when he so publicly and so solemnly identified their political action with the most sacred interests of religion as well as of country? Or was it that, high-

minded prelate and patriot as he was, Dr. Mac Hale believed that the pledges of devotion, so solemnly given by these men to the national cause, appeared to him to be an infallible means of binding them to a faithful fulfilment of the same?"

Be that as it may,—certain it is that the manner in which Sadleir and his confederates had managed to secure for themselves the control of the grate Aggregate Meeting of Catholics in Dublin in August, 1851, could not have escaped the observation of one so sagacious as the Archbishop of Tuam. But the conspiracy then formed by these men of desperate fortunes to trade upon the glorious sentiments which inspired the Catholic body and the patriots who had organized both the Tenant League and the parliamentary party of independent opposition was founded on treachery and baseness so deep that it might well escape the eye or the suspicion of the wary but honest prelate.

In this connection, we submit to the reader the following letter received by the Archbishop some time before the Athlone Banquet.

“TABLET OFFICE, 21 UPPER SACKVILLE STREET,

“DUBLIN, Saturday, 25th October, 1851.

“MY DEAR LORD:—I am very sorry to trouble you about an unpleasant business: but as it rather materially concerns the public policy in which your Grace takes so leading a part, and as both my public duties and private interests are mixed up in it, I think it my duty not to take any step in public without consulting your Grace.

“I presume your Grace may have heard of a project by the three secretaries¹ to start a paper (three day and weekly, to begin Dec. 8th) on their own account. The project was originated before the end of the session, and I was consulted about it by Mr. Keogh. Mr. Reynolds's name was not then mentioned, nor do I think was Mr. Sadleir's. But two Mayo names *were* mentioned, viz., Messrs. Ousely Higgins and Moore. The former, I think, was willing to embark £1000,

¹ John Sadleir, M. P., Ouseley Higgins, M. P., and Mr. John Reynolds.

and the latter £500, or *vice versa*. I was then told that £6000 could be raised, and at that time it was for a *daily* paper. The first question I asked was—‘what does the Archbishop of Tuam say about it?’

“‘The Archbishop is in favor of it. He will do whatever Mr. Moore likes.’

“I must do Mr. Moore the justice that I have never heard a word from his lips, nor have I heard his name mentioned recently in the matter, nor that of Mr. Higgins. [However, I was told that this paper was to represent the Association (Defence) and be its organ, and as I heard from other quarters that some such project was talked of amongst the bishops and M. P.’s, I naturally took it for granted that, for the present at least, all was right.]¹

“Mr. Keogh said that the course taken by the *Tablet* was the one they wished to take; that the parties concerned in the project would do whatever he wished; and that he thought the most feasible plan would be to join with me, etc., Thinking that an arrangement could be made which would give security for the future management of such a paper, and, at all events, anxious, if such a thing was to be done, not to let it slip through my fingers until I knew more about it, I consented, at Mr. Keogh’s request, to furnish him with figures and particulars to show how the thing would work.

“After our conversation in Kingstown he returned to Parliament, and within two or three days I sent him over a sheet full of calculations and estimates. For some time I heard no more about it. I jogged Keogh’s memory two or three times; and at last we made an appointment for 30th September to meet at Sadleir’s office Reynolds, Keogh, and Sadleir. We met; we talked; but came to no conclusion—for want (as it seemed) of papers and figures then not at hand. We agreed to meet again on Monday week (13 Oct.), Reynolds in the interval having to go to the West, and Keogh and Sadleir to London.

“On Monday (Oct. 13th) I was at Sadleir’s door accordingly, and the door was opened to me by Sadleir and Keogh,

¹ The brackets are in the original.

who were going out, having *forgotten* their appointment. Keogh told me he had that morning returned from London. We walked down the street together, and in the way, among other complaints about the *Tablet*, a special complaint was made about the insertion of a letter signed 'N.', which protested against spending the Association funds on large contested elections. At the door of the *Tablet* office we parted, they undertaking to come back at three o'clock to keep their appointment. Before three Reynolds's clerk brought a note from Keogh to say they were too busy to keep their appointment and would name another day.

"From that hour I have heard nothing *from* any of them. But *of* them I have heard, and know that when Keogh and Sadleir were in London in the interval between the two appointments, they *concluded* an arrangement with Mr. McCabe, his name having never been mentioned to me, and my name never having been mentioned to him, such arrangement being wholly at variance with the negotiation they were pretending to carry on with me, and it being represented to Mr. McCabe that the new paper was to be the organ of the Association.

"Of course, there are many things branching out from this with which I need not trouble your Grace; but after the base duplicity with which they have treated me, and the jobbing and intriguing attempts they are everywhere making to turn this movement to their private purposes, I really do not see how henceforward I can be a party to trying to procure for them in the slightest degree that public confidence of which not a particle is felt by myself.

"I do not like to communicate to your Grace my crude thoughts on this matter. I have as yet consulted no one, and may perhaps be biassed by personal feeling. As the League has an arrangement for making a collection in Drogheda this week, I am going down by the next train in hope of having half an hour's consultation with the Primate. I wish I could as readily see your Grace; but I have some notion of being at Athlone—not, of course, to attend the dinner—but in the hope of meeting your Grace, and re-

ceiving your instruction and advice. Nothing but imperative business shall keep me from being at Athlone.

"In the meantime, I would respectfully but earnestly beg the favor of a line from your Grace, solely on the *public* part of this business. On the private, I would not presume to intrude upon your attention.

"Pray excuse this scrawled and long epistle. It is written in very great haste, amid a press of business, and with no time to copy.

"I have the honor to be with the greatest respect,

"Your Grace's most obliged and obedient servant,

"F. LUCAS."¹

We do not know whether Mr. Lucas was or was not present in Athlone on the day of the great banquet, and whether, if he was, Mr. Keogh was aware of his presence. We shall presently hear what is the bold patriotic policy which the latter and his immediate associates promise to pursue, and with what fulsome and unpalatable flattery he endeavors to win the favor and confidence of the Archbishop of Tuam.

Five days before the date of Dr. Cullen's Drogheda letter quoted above, and the day before Mr. Lucas's visit to Drogheda, the Primate wrote to the chairman of the Athlone committee a long letter, which very much resembled a well-considered programme for the conduct of Irish Catholics under the difficulties of their position. It contains an elaborate eulogy of Mr. Keogh's past public conduct, and a warm commendation of the course about to be pursued by him and his colleagues.

"His zeal and perseverance in organizing the Defence Association," Dr. Cullen says, "have won for him the approbation of all who are anxious that the rights and liberties of the One Holy Catholic Church should be preserved in their integrity in this empire, and protected against the assaults of a hostile Minister. The career on which Mr. Keogh has entered is a noble one—the cause he has undertaken to defend is the cause of God. . . .

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

"In the undertaking in which Mr. Keogh and his colleagues are engaged they will have great difficulties to contend with, and find powerful opponents arrayed against them. But if God be for us and the liberty of our religion, . . . if we be united among ourselves, acting in a spirit of charitable disinterestedness; if we send faithful men to Parliament, whose talents and lives do credit to our cause; if our representatives conduct their proceedings with prudence and moderation; if the only arms we wield be those of charity and truth, . . . our opponents will be soon reduced to silence.

"Whilst I insist at such length on our religious rights, it is not to be inferred that I think we should forget the sufferings and afflictions of our unhappy country. The Catholic Church, like her Divine Founder, is animated with the purest spirit of charity, and her entire career through past ages has been marked by works of mercy and humanity. . . . She condemns everything that promotes licentiousness and disorder, but she is the true friend of national liberty. Whilst she teaches patience and resignation, inculcating obedience to superiors and respect for the rights of property, she disapproves of every act of oppression and despotism, and is ever ready to raise her voice in favor of those who suffer persecution for justice' sake.

"As a bishop of such a Church, I need scarcely express the gratification I feel when I learn that *those who are defending our rights of conscience are not forgetful of the temporal interests of our country, but are determined to labor incessantly until they shall have obtained from the Legislature some permanent enactment to preserve our people from utter destruction, and to secure to the industrious and meritorious cultivators of the soil just rights in the land of their birth.*"¹

This letter is a remarkable one.

In the beginning of his discourse at the banquet Mr. Keogh paid the following tribute to Dr. Mac Hale:—

¹ MAC HALE MSS. We have italicized the passage in this letter bearing on the pledges which Keogh and the "Brigade" were giving to the country in view of obtaining equal religious liberty and justice for the oppressed tenantry.

“The venerated prelates of my Church,—first amongst them, ‘the observed of all observers,’ the illustrious prelate who, like the lofty tower which rises upon the banks of the yellow Tiber, the pride and protection of the city, is at once the glory and the guardian, the *decus et tutamen*, of the Catholic religion,—joining with the tried and faithful representatives who, after each in his own locality receiving the approbation of his constituents, have done me the great honor of attending this banquet, to testify that I, too, was one, even though the humblest, of that body who, in a time of great trial, were found faithful to their honor, their country and their God.”

Speaking of the Defence Association, Mr. Keogh permitted himself to say :—“Now, gentlemen, I have spoken of freedom of land ; I have spoken of the freedom of commerce ; I have spoken of the freedom of conscience and the equality of religion ; and I may be asked, ‘what are your means for accomplishing those objects?’ What are our hopes on the religious question? We have the Catholic Defence Association.

“It is an association created for the substantial purpose of defending our religion. There was no such association in existence until our religious liberties were assailed. Was it a small matter that called from their dignified retirement the venerable prelates of our Church to found that association? No. It was the exigency of the times that called forth this association. And it is now formed, not by any one particular man, but under the auspices of the prelates of the Church of Ireland. Yes, and it will last as long as there is a religion in Ireland to defend, and that will only cease to exist with the existence of the Irish people.

“Some foolish writers,” the speaker presumed to say, “have suggested that there was disunion in the Defence Association. I think the presence of the prelates here this evening is the best answer to this statement. From the first moment of the existence of that Association, down to the present, there has not been a scintilla of disunion.

There is no difference amongst the prelates. Neither is there any amongst the representatives.

"Give us in the House of Commons," he continued, in words long afterward quoted, and remembered bitterly to the present day, "give us in the House of Commons the rallying band of sixty members, and I will defy the power of England to trample upon Ireland. . . . Give us with that your confidence; discard us the moment we betray it; be indulgent to us, as you are here to-night to me; and I stake my existence that there is no measure of liberty, . . . which we will not guarantee to the people of Ireland. . . . If you are only united and think with the heads and feel with the hearts of freemen in an appeal to the justice and the judgment of the people of England, you will ultimately triumph. . . .

"Let sordid spirits have the ignoble object of being the minions of a party, the serfs of a Minister. With a good and an honest heart we may accomplish the destiny—and, surely, a nobler ambition was never entertained,—to engrave our names upon the memory of a great and grateful people."¹

When the turn of the Archbishop came to address the assembled guests, he said not one word in answer to Mr. Keogh's stilted compliments. He merely thanked his hearers for the hearty and enthusiastic plaudits with which they had greeted the mention of the Irish hierarchy, to which he had the great honor to belong. Coming to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill and its penal enactments, he said: "The allegiance to the higher power of God is the secret of all the charges of civil disaffection with which we are continually assailed. An impatience of the control of that Eternal Power is the secret of all the sufferings which persecuting laws have inflicted. The struggles between persecution, on the one hand, and patience, on the other, could not be better illustrated than by the exclamation of the Emperor Napoleon, baffled by the heroic endurance of Pius VII., whom he held captive in Savona, '*I cannot conquer conscience.*'"

¹ From the report in the "Freeman's Journal."

"This utter powerlessness to subdue conscience and right and justice, is also the secret of the failure of the recent penal enactments. And until the light of truth is extinguished, and justice is violently plucked from her eternal throne, there never will be framers of unrighteous laws, were they as mighty as Napoleon and his armies, who will not find themselves baffled and beaten by the three syllables, 'WE CANNOT.'"¹

The patriotic prelate's indignation is fired by the thought that it is to sustain the Protestant Establishment in Ireland that Lord John Russell and the British Parliament would reopen the era of persecution and proscription in the United Kingdom.

"For a system like this," he exclaims, "with its faith, and hope, and doctrines all regulated by the lust of Mammon, our people, emaciated by past famine and present hunger, are to be tortured by some unfeeling landlords, in league with swindling impostors, unless they consent to stifle all remorse, and make a lying profession of blasphemous doctrines from which their inmost soul recoils!"

"For this Establishment, rather than for the prosperity of Ireland and the happiness of her people, must every act of the Legislature be shaped. . . . For this must the interests of truth be betrayed, and the English people deceived by systematic calumnies regarding an imaginary amount of 'preversions' which, with all the appliances of fraud, and bribery, and persecution, are found, from the authentic contradictions of witnesses on the spot, to be for the most part fabrications, and in other instances grossly exaggerated. . . . Knowing they will not make an impression in Ireland, they shift the scene to England, where they expect to be more readily believed, and, accordingly, swindle the poor credulous women of that land out of their hard-earned money, by painting a fancy picture of their labors and surroundings here, and of the evangelical lives of the hypocritical apostates who receive their money."

Coming to the political object of their social gathering

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

in Athlone, the Archbishop speaks in no faltering or uncertain tones.

"If the Irish representatives," he says, "but perform their duty as faithfully and unflinchingly as those who have obtained the honorable appellation of the 'Irish Brigade' performed their duty last session, this ever-flowing spring of Ireland's calamities will soon be dried up.

"Secure to the people exemption from this most degrading badge of alien conquest, as well as the rightful enjoyment of the fruits of their industry and labor, and the wounds from which this country is suffering most will effectually be healed.

"I know there is but little disposition to make these concessions to the just demands of the people. They must be the fruit of a stern and vigorous resolve on the part of constituents to withhold their confidence and support from all candidates for their favor who will not, under all circumstances, oppose the Minister who denies JUSTICE and freedom from religious oppression to the country.

"It is in vain that some strive to hold up to obloquy such a sound and legitimate parliamentary combination. Without it the veriest tool of the worst of Ministers would find reason to palliate his vote; nor could the most oppressive Ministry be driven from power. Unalloyed evil is not to be predicted of any mortal being; and, therefore, the very worst Ministers must introduce occasionally some measures not fraught with evil. But as these may only be as a drop in the ocean of a bad policy, any sound casuist must tell you that for a small amount of material good you are not to be a party to the infliction of a vast amount of moral injury, which the supporting of any persecuting Ministry would entail.

"This is the principle which sustained the national phalanx in the last parliamentary campaign."¹

Mr. John Sadleir, M.P., replied to the toast: "The Catholic Defence Association." One passage from his speech strikingly forecasts the change of Ministry, and with that

¹ MAC HAILE MSS.

the political apostasies which were so soon to send the names of both Sadleir and Keogh to the ends of the earth and to the end of time with an ineffaceable brand of infamy.

"Do not be deluded," he said, "by the clap-trap cry, 'What! would you oust the Whigs to let in the Orangemen?' I have reflected much upon the subject. I am convinced that there can be no solid and extensive reform in Ireland, no permanent safety for that Liberal Party, no satisfactory guarantees given for the adoption of a just policy, until the present Cabinet are overthrown. . . . I foresee that the Minister who shall succeed the present Premier can only retain office by speedily acknowledging Irish claims, and that his continuance in power will rest entirely upon his Irish policy."

The following profession of political faith is, under the circumstances, scarcely less memorable:—

"Let our mission be to implant in the hearts of the remnants of the Irish race that fixed and unbending resolve to right ourselves which is the safe depository of dominion and power. To help ourselves shall be the living and active principle of our political action; to despair should be to betray the country.

"For my part, I will not desert her whilst one particle of the public spirit of her ancient people can be traced. I shall cling to her whilst a vestige of her constitution is preserved."¹

With the national disaster which these men were preparing, knowingly or unconsciously, and with the tragic end of Sadleir himself and the ruin he wrought to thousands upon thousands, throwing back so fearful a light on the path of our narrative,—it is reposeful and refreshing to contemplate the pure patriotic figure of George Henry Moore, and to listen to the accents of his true and noble eloquence, flowing as it does from the true nobility of his nature.

The toast to which he was called on to reply, was "The People."

¹ *Tablet*, Nov. 1, 1851.

"I shall not abuse your kindness or your patience," he began, "by more than a passing reference to those amiable but antiquated commonplaces that are usually associated with the People's name. '*The Sovereignty of the People*'— '*The People the only source of legitimate power*,' and such like sentimental generalities, were long the standing toasts of a party who have used the people almost as threadbare as the aphorisms themselves, and whose sole motive in proclaiming the sovereignty of the people was to constitute themselves regents over the perpetual minority of their sovereign.

"But we who look to the People's coming of age, who profess no allegiance to those '*Mayors of the Palace*,' must speak of the People as we find it,—not the source of power, but its victim; not a sovereign, but alternately a puppet and a slave. To us the People, and the rights and wrongs of the People, are no subtle abstractions, no morbid yearnings of a heated fancy, but stern and fierce realities,—vulgar matters of famine, and exile, and oppression; of roofless houses and insulted altars; of the deserted village and the teeming poor-house; of the stalwart emigrant that is leaving us, and the feeble pauper that remains.

"The only People we have time to take thought of is the Irish People; and if the Irish People is to continue to be the people of Ireland, they and we must take thought of it in time.

"This is no idle fancy of mine. The challenge has been flung down to us; our claim to be considered the people of Ireland has been called into question. It is not now our rights and liberties only, but our very name and existence as a nation that are in dispute.

"Gentlemen, this dinner, the great assemblage I see before me, might at the first sight appear a sign of the times of no mean importance. Here is the centre of Ireland; at the very heart of the island, I see the life-blood of the country, as it were, flowing back from its remotest arteries. Four prelates of the People's Church assembled together to do honor to the genius of the People's champion, and to

accredit and sanctify the *fiat* of the People's will; eleven representatives of the People, representing not only their constituents, but the hopes and confidence of millions who have no suffrages, as well as of thousands of others, whose suffrages have been betrayed, and,—though last, not least,—a full and earnest and effective representation of those watchful guardians of the popular will who hold in their hands the very heartstrings of the People.

“I think I might, without any great stretch of fancy, without any extravagant complacency, have assumed that the Irish House of Commons here assembled represented the opinions of the Commons of Ireland at least as well as any other assembly in the world. I might have thought that I was using no very hyperbolical language, if I said that we were the People.

“They think far otherwise in Enniskillen.

“The Orangemen of Ireland have been assured by an orator of no mean pretensions, and, it is said, by a placeman of no mean promise, that ‘under existing circumstances *they* were the People.’ *Under existing circumstances*, that is to say, that Famine has so sided with them, that Pestilence has so stood their friend, that their old allies, Intolerance and Oppression, have come so stoutly to the rescue, that Death and Emigration have so eliminated the People of Ireland,—that, according to a final analysis of the dregs and the residuum, the Orangemen are the People. ‘See,’ says Mr. Whiteside, amid the triumphant shouts of his patriotic audience, ‘see how the people of Connaught have been thinned off, while the people of Ulster remain at two millions still!’

“It is true that a portion of our People has been suffered to perish, amidst accumulated riches, as if they were of no more account than autumn flies. They have carried before the throne of God an account which will one day be totted up in very different figures from those of Mr. Trevelyan, and present a different balance from that of Lord John.

“It is true that another and a larger portion is turning

its back on the land it tilled, and cultivated, and brightened—not, as it has been superciliously alleged, vanishing like the Red Man before a superior race,—for the race that within half a century produced such men as Burke and Sheridan, and Grattan and Plunkett, and Moore and Wellington and O'Connell, has no superior under heaven;—not vanishing before a superior race, or vanishing at all: but on the contrary, seeing in its own innate and elastic instincts a wider and a freer scope for its undying energies in a land where the People is supreme, and where it is welcomed by the People.

“They are carrying with them ‘the fancy, the manhood, and the fire of their race,’ to temper and adorn the good blade into which they are being fused and damascened; they are carrying with them the seeds of their national faith, of which their forefathers were the doctors and the martyrs, and of which they are God’s appointed missionaries, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

“They are carrying with them the memories of the wrongs they have left behind them, and the hope as well as the duty of retribution. For them we have no fear; in them we have all hope.

“But let those deny who may, there remains, and will remain an Irish People still.

“There is one idea,” he continued, “in Mr. Whiteside’s speech pregnant with meaning,—meaning derived from us—an idea into which we have frightened him; but a meaning and an idea which he very powerfully expresses: ‘The vessel of the state can be saved by union, energy, and courage.’

“We should have an organization popular and parliamentary. The bold idea broached by the Defence Association, to seize the greater part of the representation of Ireland, should it be effected,—I know not, amidst the disruption of parties, what fifty or seventy members of the House of Commons, led by Mr. Keogh, whose ability and energy it would be vain to deny, might not accomplish.

“The affair is yours ; look to it in time ! You may soon lose the opportunity of testing your power and your zeal. And upon this result will depend the future peace of Ireland. The battle of the Constitution must be fought on the hustings. Aye, and on the hustings the battle of the People will be fought. On the hustings, at the next election, it remains to be decided whether we, the Catholics of Ireland, are to sink into the serfdom for which their fathers destined us, or achieve the perfect freedom for which our fathers paved the way.

“On this result we are content to take issue.”¹

The General Elections were, indeed, to come even sooner than either Mr. Moore or Mr. Sadleir expected. And we shall see how the national victory was won, and how its fruit was lost,—shamefully bartered away by the men in whom the people trusted.

But we must not anticipate. At the momentous crisis of Ireland’s fate, in 1851 and 1852, it is well to see who were those by whom the national forces were divided, and thus exposed to inevitable defeat.

In August, 1852, there was another public banquet held in Athlone ; for there had been general elections, and Mr. Keogh had been once more elected to represent the wretchedly needy borough. But as Mr. Sadleir was the banker and purse-holder of the band of corruptionists who followed the disreputable pair,—the banquet, for very substantial reasons, was given in his honor.

This time the Archbishop of Tuam held aloof. But Frederick Lucas, who, as long as he lived, was the watchful genius of the Tenant-Right Party, was present to observe and to note the signs of the times in Connaught.

Dr. Gray, the editor of the “Freeman’s Journal,” who was no less watchful than Lucas, no less ardent and disinterested in the cause at this period, thus wrote to the Archbishop. The letter should be read together with that of Lucas published above, and warning the Prelate that there was treason abroad.

¹ *The Tablet*, Nov. 1, 1850.

"FREEMAN'S JOURNAL OFFICE,

" Wednesday, Aug. 25th, 1852.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—I have just seen our reporter, who has returned from the Athlone banquet given to Mr. Sadleir. Lucas was there; and, in speaking of Tenant-Right, he alluded to the necessity of holding aloof from all possible governments save one that would give Tenant-Right and *religious liberty* to the people. He alluded specially and by name to Sir James Graham, as the avowed enemy of Tenant-Right.

"Sadleir had spoken before Lucas, and on Lucas resuming his seat, Sadleir rose to make a commentary on Lucas in order to have 'no misconception *as to his policy*.' The speech of Sadleir openly and above board proclaimed that his aim and purpose and *that of Reynolds and Keogh*, was to form a party that would force itself *into office*;—that he would support Sir James and his party; and if that was not acceptable to his constituency in Carlow, the sooner they parted company the better.

"All the cunning arguments used against the policy of the Brigade, when they first started into existence, were used with great dexterity by Sadleir on this occasion; and he was sustained by Reynolds and Keogh, while LUCAS STOOD ALONE in his defence of anti-Place Taking.

"We have now really come to the turning point of the fate of this country. Thank God, we have Lucas and Duffy in the House of Commons. The *new* policy of those men, now that they have renewed their tenure of office, is to play into the hands of Graham and Clarendon *openly*, as they did *privately* on the celebrated Clarendon Print debate.

"I write this hurried note to your Grace to inform you of the event, which I take to be a *crisis* in our country's fate. You will probably receive by this post a slip of Sadleir's speech and of Lucas's in reference to these points. If possible, I shall have them ready for you and send them, as it is all-important that you should know as early as possible what is going on. I stand sorely in need of your

counsel and advice in this matter, as to how the clergy and people of your Grace's diocese are likely to go in this contest.

"Ever faithfully your Grace's obedient servant,

"JOHN GRAY."¹

The enemies of Tenant-Right, of Independent Opposition, of Irish Nationality in every best sense, could never doubt, either before 1852 or afterward, but that the clergy and people of Tuam diocese would "go" steadily in the direction in which their archbishop had taught and accustomed them to go, without being seduced by false lights, or deceived by hollow promises, or dismayed by fear of landlord oppression, or discouraged by the new and terrible disappointment of their most cherished hopes.

Wherever else in Ireland clergy and people were turned aside by force or fraud from the cause they loved, the worst enemies of John of Tuam must confess that those who were subject to his pastoral staff and political guidance kept straight on in the path in which he had taught them to walk in peace and security.

Dr. Mac Hale was not, therefore, wholly unprepared for "the crisis in the fate of Ireland," which Dr. Gray thus announces as imminent, if not already come. The letter above mentioned of Mr. Lucas had warned the Archbishop, ten months before, that deep treason was at work, and that the Sadleir-Keogh conspirators were organizing for their own purposes the Defence Association, and using the Tenant-Right Movement, and the idea of an Independent Irish Party in the Legislature, as mighty auxiliaries to their scheme of intended betrayal.

The effort made by the conspirators to ruin or possess themselves of the "Tablet," "Freeman's Journal," and "Nation," was not the least clever part of their strategy.

While Lucas was approached by them in October, 1851,² Dr. Gray was offered a large sum for the transfer of his powerful daily paper into their hands. But John Gray,

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

² See letters of Dr. Gray to the Archbishop among MAC HALE MSS.

like Frederick Lucas, was one who could not be purchased. Their journals, with Mr. Duffy's, were devoted to the national cause; but the "Nation" and its editors rather held aloof from the guidance voluntarily sought from the Archbishop of Tuam and gratefully accepted by Gray and Lucas.

With regard to the proposed purchase of the "Freeman" by Sadleir, it was defeated by the Archbishop of Tuam, whom Dr. Gray at once consulted, going down for that purpose to Tuam. After this interview at Tuam, in presence of the Rev. Mr. Duggan, now Bishop of Clonfert, Dr. Gray wrote to the Archbishop to say how the negotiation with Sadleir had terminated. The letter is dated Nov. 25th, 1851.

"I deferred writing to your Grace," he says, "till after Saturday, in relation to the subject matter of my visit to Tuam. Since that day I have been laid up. . . .

"Until Saturday I could not say whether the other parties would have imagined that they had grounds for compelling us to complete the proposed arrangement, and I was anxious, in communicating with your Grace, to be able to say that *we* had broken off, but that the matter was at an end. The former, Mr. Duggan probably communicated to you before you left for Ballina. I am now enabled to state the latter.

"I feel it due to my friends here to say that your wishes finally decided them, even before the receipt of your most kind and complimentary letter. Of course, in breaking off the matter, I did so *on other grounds altogether*, feeling that my communication with your Grace was not to be made known to any person outside our own firm. In fact, I gave no explanation, and attributed the break off to the result of my visit to Mayo, my brother, who is in Mayo, quite agreeing with me that your opinion as to the effect on the public policy of the party should determine our course. When I came back to town I found the deeds all drafted, but at once returned them, breaking the matter off.

"Allow me again to thank your Grace for the earnest-

ness with which you entered into our affairs in reference to this matter. We certainly were offered a good and liberal price ; but, as I said to your Grace, I could not, after all the kindness we received at your hands, transfer a *political* power for mere commercial considerations, without feeling assured that it would tend to the general advantage of the party you represent."¹

To the Archbishop of Tuam must be, therefore, traced in a great measure the powerful influence which, in the hour of Ireland's greatest peril, kept the three great journals we have named from being captured by the enemy. One who was then in the flower of his manhood, and who, like Frederick Lucas, made himself a most enviable name as a patriot, journalist, and parliamentary orator, has put on record the masterly policy by which the arch-conspirator Sadleir endeavored to extinguish all opposition in the Press.

"Fifty thousand pounds," he says, "flung boldly into the establishment of opposition journals, would soon dispose of the *Nation*, *Tablet*, and *Freeman*. Ere long Dublin rang with the news that a gigantic newspaper scheme was being launched 'regardless of expense' by Mr. Sadleir. . . . Commodious premises were taken ; powerful machinery and extensive plant were purchased ; and an editor, who was given out to be a sort of lay-pontiff, Mr. William Bernard Mac Cabe, was brought over from London. The new weekly, called the 'Weekly Telegraph,' was first to clear the ground of the 'Nation' and 'Tablet,' before the new daily tackled the 'Freeman.' Perhaps ere that Dr. Gray, intimidated by the beggary brought on Duffy and Lucas, would knock under to the great power of Sadleirism. If not, he too could be mopped out. . . .

"The newspaper move of the banker-politician, however, was a little over-reaching. It set a great many persons a-thinking, and alarmed not a few. As for the *Nation* and *Tablet*, they bore the shock of attack bravely in spirit ; but neither proprietor had a bank at his back, and both

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

journals were almost fatally crippled in the unequal struggle."¹

We owe it to the proprietor of the "*Freeman's Journal*" to give to the reader a letter written by him to the Archbishop of Tuam at the beginning of the electoral canvass of 1852, and which the Archbishop marked with his own hand "very important." It is a still further proof of the heartiness with which Dr. Gray had thrown himself into the national struggle, and of the reverence in which he held the Archbishop's authority in national matters.

"Sunday, March 28th, 1852.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—I need hardly say how deeply sensible I am of the kind expression of your opinion with regard to my fitness for working out a national and Catholic policy, as one of a reliable party in Parliament. The day I received your letter I saw that a vacancy arises this session in Dundalk, McCullagh being invited to stand for an English borough, and lose no time in asking you, 'would you have any objection to communicate with the Primate on the subject?

"The representation is, in fact, in his hands, as is also that of Drogheda. He can nominate for both and for one seat in Louth. Without your influence I should have very little claim on the Primate. And, as I cannot afford to fight a hardly contested place, I would, of course, feel anxious to be a candidate where a moderate expense only would be requisite.

"The Primate will be in Dublin on Tuesday, and as you strongly feel that a public advantage would be secured by having six or eight men in the House who would be true to the heads of the Party, and who could have no personal objects to interfere with their correct conduct in Parliament (my position is a bond that I am such more binding than pledges), I have no doubt but you could get six or eight such men, and, on consultation, get seats for them. Longford, Westmeath, Meath, and other places are in the

¹ "*New Ireland*," ch. xiv.

hands of the hierarchy ; and while they are not pre-occupied the bishops ought to determine upon their candidates.

“ Faithfully, my dear Lord,

“ your Grace’s obedient servant,

“ JOHN GRAY.

“ P. S.—I have one palpable *personal* object in going into Parliament: the facility it would give me for knowing all that was being done in politics, either directly done or done by intrigue; but this personal object would be no ground of objection in your eyes or in the eyes of the Catholic body.”¹

Dr. Gray did become a candidate for Parliament on the joint principle of Tenant Right and Independent Opposition. His past conduct and services to the national cause, and his disinterestedness were well known, at least to the “Place-seekers;” but the very fact of his having resisted the tempting offers held out to him was more than enough to draw on him the open denunciations of the “Weekly Telegraph” and the bitter hostility of the corruptionists and their numerous adherents. The editor of the “Telegraph,” Mr. A. M. Sullivan tells us in the passage last quoted from him, “a gentleman of great ability, contrived to make his readers believe that the Pope and John Sadleir were the two great authorities of the Catholic Church; one was its infallible head, the other its invincible defender. But those bad Catholics, Duffy² and Lucas, were thwarting the noble efforts of Mr. Sadleir and his devoted colleagues to serve the Church; as for Gray, of the “Freeman,” he was a heretic, and nothing but evil could emanate from him.”

The canvass, which began all over Ireland after the accession of the Derby Ministry, in February, 1852, and still more after the dissolution of Parliament, in the July immediately following, was one of extraordinary activity and passionate interest. William Keogh, Member for Athlone, was the principal spokesman of the Brigade. We have just seen, from Dr. Gray’s letter about the second banquet

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

² Duffy at the time was a practical and devoted Catholic.

in Athlone, that given to John Sadleir, how the political programme then adopted by him and his confederates differed widely from that put forward in October, 1851, by both of these leaders.

In 1851, Keogh had said in presence of the Archbishop of Tuam: "I declare in the most solemn manner, before this august assembly, I shall not regard any party. I know that the road I take does not lead to preferment. I do not belong to the Whigs; I never will belong to the Whigs. I do not belong to the Tories; I never will have anything to do with them."

On another and no less solemn occasion, in 1852, he had said: "I will not support any political party which does not make it a part of its political creed to do all justice to the tenant in Ireland."

But a feeling of distrust pervaded many of the Irish constituencies. More than one bishop, and more than one among their self-sacrificing priests, refused to give credence to these loud professions of independence and exaggerated disinterestedness.

At the very time that the Russell Cabinet resigned, in February, 1852, a member of the "Brigade," Dr. Maurice Power of Cork, accepted the governorship of St. Lucia, one of the West India Islands. The quick-witted Munstermen at once said that Keogh and Sadleir would soon follow his example.

Then came, in the city of Cork itself, the never to be forgotten occasion when the band of corruptionists, challenged in the most peremptory manner to repudiate this policy of place-hunting, uttered by the mouth of Keogh the solemn and formal oath, so soon and so shamelessly to be broken.

It was on March 8, 1852: Mr. McCarthy Downing, a Tenant Righter, told the meeting that he "did not believe the Irish Brigade were sincere advocates of the Tenant Right Question."

Here is the answer of William Keogh: "I declare myself in the presence of the bishops of Ireland and of my colleagues in Parliament, that, let the Minister of the day be

who he may; let him be the Earl of Derby, Sir James Graham, or Lord John Russell,—it is all the same to us,—so help me God, no matter who the Minister may be, who the party in power may be, I will neither support that Minister nor that party, unless he comes into power prepared to carry the measures which universal popular Ireland demands. I have abandoned my own profession to join in forming and cementing an Irish parliamentary party. Thus has been my ambition.

“ . . . I have seconded the proposition of Mr. Sharman Crawford in the House of Commons. . . . SO HELP ME GOD! upon that and every other question to which I have given my adhesion, I will be,—and I know I may say that every one of my friends is as determined as myself,—an unflinching, undeviating, unalterable supporter of it.”¹

The solemn pledge,—THE OATH, rather,—was deeply impressed on the memory of the Irish people. Uttered in such explicit terms, and reiterated in the invocation of the Deity, and the calling to witness the entire nation,—such a declaration might well be believed to be sincere. When brought face to face with the constituencies whose votes they sought the Sadleirites were forced, under pain of being rejected, to pledge themselves openly to Tenant Right and Independent Opposition.

“ In the general election,” says a recent writer, “ Keogh took a prominent and active part. His tongue was at the service of everybody who fought under the flag of the Catholic Defence Association,—that is, of John Sadleir and himself.”²

Aye, truly, the Catholic Defence Association was only a political machine run by these two conspirators for their own bold and nefarious purpose. The use they made of it during this election, and its connection with these bold, bad men up to the day when they consummated their treason, made its very name odious to the Irish people.

But the true Tenant Righters, and the men who sought

¹ A. M. Sullivan, “New Ireland;” 11th ed., Glasgow, pp. 161 and following.

² “The Parnell Movement,” p. 98.

to win Tenant Right through an independent parliamentary party, held aloof from the Sadleirites, and followed the guidance of the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Meath.

Careful, as usual, never to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the public affairs of the other provinces of Ireland, except when requested to do so by the local ecclesiastical authorities,—Dr. Mac Hale, during the electoral struggle of 1852, did what every one who knew him expected or wished him to do. His authority and influence were zealously exercised in Connaught, in favor of what he conceived to be the dearest interests of his countrymen.

The nomination of representatives for Mayo took place at Castlebar, on Thursday, July the 22d. The Archbishop deemed it his duty to be present, and to encourage the electors to vote fearlessly, freely, as their conscience dictated, for the men in whose hands they believed the dearest interests of Church and country would be most safe.

If for nothing else, the passages in the Archbishop's address on this occasion regarding the exercise of the suffrage are deserving to be printed in letters of gold, and hung up in every place where freemen are about to exercise the most precious right of sovereignty. The High Sheriff, on opening the proceedings, had given proof of a manifest desire to deal impartial justice toward all political contestants. The Archbishop praised him for this conduct, in which he saw the pledge of perfect electoral freedom.

"I am averse," he proceeded, "to take any part in the acts of such public assemblies as this. But the present occasion is one which makes it for me both a duty and a pleasure to address you, inasmuch as the dearest interests of our country are connected with the great issue before the people. I do indeed feel happy in what I anticipate as the end of the present political contest; but I as deeply regret that there should be a necessity for the struggle which the electors of Mayo have now to face.

"In five successive elections they have had, like Sisyphus of old, to roll the huge stone of landlord oppression up the

hill, where, in spite of each victory, it still remained overhanging, ever threatening to roll back and crush them. Yes, five constitutional struggles against as formidable a combination of power as ever threatened the freedom of a people! And, after all these triumphs, they have now to fight the battle over again!

"This was a thing unheard of in all the public contests in ancient times. When the victor in the Olympian Games left the arena with his hard-won crown, he was never expected to lay it down at the feet of his vanquished rival and contend for it again. No, a just law, regulating these national games of antiquity ordained that the crowns thus won should be deposited in the public temples. They were to remain there to attest the prowess of the men who had obtained them, as well as the appreciation of the people who bestowed them. . . .

"But what care the enemies of the Irish people for justice, for gratitude, or for those political institutions which aim to encourage and reward heroic virtue in public men, and to perpetuate the memory of the services by them rendered to the nation? Instead of challenging a grateful recognition of their patriotism and public sacrifices, the freeholders of Mayo have only provoked hostility, exemplifying in their singular ill fate the saying of an ancient writer, that 'the same deed which sends a man to the gibbet in one country is rewarded by a civic crown in another.'

"This persecution of the tenantry of Mayo surprises me the more, as it comes from those who are loudest in their professions of loyalty to the Constitution. What mean these continued boasts of exclusive loyalty? Is it a superior reverence for the law, a peculiar solicitude for its observance? How strange, then, that these loud-voiced zealots should be suddenly transformed into the most active transgressors of the law?

"The attempt to control the votes of the electors, which under any circumstances is odious tyranny, is peculiarly so in the present state of our legislation. Formerly the tenant was told that his valuable freehold was a gift or

donation of his landlord, and that it was only gratitude, or justice, or both, that the tenant should vote for his landlord when election day came round. It is now useless to inquire by what reasoning this former practice was justified. Suffice it to say that the tenant was amused with the notion of being a freeholder, — said freehold being a legal fiction, which, like other legal fictions, was dealt with as a reality. At present the right of voting does not come from the landlord's freehold, real or fictitious, but is based on the taxes paid by the elector as occupant of a portion of land. Nevertheless the landlord expects that, in addition to this burthen of taxation, the tenant will pay him the tribute of his vote, in acknowledgment of a freehold derived not from him, but from the law !

“ I am speaking in presence of men well versed in jurisprudence. I say nothing privately to my people which I do not proclaim from the pulpit and the housetop. I therefore say now that it is a violation of constitutional right, as well as of Christian morality, to compel one's tenant to vote against his conscience. It is illegal, unconstitutional, immoral to do violence to any man's conscience or free will in the exercise of a right over which God alone has control.

“ All this I have said, because I deemed it my duty to establish thus publicly your perfect right to vote freely, and your duty to exercise that right both freely and conscientiously. Without this conscientious conviction and the firm resolve to act up to it, this election would be degraded into a farce ; these hustings would sink to the level of a platform on which slavery would parade in the garb of Freedom, only to be scorned and hooted as an insulting personation of an august reality.

“ And now I have the honor to propose as a fit person to represent this great country George Henry Moore.”

The enthusiastic cheers which greeted Mr. Moore's name were mixed with groans for the Tory candidate, Colonel McAlpine. These the Archbishop promptly repressed. “ Do not mind Mr. McAlpine,” he said, with an authorita-

tive gesture. "Mr. McAlpine has said no word to you. I trust you will show that you can observe at least a courteous silence toward that gentleman." "We will! we will!" followed by loud acclamations for Moore, shouted back the crowd. "I am delighted with this answer," the Archbishop went on. "These responsive shouts will reach Sligo, where the electors are also assembled. Its echo will be heard in Tipperary; and from Tipperary it will travel beyond the Suir to Waterford. These joyous cheers will form sweet music throughout Ireland. Nine counties are met this day, and would swell such a strain of triumphant harmony as had never been inspired by the fabled Muses. Ours will be the music of Freedom within the bosom of ancient Erin."¹

Two days afterwards, on July 26, the Archbishop was at Galway to propose a safe candidate for the representation of that important county. The Diocese of Tuam comprised portions of the two neighboring counties of Galway and Mayo. Dr. Mac Hale was therefore confining himself to the exercise of his strict right in taking a direct part in the nomination of their respective representatives.

In Galway as well as in Mayo, Dr. Mac Hale had been, since his elevation to the episcopate, in 1825, chiefly instrumental in overturning the landlord tyranny which had ever made of the exercise of the electoral suffrage a farce when it was not a tragedy, and always a snare to the consciences of the poor, enslaved tenants. But the Archbishop of Tuam had done much more than that,—he had steadily, industriously instructed his diocesans on the exalted and sacred nature of the electoral franchise, and on the heinousness of the sin against God and country committed by the man who suffered himself to be bribed or perjured by unscrupulous politicians.

This teaching he had never ceased to give even amid the fearful years of famine and extermination following fast on each other in the West.

The effects of this teaching and of the reform it produced

¹ MAC HALE MSS.



Galway.

were not confined to the Diocese of Tuam, nor even to all Connaught. As the questions of Tenant Right and Independent Opposition came, in 1852, to the crucial test of popular suffrage, the Archbishop could well say in his address at the Galway nomination that the Catholic clergy had "contributed much" toward elevating, purifying, and spiritualizing the electoral franchise.

A few days before the nomination of candidates took place, the Archbishop was called to preside at the funeral obsequies of his old friend, Dr. Ffrench, Bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora. Just as the funeral procession was about to enter the ancient cemetery surrounding the Church and Tomb of St. Coleman, the founder of the See, —the Protestant rector,—emboldened doubtless by the recent Proclamation of Lord Derby forbidding all Catholic processions, and the fearful riots which, in consequence, had occurred in Stockport on June 29th preceding,—stopped the clergy, headed by the Archbishop of Tuam, who was vested in the pontifical robes required by the solemn office, and warned him that he was violating the law. The Archbishop listened and then proceeded to fulfill his sacred function.

This incident, which produced no little excitement, the Archbishop did not allude to in his address at Castlebar. But, Galway being near the scene of the occurrence, he profited by the circumstance to enforce his arguments in favor of a free electoral franchise and full religious liberty for the immense majority of Irishmen,—by referring to this stupid attempt to revive a persecuting law in the midst of the nineteenth century.

Another incident occurred at the very beginning of the public proceedings in the Court-house of Galway on the day of nomination. When the Archbishop rose to address the assembled crowd, and to propose a Catholic candidate, Mr. Bellew,—the entire audience rose to their feet, uncovering their heads, waving their hats, and cheering frantically. One gentleman, a Protestant, remained seated, with his hat on. This so exasperated the multitude, that a rush was

made toward the delinquent, who would certainly have been roughly handled had not the Archbishop promptly repressed the threatened violence. Alluding to the mark of respect paid to himself by the audience,—he said: “I regret exceedingly this interruption. It was occasioned by your high sense of courtesy, one which, I fear, must have been inconvenient. This is an open court, where the perfect freedom of every individual must be protected. If some persons enjoy robust health and a strong constitution, so that it is no inconvenience to them to remain uncovered, that is no reason why they should blame the conduct of such as a proper regard for their health should compel to remain covered. We are not in the drawing-rooms of Royalty, where a master of ceremonies has to dictate rules of etiquette binding on all alike. We are here concerned with much more serious matters.

“You are assembled to return to Parliament faithful representatives of your political, social, and religious interests. I perceive, from the multitude present, how well you understand the present issue. I have, therefore, the honor to propose a young gentleman untried in politics as yet, Mr. Thomas Bellew, as a fit person to represent you.

“I know from bitter experience that it is a hazardous thing to place on an untried person’s promises too sanguine a reliance. But I venture to say that to his promises your candidate will be faithful.

“He is going into a House in which he will have many temptations to contend against. . . . The atmosphere of St. Stephen’s is not the atmosphere of this court-house. Nevertheless, I hope it will not be Mr. Bellew’s lot to have to sit one day on the stool of political repentance.

“I have addressed myself to all the freeholders of this county. This denomination of freeholders was for a long time only addressed to a favored few. It now applies to the many. And the duties it involves are deserving of being well studied and understood. We, the Catholic clergy, have been blamed for our endeavors to make you appreciate the privilege of the franchise and its great responsibilities.

“Like the celebrated Friar Bacon, who, because he was among the foremost of his age in studying the works of nature, was accused of being an adept in the Occult Science, we too are accused of knowing too much, and of extending to the privileged region of politics those principles of morality which, according to the sage opinion of some politicians, should never be allowed to enter that sphere. So, then, we too, the Catholic clergy, incur the reproach of pursuing forbidden knowledge when we practise a little scientific alchemy on that entity called an electoral vote, and do our best to disengage its pure substance and moral aspects from the gross and earthy elements with which our political scientists persist in keeping it mixed up.

“We do not wish to see restored the old practice of a few landlords, who were the only political sponsors of their tenantry in every election. Even in the Church sponsors are not admitted for persons of adult age. Nor must we accept for our freeholders political godfathers, to be answerable for the political creed and conduct of citizens often so much more intelligent and enlightened than themselves.

“Amusing tales are still told of these old bygone times, which brought a golden harvest to the dependents occasionally, and often political preferment and fat emolument to the man of many votes. I have heard one gentleman relating, that when a boy he happened to stray into his father’s dining room, when a convivial session was held there on the eve of an election. The boy was drawn into the secret conclave by an appetite for sweets rather than politics. Hiding himself under the table, he watched patiently for his opportunity, and heard the grave bargains plied for votes, and the prices asked and received for the tenantry of the high contracting parties. High they were, and higher still rose the voice of salesmen and buyers, till the company was reduced to two,—the others having dropped out of the room, under the table, or out of the conversation. Of the two remaining one was the aristocratic candidate for the county, and he continued to bargain till the master of the mansion had knocked down his lot of political serfs

for some ten or twelve hundred pounds; and then the poor, weary boy, if he did not share the slumbers of his companions under the table, was at liberty to rifle the sweets left behind by this typical set of banqueters.

“ Ah, well, we can draw a sweet lesson from this long and bitter experience of a generation not yet past. Have we come here to be sold to the highest bidder? Are we going to restore the ancient rule of venality and tyranny? No! You might as well try to restore to its starting point in the firmament the lightning and the thunderbolt which but yesterday shattered the oak on yonder hillside. You might as well try to blot out at a stroke the science of steam, and the monumental manufactures with which its applications have covered every civilized land,—or to bring back the scientific use of steam to the elementary tea-kettle which started Watt on his long road of observation and experiment, ... as hope that the wealthiest of living men could buy with his gold and shut up in his coffers the mighty expansive spirit of the elective franchise.

“ The scandalous traffic in electors’ votes is a source of profit dried up forever. Those who grew rich upon it must seek some other mine. But whether they draw gold from the bowels of the earth or the depths of the ocean, their illicit trade in the enslavement of their tenants is gone forever. And it is to perpetuate such corruption and degradation as this that the public mind is roused to such a pitch of excitement, that new devices are employed to intimidate our freeholders! Think you they are willing to offer their necks again to the yoke? or that they are likely now to endure its galling burden with more patience than of yore?

“ Talk of the African slave-trade! Denounce its horrors as much as you will, but be not silent upon the droves of white serfs you would bring here to the political market, to be sold to the highest bidder!

“ Men talk loudly about the political diseases of other countries; have we no inveterate distemper which requires a prompt remedy? Take the beam out of your own eye before you attempt to remove the mote from that of your

neighbor. Launch your thunders against the traffickers in human cattle who ravage the coast of Africa and pollute the seas with the corpses of their victims; but has your eloquence no word of indignation for the oppression among us of the electoral franchise? You parade the mock-figure of Freedom on the hustings; but behind the scenes you stab her to the heart.

“What I state is neither fancy nor conjecture. Its truth is unhappily borne out by what is occurring all over Ireland. Two days ago it was publicly declared in the courthouse at Castlebar that freeholders were kidnapped by landlords, some of them peers of the realm; they were kept in duress, inaccessible to all their friends,—an outrage repeated more than once, and uncontradicted by the offenders. One gentleman confessed that he kept some voters locked up in his own house, to protect them, forsooth, from the violence of the opposite party. . . .

“Against this illegal as well as un-Christian pretension of landlords to coerce their tenants into voting for them or their favorites, we feel it to be our sacred duty here to protest solemnly. Doubtless it is to protect their tenants against this conscientious interference of the Church, warning the electors to vote freely and as their conscience dictates, that this violence is practised.

“Why not petition Parliament to have a law passed binding tenants to vote according to the wishes of their respective landlords? The Act thus disfranchising the former might have some such preamble as this:—

“‘Whereas the freeholders of Ireland have been hitherto so insensible to their own happiness, and so ungrateful to the good landlords under whom they lived, as to unite against the further exercise of the freehold for and on behalf of the aforesaid tenantry (Laughter);

“‘And, whereas they have not sufficiently progressed in political knowledge so as to appreciate the vast advantage of living like wards in chancery, under such kind and considerate guardians, who are laboring to reclaim them from Popery (Renewed laughter);

“‘And, whereas this Celtic people grows to such an extent as to endanger by this fecundity the spread of the Protestant religion in Ireland, *they* still remaining ungrateful and untractable under that best of mothers, the Protestant Establishment (Shouts of laughter);

“‘And, whereas it is desirable that the surplus population of this Celtic and Popish race should be continually draughted away to feed our colonies, and to have the fields of Ireland let out for pasture, . . . objects which cannot be accomplished without giving the good landlords their vast Parliamentary influence;—

“‘Be it therefore enacted that henceforward all Popish freemen who know not ‘how to vote as they ought’ shall be disfranchised, etc., (Immense laughter).

This was putting the truth in an attractive and telling manner. It was a departure from the Archbishop’s usual stately style of address. But the occasion justified it. The Tories were in power, and their traditional policy was to make the landed aristocracy the absolute masters of the soil, and their tenants serfs by right, and freemen only by indulgence: this was the theory as well as the practice in Ireland, whatever difference obtained in English law or custom.

“One topic more,” resumed the Archbishop, “one topic more, and I have done. Are you all tired of the small and scanty measure of freedom which you possess? Are you anxious to enlarge or to narrow the franchise? Do you wish, instead of going back to Egypt, to go forward to the Promised Land? If the latter, then I tell you, give not a single vote to a Tory candidate. Tell me not of the hollow and slippery promises of individuals. People are as profuse of promises on the eve of an election as they are forgetful of them the moment they cross the threshold of Parliament. An old proverb tells you to know a man from the company he keeps. When a candidate comes to me I do not ask him about his family, or his past services. I ask him under what political banner he wants to fight the battles of his country. If I find that he bears the colors of Lord Derby

(the remainder of the sentence was lost amid the storm of groans and hisses which the name gave rise to)."

The Stockport riots, and the fearful scenes of violence just enacted in England, stirred deeply the Catholic heart in Ireland. The Archbishop, in concluding his discourse, mentioned that the Penal Laws which forbade Catholic bishops from using their titles, or Catholic ecclesiastics of any degree from wearing their insignia in public, or publicly performing any one act of their religious ministrations, such as the burial of the dead,—were in full vigor in 1852; and not in England only, but in Ireland as well.

"Within this very week," said Dr. Mac Hale, "I was encountered by one of those ugly monsters of penal enactments in the discharge of my own religious duties. I was assisting at the obsequies of the Bishop of Kilmacduagh. A bishop may not wear a stole at the interment of the successor of St. Coleman, who was laid to his rest ten centuries before the birth of Protestantism. And when I speak of the Protestant Establishment, I speak of its unrighteous political ascendancy, without making the slightest unkind allusion to the religious convictions of any Protestant. For the freedom of such convictions we are ourselves still contending against the tyrannical infliction of civil penalties and privations.

"Talk to me of your boasted constitutional freedom, when I, a Christian bishop, who do more in enforcing obedience to the law than any of your stipendiaries, see myself in the distressing dilemma of violating the letter of what is called a law, or of violating what I knew to be a sacred and solemn duty! This freedom of the British constitution is like the domineering freedom of the ancient Greeks, who recked not how many thousands they held in bondage, so long as they were themselves in the enjoyment of liberty. Provided English and Irish Protestants, the latter a wretched minority in the land, have the monopoly of freedom, and enjoy a domineering political ascendancy, what matters it that Catholics are restrained in all their liberties and made to suffer cruelly?"

"But there are limits to all human might. And Legislation, too, has boundaries beyond which a law only becomes injustice. I and others must remember the mild and firm remonstrance of the Apostles to the first persecutors, forbidding them to preach the Gospel: 'Whether it is right to obey you or God, judge you!' Such language must always guide me, as well as all faithful pastors, in our opposition to penal enactments and our treatment of anti-Catholic proclamations."¹

Tenant Right and Independent Opposition carried the day in every Connaught constituency. The Sadleirites, while counting at first on the influence of the Catholic Defence Association, soon discovered that their only chance of being elected was to pledge themselves to Tenant Right. The solemn oath of Keogh in Cork, and his scarcely less solemn pledge at Athlone, bound the two leaders and their followers in the eyes of the nation.

We have already named the successful Tenant Right candidates. "On the other hand, Mr. Sadleir and his three cousins, Frank and Vincent Scully, and Robert Keatinge, were re-elected; so was Mr. Keogh, and Mr. Sadleir's brother James came in for Tipperary, all finding it requisite to hoist the Tenant Right colors by the side of the mis-used Papal banner, which they waved in the people's eyes."² Anthony O'Flaherty was elected for Galway; William Monsell (at present Lord Emley) for Limerick.

The fact that at the Tenant Right Conference held after the elections, on September the 8th, 1852, and at which all the Tenant Right members assisted, Mr. Keogh moved the Resolution there unanimously adopted, of seconding Mr. Sharman Crawford's Land-Reform Bill,—seemed to bind the Sadleirites as a body by a new pledge to the popular and national cause.

The new Parliament met on November the 4th, 1852.

Mr. Napier, the Tory attorney-general for Ireland, in order to baffle the purpose of Mr. Sharman Crawford's Tenant-Right Bill, introduced no less than four land-reform

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

² A. M. Sullivan, "New Ireland," p. 166.

Bills for Ireland, one of which admitted the principle that the improvements made by a tenant on his holding are properly created by himself and, consequently, his own.

This was the first admission of the kind ever made by a Tory government. And as the Peelites and Whigs abstained from the debate on the land question, it was easy to see that the Government were at the mercy of the Irish members, who now had it in their power to exact still further concessions from Lord Derby and the Parliament. But in the debate the Sadleirites showed the purpose for which they were aiming: Mr. Keogh savagely attacked Mr. Napier, thereby foreshadowing the vote which he and his followers intended them to cast against the Derby Cabinet.

Mr. Sharman Crawford's Bill was introduced by Mr. Sergeant Shee, and supported by Mr. Lucas in a maiden speech of such singular ability that it took the House captive, and gave to the advocate of Tenant Right a position as a Parliamentary orator which every subsequent effort of his only confirmed.

Mr. Keogh, it is said,¹ openly and generously encouraged Mr. Lucas in this his first attempt to win the ear of the House of Commons. But in the private meeting held by the Irish members to decide on the course to be followed toward the Government, the Sadleirites clearly manifested their intention of defeating the Derby Cabinet. This intention Mr. Lucas and his friends as earnestly resisted. But Lucas well knew what was in the minds of the corruptionists. The party had resolved to vote together. So, on December 17th, on discussing Mr. Disraeli's budget, the Government were beaten.

Mr. Lucas, in the "Tablet," asked thereupon, "will the Irish members have the virtue to keep together and to act with tolerable unanimity? . . . I hope, I trust, and what is more, *I believe* they will; and sure I am, they have every public motive to do so."²

A coalition ministry was formed thereupon, under the

¹ Life of Frederick Lucas, II., 9.

² *Ibidem*.

Earl of Aberdeen and Lord John Russell. When the names were gazetted, William Keogh was Solicitor General for Ireland, and John Sadleir was Junior Lord of the Treasury; Edmund O'Flaherty was Commissioner of Income Tax.

It was a terrible blow to the Archbishop of Tuam, to the Bishop of Meath, to the constituencies throughout Ireland who had staked their all, their very existence, on the success of the National Party. "A despairing stupor like to that of the famine time shrouded the land. Notices to quit fell like snow-flakes all over the counties where the helpless farmer had refused the landlord. . . . But the banker-politician had won. His accustomed success had attended him. He was not as yet a peer, but he was a Treasury Lord. From their seats on the Treasury bench he and his comrade, 'the Solicitor-General,' could smile calmly at the accusing countenances of Duffy, Moore, and Lucas. The New Year's chimes rang in the triumph of John Sadleir's daring ambition. Did no dismal minor tone, like a mournful funeral knell, presage the sequel that was now so near at hand?"¹

In the consternation and despair which fell upon the nation, it was not in the nature of John of Tuam to allow himself to despond, or to falter in the patriotic course on which he had so publicly entered, or to express one moment's doubt of the success of the cause to which he had given his allegiance, his heartfelt devotion, all the labors of his life.

Mr. Moore lost not a moment in writing to the Archbishop as soon as the treason of the "Pledge Breakers" had been gazetted. The answer came back without delay. Here it is,—a letter which never can be forgotten so long as Irishmen still live to cherish what is noblest and best in the soul of a patriot-prelate:—

"ST. JARLATH'S, TUAM, January 15th, 1853.

"MY DEAR MR. MOORE:—As you are anxious to have my opinion on a grave question of morality, I give it to you

¹ "New Ireland," p. 100.

without any hesitation. At the same time allow me to express some surprise at your consulting me on a clear case of conscience, which, when stripped of all the other relations of policy, or expediency, or private interest, or prophecies of increasing good, or probabilities of qualified evil, with which it is sought to obscure and confound it, is too clear for debate or conflicting decisions. With all these extrinsic public or private relations I have no concern. I have only to deal with the obligation of faithfully fulfilling lawful and honest covenants, freely and deliberately entered into by different parties, and so precisely and explicitly worded as to leave no room for misapprehending their meaning.

“On the strict and religious obligation of fidelity to such covenants there can be no controversy,—an obligation the more sacred and binding in proportion to the numbers committed to such an engagement, and to the magnitude and sacredness of the interests which they involve. Dissolve the binding power of such contracts, and you loosen the firmest bonds by which society is kept together.

“There is now no question about the prudence or imprudence of having contracted those engagements that were honest and legitimate. There was perfect freedom to decline or to adopt them at the time of treaty. And if one party should find them rather inconvenient to be observed, that is no reason why they should be released from their observance, to the injury of the other contracting parties, to whom they bound themselves by a strictly reciprocal obligation.

“Had the proposed pledge been considered hard or inconvenient, then the honest course would have been respectfully to decline it, rather than occupy the place of others who would be ready, in return for their share of the benefits of the contract, to fulfil all the correlative obligations which it imposed. ‘For an unfaithful and foolish promise displeaseth God, and it is much better not to vow, than after the vow not to perform the things promised.’ . . .

“Your faithful servant

“JOHN MAC HALE.”

Such are the principles, unquestionable alike in ethics and in politics, which the Archbishop of Tuam will thenceforward never cease to maintain in defence of the national cause, and against Dr. Cullen and all those who, with him, upheld the political harmlessness of pledge-breaking, and the wise economy of place-hunting.

Let us now see the fate which overtook the chief traitors in the national ranks.

CHAPTER XI.

The Last Phase—The Betrayal.

THE SILENCE OF THE DELEGATE APOSTOLIC AND THE DESPAIR OF THE IRISH PEOPLE—THE TWO ARCHBISHOPS AND THEIR POLICY—DR. MAC HALE GUARDING THE AUTHORITY OF THE HOLY SEE—THE FATE OF THE TRAITORS.

THE betrayal of Sadleir, Keogh, O'Flaherty, and their confederates in the ranks of the Irish representatives, was destined to mark one of the darkest periods through which the cause of Ireland ever passed. What is sad to contemplate in this shameless piece of political treason is not so much the boldness with which it was accomplished, as the fact that the traitors were sustained throughout, in the perpetration of the act itself, and in all its legitimate consequences, by the highest ecclesiastical authority in Ireland, and by such of the bishops as had adopted the new policy of the Apostolic Delegate.

In the mingled wrath and despair which seized upon the majority of the Irish constituencies, this was the bitterest ingredient,—that, for the first time in the history of Catholic Ireland, they had trusted their bishops and priests, and bishops and priests were on the side of the betrayers: and with them, the people were told,—and it was never denied effectively by those interested in doing so,—was the representative among them of the Holy See.

It was a terrible blow to a nation of Catholics, whom ages of traditional devotedness had taught to reverence and trust their clergy, and who had suffered and sacrificed everything for their fidelity to the Chair of Peter.

Generations have passed away since that black month of

January, 1853, bearing with them to the grave A DOUBT of their priests' faithfulness to the national cause,—which was more bitter than death itself,—and a distrust of the justice of Rome, which is one of the first germs of schism.

God only knows how many thousands of Irishmen, whose hearts beat warmly in 1852-'53, with the hopes excited by the struggle for Tenant Right and an Unpurchasable Irish Party in Parliament, lived and died confounding in one deep feeling of resentment Dr. Cullen and Pius IX.

And even now, nearly forty years after the Sadleir-Keogh betrayal, it would be a priceless service rendered to the cause of Ireland, to the Holy See itself, and to the much-tried faith of Irish Catholics, to give to the world the TRUTH about Dr. Cullen's share in this transaction, as well as about the skilful series of misrepresentations by which the Roman authorities were prejudiced against the cause sustained and guided by the Archbishop of Tuam, and against the political agencies by them employed to encompass their ends.

What we have to relate in the following chapters will abundantly justify Pius IX. from any suspicion of faithlessness to his beloved Ireland, and throw light enough on the detestable intrigues by which his subordinates in office were deceived and misled. It is to those who have inherited the manuscript correspondence of Cardinal Cullen, that the duty belongs to clear his memory from the fearful accusations left hanging over it by the dying "statement" of Frederick Lucas.

The first evil fruits of the Corruptionists' conduct were made evident when Sadleir and Keogh had to present themselves to their respective constituencies in Carlow and Athlone, and ask for re-election.

To understand aright the conduct of the men of Carlow, Athlone, and Sligo, who chose to identify themselves, in their quality of electors, with William Keogh and John Sadleir,—we must study the following graphic and truthful account of a writer,—a native of one of those boroughs,—

whose authority on the matter in question has never been challenged.

"It was resolved by the Tenant League to oppose the return both of Keogh for Athlone and Sadleir for Carlow, and deputations were appointed to go to both places. But when the deputations arrived at the constituencies, they were astounded and shocked to find that, while all the rest of the country was loud in its curses or desperate in its wail over the destruction of national hopes, the constituencies thought either that nothing particular had happened, or that the traders were to be congratulated at having got at the money and the patronage of the Government, and their constituents to be equally congratulated on their prospect of obtaining a share of the spoil.

"The state of feeling at Athlone and Carlow, at this crisis of Irish history, is one of the saddest proofs of the degradation which poverty and alien rule can bring about, even in a country so undying as Ireland in the ardor of its struggle against oppression. In Athlone in particular had bribery, poverty, and despair done their work effectively. The desperately needy voters saw in a Government official a man the better able to bribe themselves and to obtain situations for their sons. These were the days before open competition, and nomination to a Civil Service situation was the appanage of the Parliamentary representative, and one of his chief means of advancing his interests with his constituents. This was especially the case in Ireland.

"Who but an Irishman can know the full hopelessness of the youth of one born in the lower middle classes of an Irish country town? . . . Entrance to a clerkship in the Civil Service had thus come to be regarded by the Athlone boy as the first step on the golden ladder of fortune. Keogh used his power of nomination in the most lavish manner; it was a saying in Athlone in his day that every young fellow who could or could not write his name had obtained a place in the Customs, or some other of the public departments."¹

¹ "The Parnell Movement," pp. 100, 101.

But if the needs of the burgesses of Athlone, Sligo, and Carlow were desperate in the extreme, the circumstances in which both Sadleir and Keogh found themselves were such as to drive men to do and dare everything to extricate themselves from their straits. The latter, instead of possessing, as the law required, a yearly revenue of £ 300 over and above all incumbrances, was notoriously living from hand to mouth, and hopelessly in debt. As he and Sadleir were embarked in the same desperate adventure, and as Keogh was the spokesman of this confederacy of fraud and treason, so the Tipperary banker supplied the money so lavishly spent in this crusade of corruption.

They were reckless of consequences then; but ruin and exposure awaited them. In the inquiry instituted by the House of Commons into Keogh's means of subsistence he boldly swore to the possession of the requisite independence,—as in a subsequent inquiry regarding corrupt practices charged against him he swore with the same disregard of truth.

In Athlone, Keogh had the support of the bishop, Dr. Browne, who had been translated from the see of Galway to that of Elphin, a few years before Dr. Cullen became archbishop of Armagh. He was a weak man, was popularly regarded as a prelate of saintly life, and was easily influenced by one less marvellously eloquent than William Keogh. Not long after the elections which followed the latter's acceptance of office, the Bishop of Elphin, to justify himself for his open support of the pledge-breaker, could only say, deprecatingly: "Sure, the man would coax the birds from the trees with his sweet words!"

In Carlow, when John Sadleir again sought the votes of the electors, he found the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, in whose diocese Carlow was, devoted to his interests. This prelate had ever been an open supporter of the Whig Government, an advocate of the Queen's Colleges, and had, like the late Archbishop of Dublin, discountenanced among his clergy and people all efforts toward founding the Irish Catholic University, so strenuously recommended by

the Holy See. With him, as with other Irish archbishops and bishops who shared his opinions and pursued the same line of conduct,—for a priest to take an active part in advocating Tenant Right, an Independent Parliamentary Party, separate and purely Catholic schools for the children of the laboring classes, and denominational intermediate and university education,—was to be “a political agitator.” But so long as the priests in public assemblies, at the hustings, from the pulpit or the altar, recommended to the people the men and measures favorable to the Government, they were not to be looked upon as “political agitators.”

This was one of the strange and sad anomalies, which in the last years of Dr. Murray's administration, and all through that of his two immediate successors, marked the profound divisions which obtained among all ranks of the Irish clergy, contributed so much to shake the faith of the people in their religious guides, and led, in consequence of the strong removal of strong religious restraints on the popular discontent, to the growth of secret societies and revolutionary movements in Ireland.

It was an evil day that beheld prominent and influential members of the episcopal body and the priesthood in open sympathy and active alliance with the Keoghs, the Sadleirs, the O'Flahertys, the Reynolds, *e tutti quanti*.

“Every one,” says A. M. Sullivan, “looked for a declaration from the new Archbishop of Dublin, the Papal Legate. None came. Soon his silence received a dark construction. His uncle, the Rev. James Maher, P.P., was one of Mr. Sadleir's strongest supporters in Carlow; and it became manifest that Dr. Cullen's influence, in Ireland and at Rome, was certain to be given, negatively or positively, on the side of Lord Aberdeen. This was partly his own judgment on things as they presented themselves to his view. But there was a whisper at the time of rather curious negotiations privately pushed between London, Vienna, and Rome, as to the claims of the new Premier on ‘the Catholic Vote’ in the House of Commons; and these

stories, rightly or wrongly, were connected with the attitude which Dr. Cullen assumed in the subsequent events.

"It seemed for a moment as if almost a schism would ensue in the Irish Catholic Church over the issue thus precipitated. An open war raged between the sections of the clergy and people who ranged themselves under the banners of Dr. Mac Hale and of Dr. Cullen respectively. The latter maintained a severe silence; but he might as well have openly espoused the cause of Mr. Sadleir and Mr. Keogh; for the *Tablet* and the *Nation* treated him as the really formidable protector of those gentlemen. No more violent, no more painful internecine conflicts agitated Irish politics in the present century than that which arose out of this clerical and episcopal condonation and reprobation of the Keogh-Sadleir defection from the Tenant League."¹

Certain it is, that, whatever danger of "a schism" may have existed, at the beginning of 1853, in the Irish Church, the Archbishop of Tuam did not contribute by voice or pen to the peril of such a calamity. But schism in the true sense of the word there could be none, unless the authority of the Holy See were involved, on the side of one or the other of the conflicting parties, in the questions which divided them.

Certain it is also that the Delegate Apostolic never contemplated anything like such a result as this.

It was Dr. Cullen's misfortune, or disadvantage, call it by whichever name we will, as it was the venerable Dr. O'Finan's, to have lived all his lifetime abroad, in countries where constitutional government was unknown, or where the wretched imitations of constitutional government as existed in France, in the Spanish Peninsula, or were forced on the Pope by his rebellious subjects, were a cause of derision or just hatred. The Rector of the Irish College in Rome had never studied the mechanism and play of great political parties under such constitutions as that of England or the United States, nor had he seen how the

¹ 'New Ireland,' p. 171.

very healthfulness of public life is promoted by the atagonistic play of these great national organizations; how the very existence of the Throne, of Government, of the State itself, is made more secure by the rival principles, policy, and action of these parties, whose forces are the forces of Freedom itself among a great people.

Dr. Cullen never had mixed in these great constitutional movements, we call elections, canvassing, political agitation, free discussions in the Legislature and the Press, movements which are as necessary to the healthful condition of a great free community as the ocean tides and currents are to the purity, the health, the life of the seas which envelop our continents.

Had he so lived in a great free country, he must have perceived, have known by experience, that religion itself under a constitution which is the outgrowth of century after century of a people's life, partakes somewhat of the freedom and well-regulated movement of general social and political life.

Even in Ireland, where civil oppression and religious persecution had so long kept down the free movement and normal development of Catholicism, the partial liberty of the present century had given rise to an organization, customs, and discipline arising out of the circumstances of the nation.

The hierarchy and priesthood, mindful, all through well-nigh four centuries of hostile legislation and cruel repression, of the discipline, the condition, and customs of one of the most ancient Churches in Christendom, were zealous to restore all things in conformity with the glorious olden times, and jealous of the traditional liberties for which they had suffered and sacrificed so much.

The supreme authority of the Holy See had sanctioned these customs, that discipline, the expression of a religious life purified and sanctified by such trials as no other Christian nation had ever endured. The ancient custom of pre-Reformation times, of having the bishops elected by the priests, revived with the cessation of the Penal-Laws, and

had been modified and sanctioned in 1829 by a Statute of the Holy See, which was called the Concordat of 1829. Then, for the better government of the entire Irish Church, the body of bishops were annually convened by the Primate, the Archbishop of Armagh, and general resolutions or decrees were adopted for the guidance of both prelates and priests. All these proceedings were duly submitted to the Holy See through the Congregation of Propaganda.

In like manner, after the establishment of the National Seminary of Maynooth, the hierarchy, through a mixed committee of bishops and Catholic laymen,—the latter being in a minority,—superintended the administration of the establishment.

No part of the Catholic world was more devoted to Rome, more submissive to its authority, more prompt to support and vindicate the prerogatives of the Sovereign Pontiffs, than this Church of Ireland, slowly but surely recovering from its tremendous trials, and still with its people, the majority of the population, struggling for bare life in the grasp of a Protestant power bitterly hostile to the Celtic race and the Catholic religion.

The struggle on the part of the British Parliament—the representatives of the landlord interest,—to keep the Catholic agricultural tenants without any claim to the proprietorship of the soil, and the never-ceasing endeavor of the Government to control, by means of their influence in Rome, the nomination of the Irish bishops and the liberty of the Irish Church,—here was the twofold source of the principal contests which gave both Pope and Cardinals trouble with regard to Ireland. But, assuredly, such troubles did not arise from Irish restlessness or litigiousness.

Nor did the Archbishop of Tuam deserve anything but the highest praise for his efforts to obtain *Justice*, and through justice the *PEACE* of the Empire.

It was, however, from 1853 to 1878, and later, a terrible trial for the masses of Irish Catholics, and for their inherited reverence for Rome and its authority, so much so that

a little more tension, or a prolongation of the trial, must have been disastrous. As it was, nothing but the implicit trust reposed by both people and priests in the enlightened piety, the unalterable orthodoxy, and sterling patriotism of the Archbishop of Tuam prevented the catastrophe. They endured the sore trial, because they saw him long and sorely tried, patient, unshaken, and ever active in defending their interests, while he was himself subjected to an ordeal of misrepresentation and petty persecution, which must have discouraged a spirit less resolute and unselfish.

He stood, all through the long years of Paul Cullen's administration, like a breakwater, between the Irish nation and the waves of bitterness which the Apostolic Delegate's influence caused to flow in upon them from Rome misinformed and deceived; he stood between them and the despair begotten of the treachery of their trusted representatives in Parliament, of the desertion of their clerical guides; between them and the awful fear, the half-formed and agonizing conviction, that the Apostolic Delegate and his supporters in the episcopal body, together with the British Government, were persuading or seducing the common Father in Rome to hand over to English Ministers the independence of their long persecuted Church, and to barter away, for doubtful diplomatic concessions, the cherished objects of an ancient people's aspirations.

These were fears not without a warrant in the public conduct of the Delegate Apostolic, as contemporary history attests; but they were fears happily unfounded as regards the Holy See. It may be misinformed for a time in matters of Government by the agents it trusts; but the prejudice thus conceived, or the decisions given on such misinformation, are but the clouds of a moment, which swiftly pass away from the bright face of the sun.

It was a fearfully long ordeal, as we shall see, for the Archbishop of Tuam. But when the bitter waves had done their worst, and a lull came in the storm with the death of Cardinal Cullen, the venerable figure of the nearly nonagenarian JOHN OF TUAM remained erect and unshaken,

with the imprint of years upon its brow, but with the proud and serene consciousness that he had not betrayed the cause of Ireland nor allowed her people to be separated from the Chair of Peter.

That the Pontifical authority should not be so compromised was therefore one of the chief cares Dr. Mac Hale took on himself so long as the conflict lasted. No prelate ever lived who was so scrupulous in keeping out of local controversies, no matter how momentous, of either religion or politics, the name of the reigning Pope, or the sacred authority with which he was invested. In the letter which we published at the end of the last chapter, the Archbishop is, as ever, careful not to bring in the name of persons, careful to leave out every allusion that might irritate. The question involved in political pledge-taking or pledge-breaking of any kind is that of the natural virtue of FIDELITY. The Archbishop puts the case in its simplest, clearest light. Between man and man a pledge given and accepted is binding in conscience and under pain of sin. This binding force,—one of the strongest chains which holds society together,—increases in proportion to the importance of the matter involved, of the persons interested in the promise made and accepted, and of the solemnity and deliberateness with which the engagement was taken on both sides.

The statement is that of a moralist and theologian. But, from beginning to end, there is no offensive word, nothing to wound or to arouse passion. John of Tuam is here what he is in all his public utterances, the teacher of his people and nation.

Nor in all the letters written by him at that time to the members of the Tenant League, of the Irish Parliamentary Party, to the journalists who looked up to him and consulted him in their dreadful perplexity, can a single sentence be pointed out in which the Archbishop departs from the golden rules of moderation, prudence, and unvarying charity afterwards laid down by Leo XIII., in his various Encyclicals, for the guidance of Catholics, of Catholic publi-

cists in particular, in their discussion of religious interests or national politics.

Dr. Mac Hale in this letter could, in all truth and justice, assume that the pledges solemnly given by the Parliamentary candidates of 1852-'53, and as solemnly accepted by the nation, had been ratified by the entire body of the Catholic bishops and priests. No word publicly spoken or written by the Archbishop of Dublin or those who were his trusted representatives had ever gainsaid the repeated approbation given by him, as Archbishop of Armagh, to the Tenant League, or to the vital objects aimed at by an independent party in Parliament.

In the pursuit of these great national purposes, at the opening of Parliament in November, 1852, there was, apparently, but one mind and one will in the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood.

From that pursuit Dr. Mac Hale never swerved. It was not his hand that threw the apple of discord into the ranks of the national party. In denouncing the pledge-breaking, he was only consistent with himself.

At Carlow, then, where John Sadleir, Junior Lord of the Treasury, presented himself for reëlection, he read to his constituents a letter from the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, "expressing the most earnest anxiety" for his success;¹ he was backed by the priests. One of his mobsmen was requested by the Rev. Father Maher to keep quiet and not disgrace 'A GOOD CAUSE.'²

In spite of the open support thus given him by bishops and priests in Carlow, Mr. Sadleir was defeated. But the good Bishop of Elphin had as much influence at Sligo as he had in Athlone, which re-elected Mr. Keogh. So, the gold of Mr. Sadleir was no less potent with the Sligo men than it was at Athlone; the favor of the Bishop, who thenceforward identified himself with the policy of Father James Maher and Archbishop Cullen, did the rest.

"Sadleir employed exactly the same means as previous

¹ *Dublin Evening Post*. Quoted by T. D. Sullivan, "Record," p. 14.

² T. D. Sullivan, "Record," p. 15; quoted in "Parnell Movement," p. 103.

aspirants for the representation of the place. It was proved afterwards that several of the voters received sums running up to £25 for their votes. Sadleir, besides, though he was bitterly opposed by some of the clergy, had the support of several of the priests, and was actually proposed by a parish-priest; and he had also the advantage of the intimidation of those hired mobs which he and Keogh had introduced into the factors of Irish electioneering. He was returned by a majority of four votes. There was a petition; the bribery was clearly proved; but according to the loose and shameless customs of the times, the tools were convicted, while Sadleir was declared innocent. He actually retained his seat, and was, perhaps, in the House at the very moment when the Attorney General moved for leave to prosecute some of the men whose bought votes had obtained him admission into the House.”¹

It may be as well, for such of our readers especially as are not acquainted with the period of Irish history we have fallen upon,—to sketch here the subsequent career of the two prime corruptionists.

“Sadleir was the first to meet disaster. At Carlow, one of the agencies he had employed most extensively and relentlessly to secure his return, were the accounts of the bankrupt shopkeepers with the Tipperary bank. It was a favorite plan of his, as of other Parliamentary aspirants afterwards, to lend money to the voters in the intervals between the elections on renewable bills, and with this unpaid bill he always held his power over the hapless elector, and could count on his vote when the election time came. A man named Dowling, an elector of Carlow, was suspected of intending to vote against Sadleir, and he was arrested for debt on the morning of the election. Dowling took an action for false imprisonment; there were many damaging revelations against Sadleir in the trial, and he had to go into the witness-box. He swore boldly and unflinchingly, and the jury had to brand either him or Dowling as a perjurer; the jury gave the verdict for Dowling. The result

¹ “The Parnell Movement,” pp. 105, 106.

was that Sadleir had, in January 1854, to resign his office as Lord of the Treasury.

"This was the first turn of the tide. In March of the same year there began to be rumors that, instead of being a millionaire, he was in financial difficulties; but the rumors were laughed out of existence. Public confidence had but been restored in the financier of the 'Brass Band,' when another scandal shook its credit. People began to ask where was Mr. Edmund O'Flaherty, the Commissioner of Income Tax. . . . Before many days the whole world knew that the Commissioner of Income Tax had fled, no one knew whither, and that he had left behind him bills amounting to £15,000 in circulation, some of them bearing names,—Keogh's among the rest,—which were stated to be forged.

"The thing blew over for a while, and Sadleir was once more sailing before the wind. The death of Lucas and the departure of Gavan Duffy seemed to complete his triumph; and he was everywhere,—especially, of course, in England,—congratulated on the dispersal of his enemies.

"Meantime he was approaching the abyss. The rumors that he was in financial difficulties were true. The vast schemes in which he had embarked proved in many cases disastrous; and then he took to all kinds of expedients for raising money; and finally he resorted to the forgery of title-deeds, conveyances, and bills. In February, 1856, the crash came. Glyns dishonored some of the bills of the Tipperary Bank. The news spread; a run took place on some of the branches; but the next day it was announced that a mistake had been committed and the drafts were honored. The crisis might be averted if only a little ready money could be obtained. . . . Sadleir went into the city to see a Mr. Wilkinson, with whom he had large transactions, proposed various plans for raising money; all were rejected. . . .

"As the day went on, Sadleir heard news more disastrous. Mr. Wilkinson had previously lent him large sums of money. The money had been lent on one of the many securities Sadleir had forged during the previous year;

and, the suspicions of Mr. Wilkinson having been aroused, he had sent over his partner, Mr. Stevens, to Dublin to inquire into the matter. This was, probably, a portion of the news brought to Sadleir at ten o'clock on the night of that eventful Saturday. . . .

"The next (Sunday) morning, on a mound at Hampstead Heath, the passers by observed a gentleman lying as if asleep. A silver tankard smelling strongly of Prussic acid was at his side. It was the dead body of John Sadleir,—dead by his own hand." ¹

"On Monday the news flashed through the Kingdom. There was alarm in London; there was wild panic in Ireland. The Tipperary Bank closed its doors; the country people flocked into the towns. They surrounded and attacked the branches; the poor victims imagined their money must be within, and they got crowbars, picks, and spades to force the walls and 'dig it out.' The scenes of mad despair which the streets of Thurles and Tipperary saw that day would melt a heart of adamant. Old men went about like maniacs, confused and hysterical; widows knelt down in the street, and aloud asked God, was it true they were beggared forever. Even the Poor-Law Unions, which had kept their accounts in the Bank, lost all, and had not a shilling to buy the paupers' dinner the day the branch doors closed. . . . Banks, railways, assurance associations, land companies, every undertaking with which he had been connected, were flung into dismay; and for months fresh revelations of fraud, forgery, and robbery came daily and hourly to view. By the month of April the total of such discoveries had reached £1,250,000." ²

What of William Keogh, meanwhile? We prefer to quote the words of witnesses then living, mixed up with the stirring events of the period, and whose testimony cannot be challenged. "Parliament was opened on January the 23d, 1855. . . . On February 6th, Lord Palmerston became Premier, with a reconstruction of the late administration. Mr. Keogh had been Irish Solicitor-General, Mr. Brewster

¹ "Parnell Movement," pp. 106, 108.

² "New Ireland," p. 180.

being Attorney-General. Of course, it was concluded that their resignation of office would follow upon that of the Government. Mr. Brewster did so resign, under the belief that his junior colleague was doing the same; but he found that his act had merely made a vacancy for Mr. Keogh, who quietly held on, and stepped into the attorney-generalship.¹

"He had to seek election once more; but so broken was the spirit of the country that no attempt was made to defeat him; and, to add to the tragic completeness of the situation, Dr. Browne, 'the Dove of Elphin,' came to the hustings and proposed Keogh as a fit and proper person to represent the constituency."²

Of course, the office of attorney-general was naturally only a stepping stone to the judicial bench. But would any Prime Minister,—even one so reckless of public opinion as Lord Palmerston, dare to make a judge of William Keogh? Why not, when a man of his loose principles always had a bishop to recommend him to a constituency, and one higher than a bishop to sanction by silence and indirect approval the profligate political course the spend-thrift adventurer chose to follow?

With the shocking details of the Sadleir suicide and forgeries, the public press began to spread reports of the probable and even near promotion of Attorney-General Keogh to the bench of justice. The rumor was changed into reality on the 2d of April, 1856. The "Nation" thereupon said: "Well may it be asked, 'Has God's Providence ceased to rule in Ireland?' There is one scene more in this episode of Irish history. One prominent member of the 'Irish Brigade' had not been made a judge or committed suicide. It was James Sadleir, brother of John. On February 16, 1857, Mr. J. D. Fitzgerald, then Attorney-General for Ireland, moved the expulsion of James Sadleir for having fled before charges of fraud; and the motion was carried, *nemine contradicente*."³

¹ "New Ireland," p. 176.

² "The Parnell Movement," p. 106.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 110.

We shall have to meet William Keogh again before the hand of God falls heavy on him, and before, a wanderer bereft of reason, he dies among strangers without a grave in his own country.

PART FOURTH.

*THE CONTESTATION BETWEEN THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM
AND THE DELEGATE APOSTOLIC.*

CHAPTER XII.

MEMORABLE CONTEST IN ROME BETWEEN DR. MAC HALE AND
DR. CULLEN REGARDING IRISH POLITICO-ECCLESIASTICAL
AFFAIRS—THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM'S TRIUMPHANT
VINDICATION OF THE NATIONAL POLICY.

1854-1855.

THE autumn of 1854 was memorable in Rome for the meeting of prelates convened by Pius IX. to discuss the opportuneness of defining as a dogma of Revealed truth the universally received belief among Catholics that the Blessed Mother of the Redeemer had, by a special grace, been preserved from the stain of original sin.

The four metropolitans of Ireland were invited by the Pope; and more than one weighty reason induced the Archbishop of Tuam to accept the invitation. He was accompanied by his nephew, Very Rev. Dr. Thomas Mac Hale, of the Irish College, Paris, whose services at the late provincial council were highly appreciated, and whose Roman training fitted him to give valuable aid to his venerable relative during this momentous visit to the Eternal City.

The object for which this august assemblage, resembling in many ways an ecumenical council, met in the capital of the Christian world, was one especially dear to the Catholics of the British Islands; but there were other questions to be dealt with there in which the dearest interests of Ireland were involved, as we shall see presently.

The Archbishop of Tuam, in the preliminary meetings held before the solemn proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, bore willing and eloquent testimony to the ancient and uninterrupted belief of his Church and people in the singular privilege claimed for the Mother of God. Among the countless tributes in prose and poetry

and in the various languages of both hemispheres testifying to the universal belief of Christendom from the beginning in the immaculateness of the Virgin-Mother, was a poem in the Irish tongue, composed by the Archbishop and declaimed by him before the assembled cardinals and prelates. The illustrious Cardinal Mezzofanti at least could understand the speaker and follow the soft and harmonious flow of the Gælic verse. Pius IX. graciously encouraged the Poet-Prelate to give a version into English in favor of the many English-speaking archbishops and bishops from the Old World and the New.

Our readers will gladly hear a few of these stanzas, which were applauded by the most august assemblage that till then had ever met on the banks of the Tiber, stanzas which afterwards, in many an hour of gloom, were sung by their author, in joy, in prayer, in earnest supplication, to the sounds of the harp of St. Jarlath's.

A pilgrim from the Sainted Isle,
On which, amid the darkest storm,
The Ocean's Star ne'er ceased to smile,
And guard its ancient faith from harm,
'Twould ill become no voice to raise
To sound the stainless Virgin's praise.

Nor need our harp be here unstrung,
On willows hanging, from sad fears
That, should it breathe our native tongue,
Its tones should melt us into tears :
On Tiber's banks no tongue is strange,
Rome's faith and tongue embrace earth's range.

We hail, through distant time, the Star
Whose feeble, yet auspicious ray,
Announced our recent Feast afar,
Like morning kindling into day ;
Of which the Heaven-taught Seers of old
Have in prophetic glimpses told.

Let each one raise his choral voice,
Gushing from the heart's deep well,
And while in concord we rejoice,
Let that concord be the swell
Of mingling streams which bear along
The precious faith of sacred song ;

That sacred song, whose spring we trace
 Back to the dawning of the world,
 When, ere the parents of our race
 Were from their blissful Eden hurled,
 Th' Almighty Father cheered the gloom
 Which sin cast o'er their future doom.

From out the darkness of the shroud
 Which veiled the Word's eternal birth
 Came forth a voice that pierced the cloud,
 Shadowing His descent on earth,
 Of Woman born, doomed to tread
 And crush the Tempter-Serpent's head.

Hail, thou, to whom God's Angel bright
 Brought down the tidings from the skies,
 That, full of grace and heavenly light,
 Thou wert all lovely in his eyes!
 Hail thou, of all God made the best,
 His Virgin-Mother ever Bless'd!

When in this darksome vale of tears
 Our weary pilgrim-days are run;
 When death's approach awakes our fears,
 Do thou, Sweet Mother, with thy Son,
 Plead and show forth thy gracious power,
 And light our pas-age at that hour.

Many eventful and most trying years had passed over that "Land of the West," that ever-green Isle of St. Patrick and St. Columbanus, since, in the autumn of 1831, the young Coadjutor-Bishop of Killala had come to Rome to lay at the feet of Gregory XVI. the homage of the faithful but sorely oppressed populations of Mayo. The strong, manly, practical sense of that Pontiff easily gathered from the written statements and conversation of the outspoken and accomplished prelate, what was the real religious, political, and social condition of the churches and people of Connaught.

Hence the exalted idea which Gregory conceived of the piety, the learning, the enlightened and unselfish patriotism of the man whom, a few years afterward, he of his own accord and in spite of the formidable opposition of Palmerston and Melbourne, appointed to the vacant see of St. Jarlath.

The frequent and vitally important controversies in which the Archbishop of Tuam was engaged in Rome during the Pontificate of Gregory XVI. were of such a nature that they could only increase the esteem in which the Pope held the prelate.

With the exception of the Killala affair, all these questions regarded Christian education and the very existence of Catholicism in Ireland. The question of the Queen's Colleges was before the Court of Rome when Gregory died, and was soon afterward decided by Pius IX. in favor of Dr. Mac Hale and the majority of the Irish bishops who sided with him in opposition to the Government Scheme.

In all these momentous discussions the venerable Prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Frasoni, was invariably of the opinion advocated by the Archbishop of Tuam.

But in December, 1854, Cardinal Frasoni was hopelessly ill, and on the Secretary of the Propaganda fell a great part of the executive business of the Congregation discharged by the Cardinal-Prefect.

On the 16th of that month a meeting of the Irish prelates present in Rome was held at the Propaganda; and, Cardinal Frasoni being disabled by illness, Monsignor Barnabò, the Secretary, who was not a bishop, presided in the Cardinal's name,

The chief question discussed by the prelates was the new Catholic University of Dublin. Of the discussion itself we have an authentic account elsewhere in the letter written by the Archbishop of Tuam to the Pope on February 3d, 1855, in answer to Dr. Cullen. This meeting, if convened for the purpose of bringing about a better understanding between the Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, only made matters worse. For the explanations into which the latter was obliged to enter, in order to justify his differing from the former in the arbitrary course adopted by him as Delegate Apostolic in organizing and governing the Catholic University, resulted in the appeal to the Pope above alluded to.

It would appear that another meeting of the Irish prel-

ates was called at the Propaganda, with the object "of effecting a reconciliation between the Archbishops of Tuam and Dublin. . . ." "They met," says a trustworthy witness, present in Rome at the time, "in one of the large apartments of the Propaganda. The meeting was presided over by Monsignor Barnabò. It was not of long duration. Mgr. Barnabò considered it to be his duty to lecture the Irish bishops, and to lay down principles which the Archbishop of Tuam could not sanction. Without a moment's hesitation, the Archbishop cried out 'that it was the privilege and duty of the Pope alone to lecture bishops.' This observation roused the anger of Mgr. Barnabò, who stood up from his chair and declared the meeting ended. From that day the enmity of Mgr. Barnabò, who soon afterward was created Cardinal and Prefect of the Propaganda, against the Archbishop of Tuam, was boundless."¹

The personal character of a high official in Church or State, and the degree in which he yields to his liking or his dislike for the public men he has to deal with in governing,—form a very serious element in calculating causes and effects.

With regard to Mgr. Barnabò we have the judgment of two Irish prelates, who had dealings with him while he was still secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda. This judgment will throw some light on the calamitous course taken by Irish ecclesiastical affairs from 1851 to the death of Cardinal Cullen (October, 1878), and on the policy of subserviency toward the British Government which went far to weaken the strong hold which the Holy See had on the confidence of Irish Catholics.

"I have no confidence (writes Dr. Derry, Bishop of Clonfert) that any one save your Grace and one or two in the Province (I mean Dr. Feeny and myself) will make the new Prefect of the Propaganda aware that they will not communicate with the office through a certain channel.

¹ We should not forget that Mgr. Barnabò, though secretary of the Propaganda, and a Roman prelate, was not a bishop.

² NOTES of Very Rev. Thomas Mac Hale, D.D. : MAC HALE MSS.

"There are, I believe, several bishops who, *de facto*, manage their own correspondence. But they will scarcely go beyond the *fact* of that direct correspondence, or venture in any way on a disclaimer of a supposed agency. Much of the safety and happiness of Irish ecclesiastical affairs depends on the selection of a Cardinal Prefect. I am sorry Cardinal Brunelli is not a member of the Congregation. Perhaps, notwithstanding, he may be chosen. I was very much struck with his good sense, and his quiet, practical way of transacting business, so different from the impetuous, brusque, and not very engaging manner of the Secretary Barnabò." ¹

Dr. Cantwell, Bishop of Meath, is of the same way of thinking. Adverting to the Catholic University, now under the absolute control of Drs. Cullen and Newman, he writes to the Archbishop of Tuam on May 4, 1856:—

"I have heard nothing from Dublin, . . . except a *formal card from rector and professors* (inviting me) to be present at the opening of the church on Thursday, an invitation which I thought proper to decline. We are daily sinking deeper, and becoming more prostrate by divisions in Church and State. Never did Ireland exhibit greater evidence of weakness. My only hope now is the appointment of Brunelli to the prefectship, and the removal of Barnabò from the secretaryship. God grant both!" ²

We have characterized the unworthy intrigues set on foot against the Archbishop of Tuam, against the prelates, priests, and public men who followed his leadership, as a conspiracy. It is impossible to read the most authentic and trustworthy sources of information within our reach, without being convinced of the fact. The triumph of the conspirators was to enlist the Apostolic Delegate in Ireland in their scheme, and through him to secure in Rome the coöperation of the heads of the Propaganda. We have just seen how this object was attained during the quasi-council held in Rome in November and December, 1854.

Dr. Derry, bishop of Clonfert, who was one of the pre-

¹ MAC HALE MSS., letter of May 10, 1856.

² *Ibidem*.

ates present in Rome on that occasion, and during the meetings which culminated in the estrangement between Mgr. Barnabò and Dr. Mac Hale, could, like the venerable and patriotic Bishop of Meath, bear testimony to the pure and exalted motives of the Archbishop of Tuam through this most painful ordeal. He knew how untiring was the zeal for religion which was the mainspring of the Archbishop's conduct, and how unselfish and enlightened was the public policy which he steadily pursued.

It was a persecution most skilfully and successfully organized and carried on against the Metropolitan of Connaught, precisely because he was the representative man of Catholic Ireland both in her religious and political aspect; "an Irishman twice dyed in the wool," as the same Monsignor Barnabò once described him.

Because he was such, it was most important to the anti-Irish diplomatists and intriguers in Rome, to ruin there his reputation both as a bishop and as a political leader. The persecution of calumny and misrepresentation, which went to such lengths in the winter of 1854-1855, was carried on with increased vigor during the succeeding years.

Thus the position held by Dr. Mac Hale, after his abrupt departure from Rome, in the first week of February of the latter year, is well described by Dr. Derry three years afterwards, in a letter of February 3, 1858.

"I have been remiss," he writes, "in signifying my sympathy with the clergy of Tuam, persecuted in the persons of two of its members. Or, rather, I should say of the proceedings taken against the priests of Tuam, that they are meant to crush all ecclesiastical influence in the affairs of Ireland, however identified these are with the dearest interests of religion. Your Grace—having been dreaded as the impersonation of the power, and the proper exercise of the power of the priesthood,—is assailed in the same fashion as St. Thomas à Beckett, whom, when good King Harry (the would-be reformer of the Irish Church of his day) could not reach, he strove to afflict, by wreaking his vengeance on the Prelate's friends and supporters.

"I shall, immediately on my return to Loughrea, send to Father Coyne my poor mite to the fund necessary for the defence of our order."¹

The preceding extracts will throw no little light on the remainder of this chapter. Let us now come back to the incidents which followed, in Rome, the open breach with Mgr. Barnabò, and his taking sides with Dr. Cullen.

Not before the beginning of February, 1855, did the latter begin formal hostilities; and the war was thus begun at the very moment when he knew that Dr. Mac Hale was leaving Rome. On February 2d, he addressed the following letter to Pius IX.

The Latin original copy, from which we translate, is in the handwriting of Mgr. Talbot, and has this heading in the handwriting of Dr. Mac Hale: "A copy of a letter presented to the Holy Father by Dr. Cullen, and handed to me by Monsignor Talbot on the 3d of February, 1855, in Rome:"—

"MOST HOLY FATHER:—Although it is very disagreeable to me to treat of matters which regard me personally, or to give Your Holiness any trouble, still, as I am intimately convinced that Your Holiness has greatly at heart everything that may tend to promote peace and concord in the Irish Church, because on you falls the care of all the churches,—I do not hesitate to write here a few observations which may do timely service in advancing that purpose.

"Let me, then, affirm two things: first, nearly all the bishops and the greater part of the priests of Ireland desire nothing more ardently than to see our Church affairs carried on in peace and concord. That such is their wish I have ere this often said in writing to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, and I now with extreme satisfaction repeat the same statement.

"The other affirmation is, that there is no true cause of dissentiment among our bishops, inasmuch as the Synod of Thurles and the late assembly of the bishops in Dublin,

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

approved as both have been by the Holy See, have done away with all grounds of dispute.

“ And yet, clear and familiar as these facts are, it is with no little sorrow that I have to confess that divisions of a very serious nature exist among some Irish prelates and priests, and it is to be feared that these divisions will go on increasing unless some timely remedy be applied by the Holy See.

“ That such dissentiments exist is proved by what has lately occurred here in Rome, and by what is of daily recurrence in Ireland.

“ It was surely a thing greatly to be wished for that, while there were so many reasons for joy and exultation throughout this entire city, we should forget our own little differences. This, however, was not what happened. For when the Irish prelates met under the Right Reverend the Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda, to take counsel about their own affairs, the Archbishop of Tuam, without the slightest provocation, made many complaints and accusations, and among other things reproached me with violating ecclesiastical discipline, and with invading the rights of my brother-bishops. I asked him to put these accusations in writing, which he has not done, so that those complaints remain unanswered.

“ While these occurrences so unfavorable to peace were happening in Rome, I received letters from the Bishop of Ossory, my suffragan, informing me that some priests and laymen had joined hands for the purpose of lowering the episcopal authority; that a memorial had been drawn up against me, which had been sent for signatures to the priests of several dioceses, so that, thus signed, it might be laid before the Holy See. A priest¹ of the Province of Tuam writes that great efforts were made to obtain signatures for this document in the diocese of Tuam. I have placed before the Sacred Congregation a copy of this memorial sent me by the Bishop of Ossory; it magnifies silly rumors into serious complaints, and contains so little

¹ Dr. Mac Evilly's action.

of truth, that I question if ever they will present it to Your Holiness.

“While they were thus in obscure corners getting up this memorial, a layman, Charles (Gavan) Duffy by name, published in his journal, the *Nation*, several articles full of falsehood and abuse of me, and endeavored to disseminate the charges which the aforesaid priests were secretly hawking about.

“Finally, after Mr. Duffy had thus been able to circulate all these writings for several weeks in succession, a public political meeting was held in the Diocese of Tuam, and a great public banquet was announced for the 30th of last month. I have not learned if this assemblage has come off; but in the *Nation* of January 20th appeared a letter from three priests belonging to the Diocese or Province of Tuam, inviting Mr. Duffy to a public meeting and banquet (just as he was last year invited to a public dinner in Tuam, the Archbishop himself being present); and the authors of the letter praise this gentleman’s labors in defence of the ecclesiastical and civil rights of Ireland,—although they knew perfectly well that in 1848 he had excited the people to rebel, and that his journal now contains many things which favor revolution and popular sedition, besides the bold attacks recently directed by him against the bishops.

“While such things are done in Rome by bishops and in Ireland by priests, what hope is there of restoring peace among ourselves?

“In this sad conjuncture I should not presume to say what ought to be done. There is one thing, however, which I think might greatly conduce to concord,—namely, clearly to establish who is the author of dissension.

“From what I have stated, it is evident that the Archbishop of Tuam considers me to be responsible for it. And in fact, if all that was said of me at our meeting in the Propaganda were only true, the Archbishop would be right. I think, however, that the complaints of his Grace are devoid of all foundation in fact. I may, however, be mistaken, and as it is of the utmost importance that the true state of things

should be ascertained, I beseech Your Holiness, with all humility and earnestness, to bid his Grace of Tuam put his complaints in writing and to have them duly examined. If they are proven true, I shall put in no defence; and if I be found to have violated the rights of his Grace or of any other bishop, I am ready to submit to the penalty.

"If they are unfounded, it is high time that the Archbishop of Tuam should understand it to be so. If he returns to Ireland with the conviction that I am guilty, it might happen that his authority and influence would be made use of to confirm the allegations made in the above-mentioned memorial, or those circulated in the *Nation* by Mr. Duffy, who is so much thought of in the diocese of Tuam.

"Meanwhile, I trust Your Holiness will find in my request no obstacle toward the restoration of the peace so much desired, nor anything unbecoming a bishop. On the other hand, if I have written anything that savors of wrong or is unreasonable, I recall and retract it; for I desire nothing but the good and the prosperity of our Church, and am quite ready to follow any rule of conduct prescribed by Your Holiness, and to submit to any conditions whatsoever, provided only that an end be put to these sad and baneful ecclesiastical dissensions.

"Kneeling at the feet of Your Holiness, with all due humility and devotedness, I ask the Apostolic Benediction.

"Your most humble and most obedient servant,

"PAUL CULLEN, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN

"Primate of Ireland.

"IRISH COLLEGE, ROME, Feb. 2, 1855."

Dr. Cullen had taken more than a month to draw up his indictment; and it was only laid before the supreme tribunal of the Holy See just when Dr. Mac Hale had obtained leave to return to his diocese, when Cardinal Franson's dangerous illness forbade his taking any serious part in the weighty controversy thus opened, and when the whole weight of business at the Propaganda fell on the hostile Secretary.

The Archbishop of Tuam lost not one moment. He was determined that nothing short of a positive order from the Pope to remain in Rome and there answer at length all the charges that might be brought against him should detain him a single day after the time fixed for his departure, with the express consent of His Holiness. Things were occurring in Ireland which concerned the vital interest of religion and the very existence of the Catholic populations. Dr. Cullen, whatever his position and responsibilities as Archbishop of Dublin and delegate of the Apostolic See, could not, in his very brief and imperfect experience of Irish affairs, have the knowledge that Dr. Mac Hale had of his people, their circumstances, their feelings, their needs, their dangers. Nor, however kindly disposed as he might be, since his translation from Armagh to Dublin, to view the spirit and plans of the Government, could Dr. Cullen measure its designs or judge of its present and future policy with the unerring sagacity of one so well accustomed as the Archbishop of Tuam to the politics of both Whigs and Tories.

In consequence of the late elections, a general eviction-campaign had begun through Ireland, which promised to be as disastrous as "the great clearances" of 1848-49. The pledge-breakers were in the full tide of their success; the tenant-farmers of Ireland believed themselves forsaken of God and man; the clergy, demoralized by the new rules against immixture in politics, and despairing of redress from Rome, where the Apostolic Delegate was all-powerful, either dared not or would not counsel the people in this terrible emergency.

The very existence of a Catholic Ireland depended on the prompt and energetic action of one man, who would dare, for Rome's dearest interest and honor, to leave his own good name to the guardianship of the Holy Apostles, and to hasten back to Ireland to protect his nation from the rashness of Dr. Cullen and Mgr. Barnabò.

Before leaving Rome, Dr. Mac Hale wrote the following preliminary answer to the letter of Dr. Cullen. We

give it with the remark in his own handwriting at the head of the original draft.

“A reply to the Holy Father against Dr. Cullen’s insolent calumnies of Feb. 2 (1855), who strove to prevent me from returning with the Bishops of Clonfert and Clogher :”

“MOST HOLY FATHER:—Kneeling at the feet of Your Holiness, I humbly offer the following answer to the letter of the Archbishop of Dublin, of the 2d of this month, and which the Right Reverend Mgr. Talbot, in giving me yesterday a copy of it, asked me in the name of Your Holiness to answer. In order to reply to all the allegations and insinuations therein contained against me, while avoiding, as it becomes in a document addressed to Your Holiness, all discussion with the Most Reverend writer, I shall take up and answer briefly his letter paragraph by paragraph.

“He begins by exposing the motive which led him to write to Your Holiness. I am not called upon to discuss these reasons. Nevertheless I have one observation to make to you, Most Holy Father, with regard to the *time* he chose for addressing you such a document.

“Six weeks have passed since the last meeting of the bishops of Ireland before the Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda, on the 16th of December. I did not leave Rome a single day during these six weeks. I had in this interval the honor of conversing more than once with Your Holiness: 1st, during the Octave of Christmas, I laid before You the statement of the condition of my diocese; 2dly, I had an audience together with the Bishop of Clonfert, one of my suffragans, for the purpose of asking the Apostolic Benediction and the permission to leave Rome immediately for our dioceses, in company with the Bishop of Clogher. But as you, Most Holy Father, desired me to remain, and as the Archbishop of Dublin was well acquainted with the fact, I wonder that he did not even then write his letters against me.

“Your Holiness is aware that His Eminence the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda addressed me a letter, to which I without a moment’s delay made answer in all simplicity.

I did myself the honor of presenting Your Holiness with a copy of this same answer last month, and on this occasion, if I remember right, Your Holiness said to me that I should be free to start for my diocese on the following Monday, 5th of February. I therefore made all ready for my journey. The two bishops mentioned above and I went to the ambassadors for our passports. Then, and then only was I given a copy of the letter presented to Your Holiness on the very day before! And in this the Archbishop of Dublin asks Your Holiness to keep me in Rome for some time longer!

"Whatever grounds there may be for the complaints uttered against me in that letter, such a proceeding is not one that may conduce to peace and concord.

"I have not much to remark about the contents of the second and third paragraphs. I am also convinced that our bishops, our priests, that all Irish Catholics, in a word, greatly desire that our Church affairs should be carried on in a spirit of concord and peace. The Archbishop of Dublin, by his use of the words *ferè* (nearly) and *plerique* (for the most part) insinuates that there are some bishops and priests who do not desire such a state of things. If he hints at me, as being so evil-minded that I do not even wish to see Church affairs transacted in a spirit of peace and concord, he assuredly does me a most grievous wrong.

"I am now thirty years a bishop. I appeal confidently to the whole of my past life. The acts of my episcopal career, my published writings, must speak for me. The ever-active enemies of our faith, who, under the specious pretext of procuring the education of our youth, succeeded in circumventing some even of our bishops, I have undoubtedly avoided, as have the other bishops who joined me in denouncing to the Apostolic See the dangerous projects of these seducers; what judgment the Holy See has pronounced on this matter, I need not here recall.

"Suffice it for the moment to say that, in the judgment of the Holy See itself, it was the duty of the body of bishops to think and act in a way different from that adopted by some of them.

"It is clear, therefore, that there may exist a temporary difference of opinion among us, without its following, as a consequence, that he who differs from others is necessarily opposed to brotherly concord, as the Archbishop of Dublin insinuates by the expressions *ferè* and *plerosque*.

"The fourth and fifth paragraphs affirm that there does exist very serious dissentiment among certain members of the Irish episcopacy and priesthood ; and to prove his assertion, the Archbishop reasons in this way, so as to show that I am the author and supporter of these dissensions. This accusation is a very serious one ; but on examination it will be found to be utterly groundless.

"Sixth. The first argument made use of by his Grace in support of this affirmation is taken from the words made use of by me, according to him, in the meeting presided by the Right Reverend, the Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda. 'The Archbishop of Tuam,' he says, 'without any provocation whatever, uttered many complaints and accusations, and, among other things, he seemed to mark me out as a violator of ecclesiastical discipline and a usurper of the rights of other bishops.'

"This is a most inaccurate rendering of what I did say. In this meeting of the prelates the matter under consideration was the Catholic University of Ireland. The Right Rev. Secretary, in proposing the question for debate, said that the statutes enacted in the recent assembly of the bishops in Dublin had been so modified by the Congregation of Propaganda, that the University should not be governed (as it had been decreed in the Dublin meeting) by the yearly assembly of bishops convened on a certain day, and whose duty it should be to appoint professors, and to provide for the expenses and regulate them ; but, instead, the University should be governed by the four archbishops, and when their board was equally divided, the casting voice should belong to the Apostolic Delegate.

"This most important change in the University Statutes I learned all of a sudden, and being persuaded in my conscience that the change would be most injurious to

the University, I freely expressed my opinion thereupon. To thoroughly explain the disadvantages of the change, I deemed it necessary to give, as it were, a history of the University from the Synod of Thurles down to our last meeting in Dublin. From my recital it was made evident that the prelates who were most favorable to the University, who were the only ones in the Synod of Thurles to show an interest in establishing the University (with the single exception of the present Archbishop of Dublin),—had always held the opinion, that even as it was the duty and the business of all the bishops to create the University, so was it their duty and right to govern it. While thus exposing my own opinion, which was that of other prelates, in presence of the Right Rev. Secretary of the Propaganda, it was absolutely necessary for me to state, that the Archbishop of Dublin, though perfectly cognizant of this opinion of his brother-prelates, never showed it any favor; that during well-nigh the four years elapsed since the Synod of Thurles, the meeting of the Bishops was never convened to transact the University business, although the Statutes of Thurles had expressly provided that the bishops should take counsel together (*collatis consiliis*) for the purpose of building it; that through the agency of a committee and by virtue of his authority as apostolic delegate the Archbishop of Dublin did everything himself, down to the last episcopal assemblage in Dublin; that in the assemblage thus called together, the said Archbishop proposed that it should be the exclusive prerogative of the Rector of the University to present the professors to be appointed; that the majority of the bishops being unwilling to confer such powers on the Rector, the Archbishop of Dublin, by an insistence unusual in the presidents of our meetings, obtained that these powers should be granted to the Rector. . . .

“All this explanation I made in order to show that in fact the entire government and administration of the University would be in the hands of the Archbishop of Dublin, in consequence of this change made in the statutes enacted in our last Dublin meeting, as then notified to us by the

Secretary of the Propaganda. After this exposition, however, I added that, if it pleased the Holy See to have the University so governed and administered, that I would most certainly submit to the will of the Holy Father.

“But I most assuredly never said that the Archbishop of Dublin was either a transgressor of ecclesiastical discipline or a usurper of his brother-bishops’ rights. But as I believed that he sometimes interfered in diocesan matters outside of his own province, I profited by the occasion then offered to tell him that he must not in future so interfere in my diocese or my province.

“What the Archbishop of Dublin omitted at this point to tell Your Holiness, is that two other prelates, who were present at our meeting in the Propaganda, expressed the same opinion that I did with regard to the change made by Propaganda in the Dublin Statutes.

“Seventh, Eighth and Ninth.—To the very inaccurate relation contained in the sixth paragraph, his Grace now adds, —by what logical connection I know not, certain facts described to him by the Bishop of Ossory, regarding some scheme adverse to episcopal authority, and a memorial against himself,—the Archbishop of Dublin,—and sent to the priests of various dioceses for their signature, in order to be laid before the Holy See. He remarks especially, in connection with this memorial, that a priest—whom he does not name—belonging to the Province of Tuam, had written to inform him that great efforts were made to obtain signatures for said memorial among the priests of Tuam Diocese,—then adding some remarks about ‘a layman named Charles Duffy,’ whom he alleges to be spreading abroad injurious reports filled with falsehoods and accusations against his Grace circulated by priests,—and all this in order that the clergy of Tuam, with myself, should bear the burden of all these charges. For that purpose, his Grace sets forth three things: first,—that Mr. Duffy in 1848 had nearly excited the Irish people to rebel by his writings; secondly, that, this notwithstanding, Mr. Duffy had been invited, by a letter signed by three priests of my diocese

or province, and written on January the 20th, to a public meeting and dinner on the 30th of the same month; and, thirdly, that I was present last year at a public dinner given to the same Mr. Duffy."¹

The Archbishop's sudden departure from Rome only permitted him to reply thus far to Dr. Cullen's charges. He returns to them in a second letter to Pius IX., dated "Tuam, March 31st, 1855 "

"Most Holy Father," he says, "as I have already answered in part a letter communicated lately to me by the Sacred Congregation, and at the bidding of Your Holiness, I now reply to the remainder, article by article.

"As to the memorial said to be signed 'by the priests of my diocese, and directed against certain bishops, against the Archbishop of Dublin in particular, and filled with silly rumors and falsehoods;—if the facts be as it is stated, it has occurred without my knowing thereof and during my absence. I must not fail to animadvert on some persons who do not hesitate to put their sickle in their neighbor's harvest-field; or who circulate false reports about anybody, and about a bishop in particular. But as to how many priests, or who the priests are, who have signed this memorial, I am completely ignorant, the matter never having been deferred to me.

"Second. Again, there is a complaint about the invitation given to Mr. Duffy. This complaint I have already answered, in the letter written to Your Holiness about the charges made by the Archbishop of Dublin. As no explanation is afforded me, I do not know why this answer did not appear sufficient to his Grace.

"When Mr. Duffy showed himself in 1848 to be inclined to revolutionary principles, he found, as the Archbishop of Dublin well knows, neither supporters nor advocates among the priests of this Diocese; on the contrary, he is aware that all such opinions met with hostility in my diocese. Can as much be said of the Dublin clergy? Although the great body of the metropolitan priests were untainted by

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

such opinions, there were a few who maintained and defended them openly. As there is no proof that these few ever afterward changed their opinions, would it not be more becoming that the Archbishop should have displayed his solicitude about these subjects of his, in relation to their doctrines regarding loyalty to the Sovereign, than about men who have never yet given any reason to question their submission to the civil authorities placed over them by God?

“The motive, therefore, which dictated the invitation proffered to Mr. Duffy to be present at a meeting and a public dinner was not his tendency toward revolutionary principles,—but his fidelity in keeping to the solemn and honor-binding pledges which he and others had solemnly taken, and who stood by these pledges in the British Parliament. The Banquet was given to him, as banquets were given to other Members of Parliament in other localities, not to reward their having violated their plighted fidelity in any respect, but to honor their inviolable fidelity.

“About a twelvemonth ago this same Mr. Duffy attended, in the City of Dublin, a public assembly of Catholics convened for the purpose of taking measures and collecting money for building a new Catholic Church, and at which he pronounced a discourse in favor of the religious object in view; he was not, therefore, in public estimation, deemed to be otherwise than a man worthy to rank with such as deserved well of the Church.

“If, mayhap, his journal contain certain bitter animadversions on the political leanings of the Archbishop of Dublin,—this is a fate which the Prelate shares with other Catholics, even with bishops. These are treated no less bitterly in other newspapers, namely, in those which are high in favor with the Archbishop of Dublin, and in which his Grace’s letters, quite lately written from Rome itself against Mr. Lucas, it is believed, are circulated among the people.

“In one of these journals, supported by the Government, the Catholic University is laughed at as a castle built in

the clouds; the Queen's Colleges are extolled to the skies; and as to myself,—because of my opposition to these colleges and to the baneful system of neutral education, indifferent to all religious teaching,—that journal has never ceased for years, nor does it cease now, to attack me most violently. Nevertheless, because this newspaper, so devoted to the Government, has begun to praise the Archbishop of Dublin, while running down other prelates, it would be unjust to impute to his Grace the invectives and calumnies uttered by that sheet against others. Reasoning on like principles of impartial judgment and charity, it would be wrong to hold the persons who have invited Mr. Duffy, or who subscribed to his paper, responsible for his judgments on the Archbishop of Dublin or other public men.

“Thirdly. It is said, moreover, that at Castlebar, in my diocese, a meeting was held at which a good many priests were present; that there charges were made against certain members of the episcopal hierarchy and the priesthood; and that this meeting gave rise to dissensions among the parish priests, some of whom made their complaints public through the newspapers.

“I scarcely need to say, that all this happened during my absence, and that it caused me no little pain. And, if I can so speak from past experience, I shall confidently assert here, that, had I not been absent, nothing of the kind would have occurred.

“It is said that this quarrel arose while I was in Rome, praising the peaceful character of my priests, and affirming that they never had lawsuits or quarrels about political matters. In the face of the recent exceptional case, I make bold to say that during the last twenty years, while recurring political elections gave rise in so many places to noisy quarrels, the priests of my diocese were never seen to take opposite sides even in casting their votes.—The reason was, that to avoid all scandal amid the riots or excessive excitement arising from the ardor to promote the interests of opposing candidates, I never failed to inculcate this rule: that, if the priests of the diocese, after weighing all the

circumstances, could not agree to support either candidate, they should keep aloof from the contest altogether, rather than give bad example to the people by showing themselves divided.

"Now, as to the nature of the late controversy in the public papers, I am entirely ignorant, as it happened while I was on my way home. But I shall not neglect to make inquiry about it.

"To speak my mind on such political contentions, I think no one will deny that we ought to shun them. Therefore it is that bishops should put down quarrels, and riotous proceedings, and all such unseemly things, among their subjects; and if they had thus been seasonably repressed, there had been no need of enacting decrees about them in our late Dublin meeting.

"Rarely have the faithful been more scandalized than when, a few years ago, a certain priest, a near relative of the then Archbishop of Armagh, attacked in a series of public letters the good name of the late primate, while another priest, a relative of the deceased prelate, defended the latter's reputation with equal vigor.

"It was a shameful controversy held over the merits of the departed. All good men deplored the fact that the then Primate, now Archbishop of Dublin, did not persuade his uncle to abstain from such injurious and scandalous attacks on the dead, and did not induce the nephew of the deceased, a professor of Theology in Maynooth, to forego the painful task of defending his uncle's memory against the pen of his successor's uncle.¹

"But whether these unseemly squabbles be prohibited by a special decree, or whether their very unseemliness be not a sufficient reason to make priests abstain from them—let me here say, what it is scarcely necessary that I should repeat, that I shall most willingly do my very best to have this prohibitive decree observed by my clergy.

"This is what I felt bound to say to His Eminence the

¹ All this is mentioned in the "Statement" to Pius IX., printed in the 2d vol. of the Life of Frederick Lucas.

Cardinal Prefect, leaving, I trust, nothing unanswered which it was my duty to explain,

“Before concluding this letter, I deem it my duty to make a few remarks on the rule of conduct to be observed with regard to politics, which the Cardinal Prefect mentioned in his letter of January the 27th, and about which, as there proposed, he asked my opinion.

“What I have already written will show that I entirely approve what this rule lays down for avoiding causes of quarrel and dissension among ecclesiastics. While there can be no question of the obligation we are under to promote peace, my firm conviction is that nothing hinders peace more than the habit some people have of accusing, as being the authors of discord, all who, entertaining mature and conscientious convictions on important religious matters, give expression to them, in opposition to the crude and ill-formed notions of others.

“It is one thing to create, without reason and of express purpose, discord in the Church of God; but it is quite another thing to express one’s opinion about matters relating to the Church and the welfare of the faithful, with all due deference to the judgment of the Holy See, and with all care to respect those laws of charity which we are to observe towards all. Differences of opinion there must be even on the most important matters, on every side of a debate, among bishops and priests; this is a matter of course. These differences should not be called dissensions, since the persons who entertain them continue to be bound by the ties of friendship and charity.

“But as to the origin of these differences of opinion, as to the most effective way of doing away with them, or reconciling them with the progress of religion and the care of our poor,—these are points on which the proposed decree and rule of conduct says not one word, or touches not in any way.

“Truth and justice require that I should submit to Your Holiness that a large number of bishops and priests living in Ireland have been of late years placed in such very pecu-

liar circumstances, or in such relations towards their faithful people, that these relations, in view of any rule of conduct in political matters, should be most seriously examined.

“The sad experience of several years convinced Catholics that they could not resist the daily increasing bitter effects of our Penal Legislation otherwise than by united counsels and action. Thereupon a great assembly was held in 1851, composed of ecclesiastics and laymen, and over which presided the then Archbishop of Armagh; their aim was to adopt such sound resolutions as the critical times demanded. They were conscious that if they remained disunited, every one looking out for his own interests alone, they could do nothing for the Catholic religion, threatened as it was by a new penal Bill; they therefore resolved to act together for the future; and in the practical rule of action which they afterwards adopted they declared that their chief hope, under Providence, lay in a Parliamentary party firmly bound together by mutual pledges.

“Supported by this solemn declaration, and especially by the venerable authority of so many archbishops, bishops, and priests, of the persons composing this assembly, whether we call it religious or political, or, perhaps, more accurately a mixed religious and political body, the majority were greatly elated. The Catholics of Ireland, filled with an energy they had never felt before, elected as members of Parliament a large number of Catholics, who bound themselves by the most solemn pledges, that, forgetful of every private interest, they should labor to have all laws repealed that were adverse to the Catholic religion, and that they would have laws enacted to preserve the Catholic agricultural population from being exterminated.

“Scarcely had Parliament opened, when some of these members, forgetful of their solemn promises, totally violated their pledges, in order to bestow all their pains in procuring for individuals either emoluments or honors.

“These facts I recall in historical order, offering no opinion about either of the political rules of conduct, which are judged so diversely. I only wish to recall the facts, namely,

that so many archbishops, and bishops, and priests, assembled at Dublin in public meeting, did approve, whether prudently or not, I do not now question, the foundation of a Parliamentary party, who should act together in concert; and that the Catholic clergy were witnesses to the solemn promises made by the Parliamentary candidates to their electors,—I do not say that the clergy stood security for both parties as to the mutual fulfilment of the contracted conditions.

“Among those who thus betrayed the people and deceived the bishops were several who could never have got into Parliament had they not taken these pledges to secure the confidence of the electors.

“This is a subject of the deepest importance, which is still passionately discussed, for it involves not merely a political question, but one of serious morality. If there be an obligation to fulfil just and honorable pledges, the faithful are scandalized not only when they see the pledge-breakers laughing at their own promises, but more especially when they are openly sustained by the bishops and priests who had stood by to witness the solemn engagements; and the scandal is still greater when the friends and relatives of the guilty parties are given honors and lucrative places which are notoriously the reward of the public faith thus betrayed.

“This is a weighty question, Most Holy Father, which is entirely overlooked in the rule of conduct proposed for us, and which in our national politics is more intimately connected with religious interests than any other.

“Some persons complain of the dissensions which exist between the bishops and the priesthood. It certainly is my conviction that they at least may rightfully dissent, and thereby afford a pretext for such complaints, who openly maintain that members of Parliament as well as others should have been kept strictly to their solemn and righteous pledges. If such engagements were not intended to be sacredly and righteously observed, they should never have been entered into.

“The consequences which followed the breaking of these

solemn pledges by members of Parliament are very deplorable. Now not a word is said about repealing the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill; no word is said against the Queen's Colleges, which are prospering in some localities, favored as they are by some Catholics in spite of their condemnation by the Holy See; nor is there a word spoken about amending for the better the iniquitous Bequests Act, against which so strong a remonstrance was made.

"In one word, so long as the members of the Catholic body content themselves with advancing their own private interests, there is no thought of remedying a single one of the evils of which we complain. If, on the contrary, our representatives would unite, like one man, to urge the reforms which they have till now pledged themselves to demand, they could obtain everything in favor of religion.

"In no country can one find a faithful people that has suffered so much for the unworthy, ungrateful, and iniquitous representatives who have betrayed them, as the Catholics of Ireland. No people has ever been so often and so cruelly deceived by false promises. It can interest them but very little whether this Catholic gentleman or that be elected as a member of Parliament, if the only result of his election be to advance into office a few friends of the new member, while they, the electors and others like them, who it may be have by their votes drawn down on themselves the vengeance of their Protestant landlords, are ejected from their holdings and their cabins.

"If these poor victims not only find themselves deceived by the representatives who were bound to protect them, but if they see these traitors sustained by priests, they lose all confidence in their clergy. It is hard to blame them if, following the example set by their deceivers, they prefer their own private interests to the public good. Hence it will happen that, at the bidding of their Protestant landlords, electors will vote for Protestant members hostile to us; Catholic interests (and with them the Catholic religion) will be thrown back and suffer grievous loss, while more

hurtful and oppressive penal laws will be enacted against us.

"If I have deferred for some days this part of my reply, Your Holiness will perceive that I did so through an anxious desire to return satisfactory answers to the questions proposed to me on so momentous a subject.

"I fear lest this long letter may weary Your Holiness. If anything has fallen from my pen that may in the least offend, I desire it to be taken as unsaid.

"Praying the Almighty to preserve Your Holiness many years for the glory of our holy religion, I most humbly beseech the Apostolic Benediction.

"Of Your Holiness

"The most dutiful servant and devoted son,

"† JOHN, *Archbishop of Tuam.*"¹

The reasons adduced in the above letters to Pius IX., in answer not only to the Archbishop of Dublin, but in confutation of all those who, with him, strove to justify "pledge-breaking" and "place-hunting," are assuredly such as must appeal to the conscience of all right-minded and honorable men. Certain it is that the short-lived triumph of the Sadleir-Keogh band gave to the righteous cause of the Irish tenants, and to that of the dearest religious interests of Irishmen, a blow from which Ireland never wholly recovered.

Victrix causa Diis placuit: sed victa Catoni.

John Mac Hale, much as he was saddened by the success in Rome of the mis-statements and misrepresentations of his opponents, showed no sign of discouragement, weakness, or faltering in his efforts to rally around him in Ireland all those who still were true to the sacred cause of Tenant-Right, Independent Opposition, and the Repeal of the Union.

What he effected in 1856, and the two following years, to keep the national spirit alive, and to prevent the last spark of hope from dying out in the hearts of the people, must be told further on. But, as in the long struggle for education

¹ From the Latin copy in the handwriting of the Archbishop: MAC HALE MSS.

he saw the very prelates who had opposed him and apparently triumphed over him compelled by the supreme decisions of the Church to acknowledge that he was right, had always been right, on every question of principle, so will he see, ere an entire decade has passed away, the Archbishop of Dublin, and the majority of the Irish prelates, forced to acknowledge that the Tenant-Right principles, which they had, practically, with Lord Palmerston, denounced or discredited as "Landlord wrong," were in accordance with immutable justice; and that, practically also, they had, in upholding "pledge-breaking" and "place-hunting," sacrificed political morality and sinned against the only true policy which commended itself to the Catholics of Ireland.

Just here it is proper, in anticipation of what shall be said more fully in a future chapter, to quote one or two passages from contemporary history:—

"Even in the estimation of Catholic bishops¹ this Church (Disestablishment) question did not, previous to 1865, occupy as important a place, was certainly not deemed as exigent by them, as the Education question. On this latter subject, from 1859 to 1864, they had organized a series of important diocesan meetings; throughout the same period they had raised the issue at every election, and publicly pledged themselves to concentrate all their energies on school and university reform, as the first and most pressing want of the time. Yet, when, on the 30th of December, 1864, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND was founded under the auspices of his Eminence Cardinal Cullen,² and other leading prelates, the Education question, to the general surprise, was pushed to the rear, and Disestablishment placed in the fore front of the new agitation."

As we shall see, Dr. Mac Hale steadily refused to join this Association, or to take any part in the movement. When, on December 30th, 1864, the Aggregate Meeting

¹ In what is here said by Mr. A. M. Sullivan, he must not be understood as speaking of the Archbishop of Tuam.

² "New Ireland," chap. xxv., p. 301. Dr. Cullen was not then Cardinal.

was held in Dublin, a letter was read from John Bright, "which laid down the terms of the alliance" then and there formed between this "National Association" and the English Radicals. "What you want in Ireland is to break down the laws of primogeniture and entail, so that in course of time, by a gradual and just process, the Irish people may become the possessors of the soil of Ireland. A legal security for tenants' improvements will be of great value; but the true remedy for your great grievance is to base the laws which affect the land upon sound principles of political economy. With regard to the State Church, that is an institution so evil and so odious under the circumstances of your country, that it makes one almost hopeless of Irish freedom from it that Irishmen have borne it so long. . . .

"If the popular party in Ireland would adopt as its policy 'FREE LAND AND FREE CHURCH,' and would unite with the popular party in England and Scotland, for the advance of liberal measures, . . . I am confident that great and beneficial changes might be made within a few years."

Such reforms and such principles as the great leader of the Radicals in Great Britain here proposes were violently in contrast with the principles and sentiments manifested by the Archbishop of Dublin, in his interview with Frederick Lucas, in Rome, in 1855, as related by the great journalist in a preceding chapter.

At this Aggregate Meeting, however, Dr. Cullen proposed the first resolution. "The terms," says Mr. A. M. Sullivan, "which this letter of Mr. Bright's so formally proposed, were fully accepted by those to whom the offer was made. The National Association of Ireland adopted 'FREE LAND AND FREE CHURCH' as its policy."¹

So was the Archbishop of Tuam vindicated on this matter of Tenant Right.

¹ "New Ireland," chap. xxv., p. 306.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ATTITUDE, IN FEBRUARY, 1855, OF MONSIGNOR BARNABO, SECRETARY OF THE CONGREGATION OF PROPAGANDA, TOWARD THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM, AS RELATED FAITHFULLY BY FREDERICK LUCAS.

A Chapter which needs but few Comments, and explains many things

WE have seen what comparatively trivial incident led Monsignor Barnabò to become a personal adversary of the Archbishop of Tuam, and to take sides with Dr. Cullen against the Metropolitan of the West and the cause of the Irish Nationalists represented by him in Rome.

Mgr. Barnabò was soon to become, after Cardinal Frasoni's death, the latter's successor and Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda. This position made him the immediate superior of the Irish bishops and clergy, the channel through which they had to communicate with the Holy See, and through which the Sovereign Pontiff was to declare his will on all important matters concerning the Irish Church, or its individual members. The substance as well as the tone of more than one of Cardinal Barnabò's letters to the Archbishop of Tuam displays an *animus* which is as evident as it is painful. This, and the undisguised partiality of the Cardinal Prefect for the Archbishop of Dublin, was a great obstacle to the cordial relations which Dr. Mac Hale had ever entertained with the Sovereign Pontiffs.

The following letters throw a vivid light on the events related in the chapters which follow this:—

“ROME, Monday, Feb. 19th, 1855.

“MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—I have barely time to

send a line with the enclosed reports of conversations. For some days I hesitated what course to take; but as the conversations specially concern your Grace, I thought it would neither be fair, prudent, nor considerate not to let you know exactly what has come to my knowledge. My report is rather long; but I wished to be accurate in a matter where much depends on details.

"Hoping your Grace, Dr. Derry, and Dr. Mac Nally had a pleasant journey home, and returning my very sincere thanks for the great kindness you showed me in Rome, I have the honor to be, my dear Lord,

"Your most faithful servant,

"F. LUCAS.

"THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

"Care of Messrs Plowden and Cholmley, Bankers, Corso."

To this the Archbishop replied:—

"MY DEAR MR. LUCAS:—I feel very grateful for the copy of the conversation, which Dr. Whitty had the kindness to say he would forward to me.

"For the present I will only say that I took leave of His Holiness on the Monday previous to my departure, with the mutual explicit understanding that it was not necessary to see him any more, and that I complied with his desire of my writing to the bishops of the province to publish, on receiving them, the regulations to which the conversation alludes, of which brief letter to the suffragans I enclosed him a copy.

"Having thus faithfully performed what His Holiness required, I felt myself perfectly at liberty to return without any further delay to the discharge of my episcopal duties after so long an absence.

"I will forbear from any remarks on the tone and temper of the conversation, which, if I were less experienced, would surprise me exceedingly. I wonder, however, that there was such a material omission of a letter addressed to His Holiness regarding me by a prelate then, and I believe still, in Rome,—handed to me by Mgr. Talbot on the pre-

ceding Saturday near Mr.——'s, the answer to which I also gave His Holiness.

"It would appear there was an anxiety to connect me with proceedings with which I had no connection, and to draw from me expressions of opinion or pledges of conduct as to questions affecting our people, from which I would deem it far more prudent and better for the interests of religion to abstain. I have kept out of any such compromising embarrassments, and I have reason to think this has not been agreeable to certain parties, whose zeal is not, I fear, tempered by experience or wisdom.

"The only regret I feel is that now, too, His Holiness's name is brought unnecessarily into the conversation. It is not the first time it has been so used. Thank God, he is placed far above the influences that sway ordinary officials. May God long protect (preserve?) the Holy Father with all his exalted virtues to the Church!

"I remain, my dear Mr. Lucas,

"Your very faithful servant,

+ JOHN MAC HALE.

"P. S.—Will you have the goodness to send as soon as convenient to Dr. Hanlon the passage from Dr. Murray's letter regarding the supposed opinions of the professors of Maynooth relative to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin?"¹

CONVERSATION WITH MGR. BARNABO.

"Tuesday, 13 February, 1855.

"Mgr. Barnabò, friendly as usual, welcomed me back from Naples,—adding that in my absence Dr. Mac Hale had left Rome. I said I had taken leave of him before going to Naples, and expected he would have concluded his business before my return.—'Yes,' he said, 'but he left without leave, and against the Pope's express request. There had been a dinner at the Irish College, brought

¹ MAC HALE MSS., from the original in Dr. Mac Hale's handwriting, with the heading: "Copy of a letter to Mr. Lucas in reply to one from him regarding a conversation with Mgr. Barnabò."

about as a means of reconciliation,¹ and Dr. Mac Hale, I suppose, had been compelled to attend. He arrived rather late, and it was noticed by all that he was *triste, farouche*, and as if he had been ordered for execution. About that time (as I understood) the Pope had personally required of Dr. Mac Hale three things:—(1.) To promulgate the Dublin Resolutions not only in his own diocese, but to the bishops of his province, and to give the Pope a copy of the letter so doing; (2.) To furnish a written explanation on the subject of Proselytism, on which very detailed statements had been laid before the Holy See; (3.) Not to leave Rome without a further audience.

“How had he fulfilled these three requests? (1.) The dinner was on the 5th. On the morning of the 6th he had left without leave or notice. On leaving he had sent to the Pope a copy of a formal letter of promulgation, unsigned, in which he duly said that he was directed by the Propaganda to publish these resolutions as amended, etc., and confirmed by His Holiness.

(2.) As to Proselytism, he contented himself, as I understood, with a general denial, a general statement, which gave no information.²

(3.) As to the third request, he had simply refused practically to comply with it, and had left Rome as aforesaid.

“Barnabò then referred to what he told me on the 27th of January, when I last saw him, about a letter to be addressed to Dr. Mac Hale and others by the Cardinal

¹ It is strangely at variance with this idea of “reconciliation” between Dr. Cullen and the Archbishop of Tuam, that the latter should have received—on the very eve of the day fixed, with the approval of Pius IX., for his departure from Rome,—copy of the letter of Dr. Cullen addressed to the Pope and opening up the whole controversy between them. If Mgr. Barnabò knew this,—as he must have known it, it is not a little disingenuous here to accuse Dr. Mac Hale of avoiding an opportunizing of making peace with the Archbishop of Dublin.

But Mgr. Barnabò's remarks and tone throughout this conversation are those of a gratified and victorious partisan.

² The reader who has taken pains to peruse the many and detailed refutations about Proselytism in Connaught, contained in letters both to the Pope and the Propaganda, may wonder that the Secretary of the Propaganda should make such an assertion as the above.

Prefect, asking them to state in detail their objections, if any, to 'the Dublin Resolutions' [On the 28th, Mr. Kyne and I saw Dr. Mac Hale and communicated this fact to his Grace and the Bishop of Clonfert. On the 29th we left for Naples]. Mgr. Barnabò brought down and showed me such a letter, written by or in the name of the Cardinal, and Dr. Mac Hale's answer. The Cardinal's letter was dated Saturday 27th, the answer was dated Monday, 29th, and acknowledged having received the letter '*late*,' I think on Sunday, 28th.

"Mgr. Barnabò pointed my attention particularly and repeatedly to the dates, and said that so speedy a reply showed a want of proper consideration, and that it was the impetuous answer of an angry man. This was his way of accounting for the contents of the reply, which displeased him. He read for me, and made me read, both letters.

"The Cardinal's letter began, I think, by inquiring why the Dublin Resolutions, approved by the Propaganda and the Holy See, had not yet been promulgated? It entered at large upon the interference of priests in politics. It urged, very much as Dr. Cullen had done in our interview,—that the proper way for the priests to acquire and to maintain influence among their flocks was by the performance of their ecclesiastical duties, and—if I remember right—it also urged that they should abstain, as much as possible, from direct and active intervention. It afterwards asked the Archbishop to state whether he objected to any part of the Resolutions, and what he wished to have added, amended, or retrenched.

"The Archbishop's reply accounted for the non-promulgation, by saying that he was not aware that the Resolutions had been confirmed by the Holy See.¹ Mgr. Barnabò strongly objected to this. He said that a month before he had informed the Archbishop of the fact; that if the Archbishop had said that he had not received an official copy, that would have been a good excuse or reason, and would

¹ Manifestly, they had not been so *confirmed*, since the Cardinal Prefect's letter asks the opinion of Dr. Mac Hale about changes to be suggested in the Resolutions.

have thrown the blame of the delay on the Propaganda. But the words used were both inconsistent with fact and with other words in a later part of his Grace's own letter.

"The Archbishop went on to explain that the new rules about politics were not needed in his diocese or province; that, except in one Connaught diocese (Elphin) no difficulties had arisen, and there only two or three. ['He knows,' ejaculated Barnabò, 'that there are or have been before Propaganda six or seven cases from Connaught.'] With regard to amendments in the statutes Dr. Mac Hale offered no suggestions, but remarked that *such questions ought to be left for discussion and decision by the bishops in Ireland.*¹

"At this part of the letter Mgr. Barnabò was extremely indignant. He said that Dr. Mac Hale knew the main alteration made by the Pope in the Dublin Resolutions, was to take away the reference of the University affairs to a yearly meeting of the bishops, because the Holy See approved not of such yearly meetings, and wished to have them every five, or at most every three years. I understood him to mean that as, with this arrangement, there would be no immediate meeting of bishops, the question on which the Holy See desired information could not now be settled in the way Dr. Mac Hale proposed, but must be kept over for two or perhaps four years, unsettled. I understood him also to complain of the Archbishop for thus declining to give the explanation required. [About these letters I must just remark that they were read hastily, and were in Latin, and were read with an Italian pronunciation, and had been copied in a not very legible hand, and I can only therefore give this as the best attainable version of them. Of course, Dr. Mac Hale has copies.]

"Recurring to Dr. Mac Hale's leaving Rome, he said the Pope was very much hurt at it; that he had treated Dr. Mac Hale very kindly, and if he did not like to remain at the

¹ The *Italics* are ours. This remark contains the golden rule of conduct which the Holy See has followed in dealing with national questions. If the body of bishops in a country are worthy of their position, they must be the best judges of what is expedient in important emergencies.

Canonica, had offered to bear the expense of his remaining at the Minerva, or elsewhere ; that the Pope was all benig- nity ; that with Gregory XVI. it would have been a very different affair ; but that even the present Pope would ask an explanation. He said very emphatically and repeatedly that this proceeding had given *gain de cause* to Dr. Cullen, that to Dr. Mac Hale the Holy See had been disposed to concede much,¹ and that he was indeed the arbiter of the situation. He added much about the Archbishop of Tuam which it is not necessary for me to set down. He esteemed him ; he was *un homme de bien* ; but *il veut ce qu'il veut* ; and speaking, as I thought, from Dr. Cullen, he said that Dr. Mac Hale was not a man to make followers, or to act with any one, and asked me whether he had not repeatedly had disputes with me. I said no ; not in a single instance ;² that since I had paid attention to Irish affairs, it had always been my good fortune to find myself on the side of the Archbishop of Tuam, and that I had experienced from his Grace nothing but kindness. He wound up with a repetition of what he had said about Dr. Mac Hale's not asking leave, giving no notice, and not complying with the Pope's wishes, adding that his former expression was true, and this was indeed to introduce democracy into the Church.

“ In listening to this narrative, it will be easily imagined that I was in an awkward position. Of the facts I knew nothing but what Barnabò told me. And when he appealed to me whether such conduct was not blameable, if I assented, my words would be joyfully taken hold of as condemning the Archbishop ; if I dissented, I should appear

¹ As if Dr. Mac Hale, at any one period of his long life of devotion to the Church and to Ireland, had ever sought from the Holy See any selfish advantage or personal favor, any more than he had ever sought or had been willing to accept from Government office, profit, or emolument for himself or his friends !

² No one who has perused the preceding chapters, and read, no matter how hastily, the many letters from eminent prelates, priests, politicians, and journalists all attesting the foremost place JOHN MAC HALE held in the affections of his countrymen, and in the councils of the nation's guides, but will marvel at the ignorance of Mgr. Barnabò, and at the facility which led him to accept, believe, and repeat the estimate formed of the great Archbishop by his detractors.

to dissent from the Pope; if I doubted the facts as told me, I should seem to throw suspicion on Barnabò's veracity. All this was painfully present to my mind, and I tried to avoid the three horns of the dilemma by making pantomime do the part of speech, and saying as little as possible.

"When he had done, I said I was sorry to hear what he had told me; but that, after all, strictly speaking, this was not my affair, nor had I anything to do with it; that our sole business was about the rule to be laid down for the interference of priests in politics, and that, whether the Archbishop had or had not complied with the Pope's wish in leaving Rome, etc., our case and the interests of the Church and the Poor remained exactly the same. He said that was true, but the business was complicated when the head of our party showed himself *uncomplying* toward the Holy See (perhaps he said *disobedient*, but I am not sure), and that this put us in a great difficulty. I said that nobody could put me or us in a difficulty with regard to obedience to the Holy See; that we knew our duty and were resolved to obey it; and that nobody, however eminent, was or could be the head of our party to the extent of involving us with the Holy See.

"He again repeated that *gain de cause* had been given to Dr. Cullen. I said, I hoped not. He then referred to the Dublin Resolutions, and said that they forbade priests to attend meetings. I said that the Resolutions he had shown me a fortnight before did no such thing if I read them right. He maintained they did, and went to another part of the room to get them. We went over them again and pointed at various passages. Of these we contested the interpretation. He admitted that there was no absolute prohibition, but attendance was discouraged; as things went, and in the concrete, it would hardly be possible for a priest to attend meetings and observe those rules; and he said, with much jubilation and triumph, that the seed was there, and it was a seed that would produce fruit;¹ he

¹ How bitter that seed was, the experience of the long years which elapsed from 1854 to 1885, when Leo XIII. reversed the policy of Cardinals Barnabò and Cul-

did not know how the Irish bishops understood the Resolutions, but they were so understood here, and had been confirmed under that impression.

"I said, with regard to the Resolutions, it seemed to me that everything depended on the interpretation; and if that interpretation were really given them, I wished him to understand *that the Holy See had placed the interests of the Church and the Poor of Ireland at the feet of the English Government.*"¹

"He made some obvious remarks on want of concord and the value of concord in past times, to which I made some obvious answers,—as, that there always had been discord, and that what was wanted was not concord in sloth and cowardice, etc.; nor was that of any value, but the reverse.

"Some allusions were made to the change of Ministry, to the Crimea, to the publication of correspondence thence about the army,—which Mgr. Barnabò highly condemned, and I agreed with him. I saw that he said this with reference to civil affairs, and indeed he at once made the application to politics. He condemned in the most pointed way those men of little experience, who rushed into print whenever they conceived anything went wrong, and vehemently condemned the Government. He said no Government could exist where that was done, and used other similar phrases, all *showing the strongest aversion to any vehement opposition to the Ministry of the day as subversive of Government itself.*"²

len, has all too well proved. The policy was, in reality, that of these two eminent prelates, rather than that of Pius IX., or of the Holy See. Cardinal Cullen, on a memorable occasion, and speaking of the Government of the Catholic University of Ireland, boldly told his brother bishops that "he stood in the Pope's shoes." It was a foolish boast. The worst enemies of the Holy See are those who cover their own despotic or imprudent acts with the august authority of the Head of the Church.

¹ The *Italics* are our own.

² The *Italics* here are ours. Mgr. Barnabò evidently understands nothing of the working of free Institutions as they exist in the British Empire and the United States. His experience of parliamentary government was limited to the absurd attempt of the Roman revolutionists to foist upon the people of the Papal States institutions about which these knew nothing, and which clashed with the best interests of Church and State.

“Of course, I protested as strongly as I could against this doctrine; but it left no doubt on my mind that, as far as Mgr. Barnabò is concerned, the new rules are made with the express intention of protecting Ministers against attacks, which from his Italian point of view he thinks subversive of Government. It also seemed clear that he spoke from Dr. Cullen’s inspiration, so great was the resemblance between what he said and what Dr. Cullen had said to me.

“The practical conclusion of the conversation with me was, that he recommended me to have another audience with the Pope. The Pope entertains the idea of issuing a Brief on the present state of affairs in Ireland; and before this was issued, I had better urge on His Holiness whatever I thought it important to lay before him. I asked him whether the wish expressed in the letter to Dr. Mac Hale for suggestions as to altering the new rules was in force still,—*i. e.*, whether the interpretation to be put on those rules was still an open question, and whether in speaking to His Holiness I could treat it as an open question. He said he did not know; he had told me the whole progress of the affair as far as it had gone, and anything else remained with the Pope. I told him I would take two or three days to consider, and would let him know the course I intended to take.

“Monday, 19th February, 1855.

“To-day I had another interview with Mgr. Barnabò. I called to tell him I intended to ask an audience of the Pope. He said I needed no letter from him for that purpose, but had better wait till Mgr. Talbot came out of retreat (to-morrow night), when he would arrange the audience for me. He intimated that the Pope still retained his intention of issuing a Brief. He went again over the ground of Dr. Mac Hale’s departure, and restated somewhat differently, I thought, the points required of Dr. Mac Hale by the Pope. At least, he mentioned one which I had forgotten,—a wish that Dr. Mac Hale should put in writing his charges against Dr. Cullen, that they might be met and fairly dealt with.

I took this opportunity of speaking to him much more strongly than I had before done on the danger to the Holy See of the course they seemed disposed to take,—*e. g.*,—as laid down in the Cardinal Prefect's letter to Dr. Mac Hale.

"I told him that if they wished to encourage venality in the clergy, such an interpretation as that of the Cardinal Prefect would gladden the heart of every venal priest; that the point which brought me to Rome was not the ecclesiastical questions on which he had spoken, nor the matters of complaint they might think they had against Dr. Mac Hale, but the interest of the Holy See itself, of religion, and of the Poor; that if *gain de cause* was given against the views I urged on account of any personal objection they might have to any single Bishop, I was very sorry to hear it, because, in that event, *gain de cause* was given against the Holy See; that a greater calamity could not happen to the Holy See than for the opinions set forth by the Cardinal Prefect and Dr. Cullen to be carried into effect; that one would think people wished to create in Ireland a popular party opposed to the Church, and to set people loose in all public affairs from the influence of the Church and clergy; that, if Dr. Cullen's views prevailed, such would be the inevitable result, and that they would mourn at Rome for many long years the calamities which bad advisers had brought upon them."¹

The following letters are the last which Mr. Lucas addressed to the Archbishop.

"TABLET OFFICE, 21 Upper Sackville St., May 24th, 1855.

"MY LORD ARCHBISHOP :—I beg leave to submit to your Grace the following extract from a note I have just received from Mr. Lucas :—

"I am in London, having come rather more quickly than any letter announcing my intention could have travelled. I left on Friday night, and slept in London on Tuesday night. I am only absent on leave, and have to return to Rome to

¹ From the original among the MAC HALE MSS.

complete my work. I am absent with the special leave of the Pope, and may stay in these northern latitudes about a fortnight or three weeks. I shall stay over the Maynooth debate on the 6th. Before that day I hope to be in Ireland; but I have my Roman Statement to complete in some particulars, and I must do that quietly at Mr. Swift's, in Wandsworth. Take care that nobody writes to me at Rome for the present. Those whom I think most likely to write to me are the Most Rev. Dr. Mac Hale, and [here he mentions several names] let these all get a line to say that letters should be addressed to me at the *Tablet* Office and not to Rome. To his Grace, the Archbishop of Tuam, convey my particular respects, along with this intimation. I will write to his Grace shortly. After my journey I am rather fagged, and write in haste for the Post.'

"From the foregoing extract it will be seen that Mr. Lucas begs your Grace to address any letter you might be writing to him to this office instead of Rome.

"I beg leave to subscribe myself, etc.,

"PATRICK O'BYRNE."

"ROME, May 11th, 1855.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—I am a very bad correspondent, or I should not have failed to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's letter, which has been now some weeks received. I have had, however, nothing very particular to write about, and have been very busy. I am preparing a sort of monster statement upon everything and 'everything else,' as they say, which His Holiness has been good enough to undertake to read. It began by being a short one, but it ends by being, literally, a volume, divided into chapters and sections, etc., etc. It is a kill or cure kind of attempt; but it struck me that, if the Pope gave me full liberty to speak, I was under no responsibility for the effect which saying all the truth I knew might produce, whereas I should be responsible for keeping back any part of the truth which such a Pope might be willing to consider. So I am going to say a great many unpleasant things, which

will bring upon my head a storm of denials and of curses (I fear), if not excommunications.

“One point I particularly labor—the case of non-political bishops, who under pretence of no politics use the grossest tyranny to keep down independent and honest opinion.

“Maynooth is ticklish ground. But the Pope is so disgusted with the slavish doctrines in religion of Dr. Crolly, etc., etc., that he makes no secret of his intention to remove two or three professors, and also says, *for it to be repeated*, that he does not wish the grant to be maintained, that he does not care about the M.P.’s defending it, but that he wishes the responsibility of the withdrawal to rest with the Protestants. This being so, I have in my statement quoted this opinion of His Holiness, represented Dr. Cullen as having taken strong measures against me for holding that very opinion, and endeavor to connect, as I think the truth is, the Gallican opinions with the Whig opinions about priests in politics.

“I have not the whole evidence here; but I do this from Dr. Crolly’s evidence as it has been given in the *Tablet*. If anything should occur to your Grace peculiarly deserving of notice on this head, which is likely to have escaped me, I should esteem it a great favor to have a memorandum on that point.

“Another point is to put right the character of persons. Dr. Cullen pretends to have changed his course because others were wanting in love of peace, charity, etc., etc. In reply, I represent his Grace, therefore, wanting in charity, justice, and truth. This I do at considerable length; and as he always tried to set me against Moore and Duffy,—while he set everybody against me,—I apply myself to defend Moore and Duffy, and to contrast them with the Scullys and Sadleir, etc., etc.

“Of Duffy I can say a good deal myself; but of Moore’s private, and *intimate*, and personal character, I have had less means of knowledge. I don’t know whether he frequents the sacraments, what sort of a Catholic example he sets, etc., etc. I know his zeal for Catholic education

against mixed is of very old date. But if your Grace would not think it too great a liberty for me to take, I would beg that, as in answer to some general request from me, you would be good enough to say what can be said favorable to Mr. Moore, and which would weigh with His Holiness. A good Catholic, zealous for sound Catholic principles, and always opposed by Dr. Cullen, the patron of such opposite characters, is what I want to present.

"I hope Dr. O'Hanlon got the volume relating to Maynooth and the Immaculate Conception. I thought it better to send the volume than to copy a part.

"The feeling here is decidedly more favorable to my view than it was, and I have great hopes of a good result. I shall be very careful, in going over my statement, not to make it clash,—I think it hardly can clash,—with any known opinions or wishes of your Grace or Dr. Derry. But it is a great responsibility to be *alone* in such a work. I feel this much, and how much I lost in losing your Grace's most kind council and advice.

"My dear Lord Archbishop, your Grace's most obedient and faithful,

"F. LUCAS.

"P. S.—Another point I am moving is Proselytism in connection with Tenant Right, putting it that the poor exterminated wretches go in great numbers to Dublin, where under Dr. Cullen's pastoral crook proselytizing schools are in frightful activity for the benefit of the West generally and for the reception of those starving creatures whom his Grace's opposition to Tenant Right causes to be driven from their homes. I wish I had more documentary proof of the connection between Clifden and Dublin in the matter of proselytizing."

"3 VERNON TERRACE, MONTPELIER ROAD,

"BRIGHTON, 30 July, 1855.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—I am extremely obliged by your Grace's kind letter, which after some delay has just reached me here. With regard to my health, I think

I am getting slowly better ; but it is very hard to say. I can endure very little fatigue, bodily or mental, and though I am leading a very lazy life, I feel that I am doing quite as much as I am able. The intervals in which asthma leaves me able to do anything serious, I work upon my statement, and am just bringing it to a conclusion. By the end of this week, I hope to have *the body of it* completely finished and packed off to Rome. There will still be a tail to put in the way of wind-up. This, however, will be a short affair, and need not take more than another week.

"I was much obliged not only by your Grace's answer about Moore, but by his P. P's letter to the *Tablet*, which I fathered upon your Grace's skill and good nature.

"Everything I hear tends to show the complete discomfiture of the schemes of the Archbishop of Dublin. The last project that I heard of for 'clipping his wings' was to appoint as Resident Apostolic Delegate in Ireland an Italian ecclesiastic who speaks English. The person named to me is *the* person in Propaganda who speaks English. I forget his name, but your Grace probably knows whom I mean.

"I fear you will be annoyed with an announcement of Duffy's which I see in the *Times* of this morning, taken from the *Nation*, to the effect that he leaves Ireland, because those who ought to guide and bless the people's cause have hopelessly deserted it. A more injudicious statement I never read, and as I think it untrue, and the *Times* adds that I am another of the 'disgusted,' I think of addressing a short note to that journal to contradict the statement and to express opinions. Duffy's real reason is want of means ; he sold his paper ; but he wants to go off in poetry rather than in prose.

"I feel quite out of the world, and any change with me has hitherto been so slow that I don't know when I shall get into it again,—otherwise I should much desire a word or two of encouragement from your Grace,—I mean a word to let me know that you still are hopeful about public affairs,—if it be so.

“What I saw of Mgr. Talbot in London was highly encouraging. He wrote to the Pope to explain personally my illness and the reason of the delay. At a dinner party given by the Cardinal he (Talbot) named the guests, and the only two laymen invited were Swift and myself. He also came down to Wandsworth and spent a good part of the day with me. Nothing very new came out; but his personal respect for your Grace and his unfavorable impression of Dr. Cullen were not to be mistaken.

“Talbot seemed to think that my statement will be met, and will require to be backed up with corroborative proofs. If I am not able to go back to Rome, I ought to be able to put the affair into the hands of a confidential agent. Where can we find such a one?

“With many thanks for your Grace’s kind enquiries, I have the honor to be, etc.,

“F. LUCAS.

“THE MOST REVEREND THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.”

CHAPTER XIV.

JOHN OF TUAM AND FREDERICK LUCAS PERSECUTED FOR
THEIR FIDELITY TO THE CAUSE OF IRELAND AND HER
POOR.

“**Y**OUR services to Ireland have been invaluable. You have never failed to stand forward to protect our poor and to assert the rights of our country without urging us on to anarchy and sedition; and when any religious question was discussed, you always endeavored to put it on its true basis, and to take a truly Catholic view of it.

“Hence it is that *every enemy of Ireland* and of her ancient faith hates you most cordially; but you may be proud when you reflect that it was only by honesty and sincerity of purpose that you merited their hatred.”

The above is an extract from a letter of the Most Rev. Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, and Delegate Apostolic, dated January the 4th, 1852, and addressed to Mr. Frederick Lucas, editor of the *TABLET*, which had, some time before, been removed from London to Dublin. The letter contained a cheque from the Archbishop towards the expenses of a suit for libel instituted against Mr. Lucas through sheer religious and political bigotry, and in which a carefully packed jury and a most partial charge of a judge resulted in a verdict against the defendant with damages amounting to £500.

To Lucas, who had sacrificed, in embracing the Catholic religion, and especially in devoting himself to the advocacy of Ireland's claim to JUSTICE, his own prospect at the English bar and the powerful support of his family connection among the society of Friends, the sum of £500, together with the heavy costs of the suit, meant bankruptcy.

In this emergency the Catholics of Ireland did not fail the man who had championed what most men deemed to be "the lost cause" with a chivalry and a success which, a little later, won the admiration of the British House of Commons.

It was a graceful act for Dr. Cullen thus to set the seal of his high approbation on the public conduct and character of Frederick Lucas.

We have seen, while Rome was still slowly deliberating about finding a worthy successor to Dr. Crolly, Archbishop of Armagh, during the summer and autumn of 1849, with what singular devotion, disinterestedness, and ability Frederick Lucas was organizing the Tenant-Right Movement, and thus helping to prepare for "the Poor of Ireland," that is, the immense majority of her farming population, the simple measure of legislative equity which should make them something better than mere weeds on the land of their birth, liable at any moment to be plucked up by the roots and cast on the roadside by their landlords.

So long as the *TABLET* was published in London, its advocacy of Irish claims as well as of Catholic claims was only half-heeded by the all-powerful press of Great Britain. But once established in Dublin, the *TABLET* spoke on Irish matters with an authority, a fulness of knowledge, a conviction, and an eloquence which the great English journals could neither ignore nor condemn.

Treating of Irish social questions in his own journal, published in the Irish Capital,—this English publicist, so soon to command the rapt and respectful attention of the British Senate, was thus taking the most effective steps towards revolutionizing public opinion in England, throughout all Great Britain, in fact, and preparing the way for a sure and full, if not a speedy, reparation of the enormous wrong of centuries.

What Lucas achieved during the two sessions which he spent in Parliament was only an earnest of the final success which he, a man in the very summer of his manhood, marvellously gifted as he was, and single-minded in his

devotion to the cause which absorbed all his energies, must have won, had his life been spared another decade or two.

It is one of the saddest episodes of the long, long siege laid to British Parliamentary Justice by the oppressed and poverty-stricken millions of Ireland,—the sudden breaking off by death of the senatorial career of Frederick Lucas, his vain appeal to Rome against the fatal politico-ecclesiastical despotism inaugurated by the new Delegate Apostolic, and his laboring, amid the long agony of his mortal disease, to enlighten Pius IX. on the true policy to be followed by the Holy See in dealing with Ireland, her bishops, her priests, her people, and her policy in the pursuit of their indefeasible right to liberty and life.

Certain it is that Lucas died “broken, though not broken-hearted.” “Thank God,” he wrote to one grievously wronged like himself by the miscarriage of justice in the quarter where justice ought to be as sure as the daily return of the sun to the heavens, “thank God, I have no wish to live; I have never valued life much, and now less than ever. Dear Father Tom,¹ it would be a great pleasure to see you again before I die. We have fought many a battle together, at your eminent peril, and I never found in you less than the courage of a hero, perfect unselfishness, zeal untiring, and a devotion to the cause of God and the poor that it will be difficult to surpass. Now, when, perhaps, I am presently to stand face to face with my Creator and Redeemer, I esteem it an honor to have fought so often by your side; and though I do not regret for a moment that my exertions have tended to shorten my life, I do most bitterly regret that your nobleness and heroism have brought on you so sad a persecution. However, my dear Father Tom, let me say to you and to our friends of your diocese not to be downcast or disheartened.

“As sure as God is in heaven, YOUR CAUSE IS THE CAUSE OF TRUTH AND HONOR; and when your last hour comes, you will feel what a consolation it gives a man never to have flinched in the worst of times, as I may say of you, or

¹ Father Thomas O'Shea.

given way in the public service to selfish, personal considerations.

"My dear Father Tom, I would give a little world to press your hand once more and to receive your blessing."¹

The reader will forgive us if we thus introduce here Frederick Lucas, so intimately associated with the Archbishop of Tuam in the great struggle for Tenant-Right, ecclesiastical liberty in Ireland, and an independent party in Parliament. It was a gigantic struggle, in which the noble few battled with all the united forces of Government, and with mistaken and misled clerical auxiliaries. The impaired constitution of Lucas gave way beneath the enormous bodily and moral strain put upon him.

We have heard his solemn attestation of the purity and justice of the cause he had struggled for, while the shadow of the judgment seat was upon him.

John of Tuam, conscious, as he had been all his life-time, of the justice of that same cause, was doomed to battle for it during twenty-five years more of the nineteenth century.

But, as we are holding a solemn assize, where the actors in "the Great Betrayal," Churchmen, politicians, and statesmen have to appear, let us not allow the great figure of Frederick Lucas to leave the bar, till we hear, from England itself, and from the lips of witnesses whose testimony cannot be questioned, what further may be said of the pure life and unimpeachable character of this great friend of Ireland, this faithful ally of John Mac Hale.

Hear Cardinal Wiseman:—

"LEYTON, October 12th, 1856.

"DEAR MR. LUCAS:—It was my sincere desire to call upon you, and inquire in person after your valuable health, but Dr. Whitty assures me of what I feared, that my visit would be over-exciting at a time when quiet is indispensable. I must, therefore, content myself with conveying to you in writing my warmest sympathy and anxiety for your recovery, and assuring you of my fervent prayers to God for

¹ "Life of Frederick Lucas," vol. II., pp. 447, 448.

this mercy, if not for your own sake, for that of the Catholic interests and the general welfare.

"At the same time, I am sure that your own earnest wish is that God's will may be accomplished in you, and I pray Him earnestly to give you grace to be in all things conformable to it and prepared for it. In this spirit I wish you and yours every blessing, and am ever your affectionate servant in Christ,

"N. CARD. WISEMAN."¹

From Cardinal Wiseman's vicar-general and most trusted friend, the Dr. Whitty mentioned in this letter, we have still more precious testimony regarding the exalted Christian character of the man whose life the great Cardinal deemed so useful to "the Catholic interests and the general welfare."

"A mental depression had come on him in Rome," Dr. Whitty writes, "partly from the anxieties of his mission to the Pope, partly from the Roman climate, and no doubt partly, likewise, from the secret progress of the heart-disease of which he afterwards died. He told me that almost from the commencement of the 'Statement,' he never sat down to it without a feeling that he should never complete it. It was not an expectation of death so much as a vague presentiment of an overwhelming difficulty against which he felt bound to struggle. . . . In two letters he says he prayed earnestly to be delivered from the bondage of public life; not that he was unwilling to serve the Church still longer as a member of Parliament and a journalist; but he felt the hopelessness of doing good for Ireland *as things then were*, even if a decision should be in his favor."²

One cause of Lucas's bitter mental suffering were the successful efforts made to ruin his journal, the TABLET.

The ill-gotten wealth of James Sadleir was not solely employed in corrupting the electors of Connaught, Munster, and Leinster, who sent himself and the other pledge-breakers to the Imperial Parliament; it was also used, as we have

¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 449, 450.

² *Ibid.*

seen, in founding the *Weekly Telegraph*, which professed to be the special organ in Ireland of Archbishop Cullen, and the recognized defender in the Press of the true policy and doctrine of Rome. As no money was spared to make this paper cheap and popular, as well as to have it reach the Irish masses in town and country, it made the existence of the TABLET, just established in Dublin, extremely precarious. That of the NATION became scarcely less so; and the FREEMAN'S JOURNAL itself had to struggle hard to maintain itself against this new rival for national favor, backed as it was by Sadleir's Tipperary bank, and the authority and influence of the Delegate-Apostolic.

As the year 1854 wore on, and the battle for tenant-right, for parliamentary independence, and the liberty of priests in politics waxed ever fiercer, it was deemed absolutely necessary in Ireland to come to the aid of Mr. Lucas, who, beside the formidable political and clerical opposition he had to contend with, had also to struggle with his own poverty in keeping up a great journal, in performing his duties in Parliament, and in doing yeoman's work in Ireland at all public gatherings where the cause of Ireland and the poor had to be efficiently pleaded.

Both the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Nation* generously advocated the claims of Lucas to national support. He had already expressed his determination to go to Rome, there to state to the Holy Father and to the College of Cardinals what he conceived, after conscientious study and long experience, to be the just claims of the Irish Church and people, and what he regarded as the only true line of political conduct, in the crisis of their country, which should be followed by all bishops and priests.

A fund should be raised by national subscription to sustain the TABLET and its editor, and a public testimonial should be offered to him, ere he went to Rome as the advocate of Ireland and her clergy.

Of course, Dr. Mac Hale was, if not the first, at least among the very first in this demonstration of national gratitude towards one of the noblest men of the century.

Here is the letter which the Archbishop addressed to the editor of the *Freeman's Journal* almost on the eve of his departure for Rome.

“ST. JARLATH'S, TUAM, September 20, 1854.

“MY DEAR DR. GRAY:—Allow me to request of you to have the kindness to hand into the ‘Lucas Fund’ my annexed contribution. Had the patriotic member for Meath, instead of being the able champion of his faith and the uncompromising defender of the Catholic people, become a factor in a small political firm, ready to barter the rights and liberties of both for his share of a guilty patronage; instead of being the recipient of any meed of gratitude, he could have been the dispenser of favors on a large and more liberal scale.

“But were he capable of such a humiliating alternative, all the well-earned value of his character was gone; nor could he ever again hope for the support or suffrages of those whose covenants with him he had violated and whose interests he had betrayed.

“And though treachery has not been confined to a few, and though it has assumed a confident bearing but little suited to a sense of great delinquency, I will not even by supposition imagine the Member for Meath nor several of his associates to belong to that class who make promises only to last as long as they have no interest to break them.

“This would be an estimate of human nature which no treachery however extensive could warrant any fair and impartial judge to form; and however familiar the disreputable conduct of so many members of Parliament has made us with violated vows and broken pledges, it is on a far higher and holier ethical principle than our constitution that we are to uphold him (Mr. Lucas) as a man of steady virtue, who, in a long series of trials, has been proof against temptation.

“And yet it is on the ground of doubts and suspicions utterly unfounded that the character of persons entitled to any tribute of approval is left unappreciated. And, strange

to say, several who can familiarly consort with those who are convicted of betraying every principle to which they were pledged, and thus patiently tolerate the crime committed, cannot endure others because they suspect them of harboring the design of a like perpetration !

“ It would thus appear that the achieved treason alone was immoral, and that to contemplate treason was the only thing for which the forfeit of lost character should be paid. And thus it really is according to the ethical standard of the world. The guilt of Mr. Lucas and of the other self-denying companions of his virtue is, in the eyes of many, that they have not committed a flagrant breach of their covenants, and that they cannot share with these very sensitive people a portion of the rewards that would have resulted from their infraction.

“ This is an amount of guilt which the *lovers of place* cannot forgive. To be a member of Parliament, and not to bestow on one of his constituents or on any other so much as a place in a post office ; to be a representative of the people, and unable, from firmly holding to his plighted promise, to dispense, because he cannot obtain or ask it, the least favor for individuals, until the great mass of his constituents and the people is righted—this is the guilt which those individuals cannot bear. And if, instead of standing timidly on the brink, he and his associates had rushed forward for a share in the scramble, they would long since have earned the eulogies of those who had partaken of the fruits of broken promises.

“ It is not, then, because they stand in striking contrast with the pledge-breakers, that those who remained faithful are so much hated. No ! It is because they have rendered themselves powerless to satisfy the cravings of the unfortunate mendicants for State patronage, who are most tolerant of the faults of any member of Parliament or of any Administration, nay, who would give all such a fair trial, and a trial forever, provided only that they (their representatives) would not forget them in their political ministrations. And several of those who would be shocked if their

representatives kept their promises, are now in reality giving them a most abundant (?) trial that they have broken them. And they are becoming the more tolerant because of the amiable anxiety shown by those members to expiate by small morcels of patronage to individuals their infidelity to the great mass of their constituents, many of whom are doomed, on that very account, to the most teasing and relentless religious persecution.

“Every day’s experience furnishes sad evidence of the danger to the lives of the people and to their religion involved in the breach of solemn trusts and covenants of which several of our representatives have been, unhappily, guilty. Familiar as the country is with those harrowing scenes of forced emigration, to which many have become callous from their frequency, I should not now dwell on them, were it not from their necessary connection with the safety or the loss of the religion of the poor, about which some affect great concern who yet look with complete indifference on more scenes by which its safety is endangered.

“To illustrate this evil state of things, I beg to transcribe a simple letter which I have just received from an humble clergyman, in order to obtain my advice in his embarrassment, and never for a moment thinking that it would be made public. If I omit the names, it is from a sense of what is yet due to the parties, who have acquired notoriety by their efforts to pervert their poor dependents. Unlike those letters that are circulated by the emissaries of fraud, without any clue to discover names or places, this letter has all the evidences of authenticity, and will be forthcoming, if necessary, as one more instance of the persecution which our faithful flocks have to endure.

“I feel it my bounden duty to inform your Grace that the National School in my parish is no longer a safe place for the presence of Catholic children; but the inspector found no fault with this, as the Catholic children could withdraw during Protestant instructions. Here is the danger to faith, as some of the parents of Catholic children

will not tell them to do so, believing, if they did, they would be ejected from their lands by——, the landowner and patroness of the school. Much harm has been recently done in the school; hence it has been frequently interdicted by the pastor and myself. But our admonitions are lost on the minds of those who cannot bear the idea of being tossed on the world, and who, as they say, “know not where to go.”

“Now this is the melancholy condition of an immense number of people under Protestant landlords so bigoted and so wanting in humanity as to banish forever from their holdings humble tenants, if these only withdraw their children from the schools of proselytism during religious instruction. What remedy can these and such other poor people find but in a tenant-right against this frightful alternative of the danger of perversion or the certainty of persecution.

“The clergyman who is surrounded with such danger may consult his bishop, as in the present instance; on such rancor and systematic bigotry the admonitions of the bishop would have no effect. He may state the grievance to the Commissioners; they will give the cool, official reply somewhat in the same spirit as that of the inspector, ‘that the children can walk out during Protestant instruction.’ They *may*, and hundreds *do* walk out at the bidding of their devoted parents. But if they do, the parents are seen, too, to walk out of their cottages and their little farms, some to be shipwrecked on their passage to America, and others to perish without the consolation of a priest on some distant field of battle.

“Yet are there Catholics who can contemplate this fearful state of things without emotion; who will misrepresent the clergyman if he uses the only peaceful and legitimate means in his power,—persuasion and remonstrance with our representatives to interpose, and by a measure of tenant-right which they would secure, to save the people’s lives and—what they hold dearer than life—their religion.

“Hence the advocates of that measure adopt the most

effectual means to check proselytism, whilst those who are for having the people to be banished at will are practically and in reality the abettors of their perversion at home or of their dying in foreign lands without the consolation of the Sacraments. Nay, so fastidious are these heartless persons, that if one were only to indulge the feelings of a tender pastor in commiserating their fate, he would be instantly accused of exceeding the bounds of his duty. Too much coldness on such subjects, involving the heaviest responsibilities, is not to be commended any more than too much sensibility.

“ From those, then, who put their trust in the world and its promises, who regulate their conduct by the political temperature of courts and cabinets, Mr. Lucas has little to expect by way of remuneration for services, or of compensation for sacrifices. It is not by such services or sacrifices, however great but general, that several individuals estimate the obligations of a grateful acknowledgment. They expect them to come home more sensibly to the individual. It is the force of this selfish and calculating interest, that should, on the other hand, sway the generous and disinterested in requiting rare work by corresponding sacrifices. Besides his great services and those of the Parliamentary party to which he has been faithful,—for we cannot forget how large a share bishops had in the formation of a Parliamentary party ;—besides his services as a senator,—we cannot forget the salutary influence exercised by the portion of the Press which he guides in advocating the freedom of religion and the right of the people to the fruits of their industry.

“ In the *TABLET* the *FREEMAN* had a powerful ally in the advocacy of that justice which should be meted to every class in the community, in the protection of all their social and religious interests ; and were it not that we had in them and the *NATION* such talented, honest, and intrepid organs, the corruption which seduced so many from the observance of their promises would have reached numbers of the people through those subsidized vehicles that were

set up and supported by a share of the taxes to mislead the great mass of readers.

"I remain, my dear Dr. Gray, your very faithful servant,

"JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

"P. S. In these remarks I have not alluded to the rare talents by which Mr. Lucas is gifted, nor to the claims he possesses on all good Catholics."¹

The Archbishop of Tuam had never stated the case of Ireland,—that is of the millions of her Catholic farmers and farm-laborers,—more clearly, more tersely, more forcibly, than in the letter in which he held up Frederick Lucas to the undying gratitude of Irishmen.

It was a most timely statement, too; for already the case of Ireland, as represented by the Archbishop and the Senator-Journalist, his fellow-laborer, had been sadly prejudiced, not to say prejudged,—in Rome, whither both were soon to go to speak brave words for Ireland before the highest tribunal on earth.

Had not such prejudice, deep and widespread, been created there, it would have been impossible to resist the evidence presented by two such men, pleading for such a cause before the Vicar of Christ,—and pleading in very truth for "the Poor of Christ,"—that is, the millions of a Catholic nation, reduced to abject and chronic poverty by the secular oppression of persecuting laws.

It is not for the failure of John Mac Hale and Frederick Lucas, in their mission to Rome, that the historian will find cause of regret, so much as in the conduct of the men who, no matter by what motive led, filled the Court of Rome and the minds of the Pope and his counsellors with such artful misrepresentations, seconding all too well the calumnies of the ever-present and ubiquitous British intriguers,—that Truth and Justice were, for the moment, defeated, and the cause of Ireland thrown back for half a century at least.

It is a fearful responsibility. We leave it to others to

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

trace it. Enough that we should have to follow the course of our narrative.

Not in Ireland only were the services and character of Frederick Lucas viewed in their true light, and appreciated to the full. There have never been lacking in England lofty spirits and generous hearts among bishops and priests, noblemen and gentry, who were ready to applaud every effort made to do justice to the Sister Island.

Among the Catholic clergy of England no man was a greater lover of Ireland,¹ a more enthusiastic admirer or a more unflinching supporter of Lucas than Frederick Canon Oakeley, of St. John's Church, Islington. He and Lord Arundel of Wardour set about seconding the movement begun in Ireland. Cardinal Wiseman, who had Dr. Whitty at his elbow ever to prompt him to noble public purposes, was among the first to subscribe to the Testimonial Fund.

"In every religious question that has come before Parliament (wrote his Eminence), whether it related to England, Ireland, the Colonies, or the Continent, Mr. Lucas has been always at his post, and ready to defend the Catholic cause, without reference to political considerations, or to the party from which such questions emanated."²

After this explicit declaration from the head of the Catholic hierarchy in England comes the testimony of its senior bishop, Dr. Briggs of Beverley,—the life-long friend of Ireland.

"I have watched," he says, "with peculiar interest and gratitude his (Mr. Lucas's) parliamentary conduct. Since the Catholic body has lost the never-to-be-sufficiently valued Mr. Langdale, I have been delighted to see his place well occupied by Mr. Lucas, as to the unprotected portion of our community. Who among us has not looked with grateful feelings on Mr. Lucas's dauntless, persevering efforts in the cause of Catholicity in his place in Parliament? Who has not watched his assiduous labors in be-

¹ This the Author of these Volumes can personally attest. But see the "Life of Frederick Lucas," by his brother.

² *Ibidem*, Vol. II., p. 104.

half of the Catholic soldiers and sailors,—in behalf of the poor Catholic inmates of our workhouses and prisons? What Catholic bishop or priest has not found Mr. Lucas always ready to co-operate with him in behalf of the poor and unprotected members of his flock?"¹

Dr. Roskell, Bishop of Nottingham, also expressed his "sense of the deep obligations we are under to Mr. Lucas for his noble and manly advocacy of everything that is Catholic."

This manifestation of sentiment, both in its origin and progress, was truly Catholic. "The whole progress of our undertaking," wrote Canon Oakeley, "has been such as to fill us with satisfaction and gratitude. It began in a private meeting of three or four humble priests who, whatever their own wishes, would never have ventured to proceed a step further, but for the encouragement spontaneously offered them from unexpected quarters."

And Mr. Edward Lucas, from whose pages we borrow these extracts and details, continues: "Adhesions came in from all sides, from the aristocracy, from the religious orders, among whom I may mention particularly the Society of Jesus, from the English seminaries and colleges, from provosts, canons, prelates, chamberlains of the Papal Court itself, from the parochial clergy, from literary men and artists, and from the middle class.

"To this," said Canon Oakeley, "we must add what our noble-hearted Irish brethren have said and done in the cause; and, on the other hand, no word of malevolence or detraction has broken the harmony of the act."²

"A letter from the English College in Rome said:—'In our little world we are all great politicians, and we are *unanimous* on this point, that Lucas is worthy of the highest

¹ "Life of Frederick Lucas," vol. II., p. 104.

² The Author, during several days spent with Canon Oakeley in the spring of 1865, immediately after the death of Cardinal Wiseman, remembers, among many most interesting things said in conversation by this saintly and accomplished priest, the following characteristic sally: "Shall I give you my three marks of predestination?" he said to me one day. "Here they are: Love of the Pope; love of the Irish; and hatred of Gothic architecture."

praise and commendation for his Christian conduct during his parliamentary career.'.. It was, said the Hon. Mr. Arundel, the first testimonial ever presented by the English Catholic body... The address, which was signed by the Rev. Dr. Whitty, Provost of Westminster, after declaring that the list of names included those of men 'eminent beyond the limits of our own community,' proceeds to say that 'distinguished as it is,' it 'can give you but a faint idea of the amount of sympathy, or rather of enthusiasm, which the progress of its formation has been the occasion of eliciting in your regard.'"¹

Of course, Dr. Cullen opposed the Lucas fund and testimonial not only in Ireland, but in England.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, the members of the Society of Jesus, who were so edified by the child-like piety of Frederick Lucas, while he struggled with his fatal malady, and prepared the last pages of his STATEMENT for the Vicar of Christ;² the leading men among the other religious orders and the secular clergy of Great Britain, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and what was most distinguished among the Catholic laity, all surrounded the dying champion of the Church, the generous defender of Irish rights, the advocate of the oppressed Catholic poor, in Parliament and out of Parliament, with a sympathy, an affection, and a reverence of which his brother has written with equal modesty and delicacy.

But identified as Mr. Lucas was with Dr. Mac Hale in the persecution of calumny and misrepresentation carried on against them in Rome, it is to the honor of Pius IX., who called for the truth and the whole truth on the allegations made by the Archbishop of Dublin and his agents, that we should here quote from the last pages ever addressed to the Sovereign Pontiff by Lucas, already within the shadow of the Judgment Seat.

"It was my intention," he writes, "to have inserted here for the information of the Holy See a rather detailed exposition,—by way of contrast,—of the public men whom

¹ "Life of Frederick Lucas."

² *Ibidem*, pp. 445 to the end, *passim*.

Dr. Cullen in his intercourse with me has done his best to favor, and of those against whom he has endeavored to place me in a position of antagonism. But the delay which has taken place in the preparation of this statement, in consequence of my ill-health, and the continuance of that ill-health at the present moment, compel me to pass over this part of my subject more briefly than I should wish. What I shall say shall consist mainly of proofs.

"Dr. Cullen has always tried to excite in me hostility against two persons, Mr. Gavan Duffy and Mr. G. H. Moore. He has always tried to bespeak my favor for Mr. Keogh, of whose moral turpitude enough perhaps has already been said; and for a certain powerful family of Saddlers and ——s, who are able to send five or six members to Parliament. . . . I think the best clue to Dr. Cullen's policy is to be found in inquiring who these persons severally are." ¹

So here is the dying testimony of an eminent and eminently religious man; Dr. Mac Hale and Lucas were both the champions of Ireland's rights and Ireland's poor, and were both involved in the same persecution.

Mr. Lucas then goes on to repel the slanderous accusations made against Messrs. Duffy and Moore.

"His Grace complains of my violence," Mr. Lucas states. "Those who were present at the conference I had with his Grace in the Irish College in Rome were witnesses of the violence of his passion against Mr. Duffy, and were *not* witnesses of his charity. The pretence for denying all charity for Mr. Duffy is, that he is what is called a 'Young Irelander;' that his principles are those of Mazzini; that he encourages the Continental politics of the arch-enemy of the Church of God; and that his design is to play in Ireland the part which Mazzini has attempted to play in Italy. No opportunity is lost by Dr. Cullen's friends and relations to make good this statement, through the medium of those disreputable journals which, by an unhappy fatality, are in Ireland the chief supporters of Dr. Cullen's new

¹ "Life of Frederick Lucas," pp. 371, 372.

policy, though the calumny is so utterly without foundation as to be, in Ireland, ludicrous rather than of any moment."¹

Mr. Lucas then proceeds to relate the happy influence which he had personally exercised on the Young Irishmen, in 1844 and the following years. "They were very young men with strong feelings of Irish patriotism and very unformed views. Some of these had unconsciously, some perhaps consciously, views hostile to the true interests of the Church. Others were zealous sons of the Church; and the whole party had no recognized object except the liberation of Ireland from English misrule. . . . I used every opportunity which their kindness for me afforded, both to urge upon them other views, and to make them acquainted with clergymen whose influence I thought would be useful to bring them back to the right path.

"I think it was in 1846 that Mr. Duffy intimated to me a wish to make a sort of spiritual retreat under the guidance of the Very Rev. R. J. Whitty, now the Provost of the Diocese of Westminister. . . . For certain reasons this retreat took place in my house, and, after a week, I had the happiness of receiving the Holy Communion by his side. . . . Since that time Mr. Duffy has been a monthly communicant."²

He then reminds the Holy Father that, although Mr. Duffy, before 1850, had avowed his preference for mixed education, no sooner had the Synod of Thurles condemned the Queen's Colleges, and decreed the erection of a Catholic University, than the editor of the *Nation* at once renounced his own preferences, and that even before Rome had sanctioned the Synodal Decrees. This submission was not imitated by the then Archbishop of Dublin and by more than one of the other Irish Bishops.

As to Mr. Duffy's "Mazzinism," so recklessly imputed by Dr. Cullen, the charge is triumphantly denied by Dr. Lucas. "Though tolerant of such public perjurers as Mr. Keogh and Mr. John Sadleir," the STATEMENT goes on to say, "his Grace thinks (so he told me in the Irish College)

¹ "Life of Frederick Lucas."

² *Ibid.*, pp. 373, 374.

that for a good Catholic and an honest man like Mr. Duffy, before he is admitted into public life again, there should be exacted (I use his Grace's very words) 'a penance of fifty years upon bread and water.'

"From the many articles which have appeared in the *Nation* from Mr. Duffy's hand, or with his signature, in vehement opposition to Mazzini, I will merely extract one or two passages. I do so only because during my stay in Rome I found that it was part of the tactics of Dr. Cullen's friends to lose no opportunity of calumniating Mr. Duffy by the most outrageous fabrications. Words were attributed to him which he never used, and the most outrageous forgeries were reiterated after repeated confutations. . . . It is proper from time to time to put on record the truth, and it is also proper to warn those whom it concerns that one of the weapons with which Mr. Duffy and the rest of us are attacked is not merely slander, but forgery—the invention of passages pretended to have been written and published by us which never had an existence except in the mind of the inventor."

Mr. Lucas then quotes from a most eloquent letter of Mr. Duffy addressed on April 25, 1854, to Thomas Francis Meagher, then an exile in America, "to remonstrate with him on the countenance he was giving to Mazzini." Another aberration of Meagher's at that time, but which he outlived and renounced afterwards,—was "the special recommendation that the Irish Catholic priests should be excluded from politics."

This also, which so well tallied with Dr. Cullen's theories, was, in the same letter, denounced by Mr. Duffy. "Of course, Dr. Cullen does not wish for the success of Mazzini or of his principles," says Mr. Lucas,¹ "but, as I shall answer for it at the throne of God, it is my firm belief that the best friend the principles of Mazzini have in Ireland is the Apostolic Delegate, and that one of the most effective enemies of those principles has been Mr. Duffy."

Mr. George Henry Moore's character is vindicated with

¹ "Life of Frederick Lucas," pp. 381, 382.

the same generous earnestness. He is "a gentleman of high honor and strong Catholic feeling, in whom the Archbishop of Tuam has always had great confidence. . . . If I had followed Dr. Cullen's counsel, I should have broken off especially from those two men of great practical piety, unblemished honor and integrity. . . . I should have reserved my charity for men who have not in their nature the faintest tinge of practical Catholicity, who have become infamous by their public perjuries, and whose connection with the Church is a scandal to religion and morality."¹

We omit the awful testimony of three Tipperary priests belonging to that part of the country where dwelt the other family, connections of the Sadleirs, and whose evil deeds are still well remembered in the South of Ireland.

It had been well for Dr. Cullen's fair fame, for the authority of religion in Ireland, and for the best interests of its people,—that he had never allowed such disreputable men to approach him, and that, true to his former self, he had remembered the golden maxim clothed in the Mantuan Poet's classic verse :

—Non talibus auxiliis, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.

"Throughout many parts of Ireland a reign of terror prevails in the interest of the Government, by which episcopal authority tramples down every independent sentiment, and would render our side as utterly prostrate as Dr. Cullen desires, were it not that some bishops, of whom THE GREAT ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM—may God reward him!—is the chief, stand boldly forward to resist this degrading tyranny."²

These are very nearly the last words addressed by Lucas, in his statement, to Pius IX. And with them we should end this chapter, were it not that we wish to place on record here the letter of introduction to the Australian bishops given to Mr. Charles Gavan Duffy by the Archbishop of Tuam on the latter's departure from Ireland.

¹ "Life of Frederick Lucas," pp. 382, 383, 384.

² *Ibidem*, p. 440.

“Tuam, October 14, 1855.

“MY DEAR LORD:—Allow me to introduce to your Lordship’s kind notice C. Gavan Duffy, Esquire, an Irish Catholic gentleman, who is already not unknown to you by fame. Selected for the responsible position of a Member of the British Parliament by the people of New Ross, he was recommended to them by those endowments that fit men for such a station. No one could more fully than he did realize the hopes of his constituents by a faithful discharge of the duties with which he was entrusted.

“If it be no small merit to remain faithful amidst numerous defections, the Member for New Ross is entitled to that praise by a steadfast sense of his promises during the entire of his Parliamentary career,—a period of no ordinary corruption. Those of the people of Ireland who came safe out of the Famine, remembered well how much its horrors were aggravated by the almost unbounded powers of eviction so unscrupulously exercised by their arbitrary landlords; and they were also taught to feel how much the faith of the growing generation was imperiled by the cruel bigotry of the same class, several of whom labored to recruit the thin ranks of the Establishment by vain efforts to pervert the dependent tenantry, who were at their mercy.

“The people, feeling all the hardships of this state of things, and determined to apply an effectual remedy, returned to Parliament at immense sacrifices about fifty men, who could command the destiny of any Ministry,—pledged to act together in Parliament, not for the purpose of fractionally opposing good measures from any Government, a calumnious invention of their enemies;—but pledged not to betray the interests of the Catholic people for personal favors, and to oppose those measures which are of a mere party, or mere Ministerial nature, until the Ministry, be it Whig or Tory, should by legislative enactments secure to the tenants the fruits of their industry and immunity from capricious evictions and from religious persecution.

“To those pledges, dictated by a deep sense of human-

ity and religion; Mr. Gavan Duffy and other members inviolably adhered until, owing to the desertion of several who forgot their duty to their constituents, they have been placed for the present in a position almost powerless to ward off the evils which they sought to remedy.

“It is under these circumstances that the bearer, with the general regret of his countrymen, seeks a respite from the harassing anxieties of a Parliamentary life in the distant regions of Australia. Whether he intends to return I know not. He is attached to his religion; and he has won the esteem and friendship of several of the most distinguished and estimable ecclesiastics. He once did me the honor of sharing my humble hospitality at a time when the Catholics of this part of Ireland invited him and several distinguished members of the Legislature, who had remained faithful to the people, to a public banquet in this town, and I need not say that I felt it to be a pleasing duty to give the sanction of my presence to such a feast in honor of those who coöperated with the clergy, by the constitutional and peaceful means of the suffrage, in and outside of Parliament, to secure happy homes and altars free for our faithful people.

“I have the honor to remain, my dear Lord,

“Your Lordship’s very faithful servant,

“JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.”

CHAPTER XV.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM TRADUCED AND MISREPRESENTED IN ROME.

THE policy professed by the Coalition Cabinet of Aberdeen and Lord John Russell flattered the Catholics of Ireland with a fair share not only in the Government itself, but in the public offices in the gift of the Government. To that portion of the Catholic hierarchy who had imitated the conduct of the late Dr. Murray, or who were disposed to do so, and were therefore known as "*Castle Bishops*," the appointment of Keogh, Sadleir, and O'Flaherty to offices of high honor and emolument seemed only the beginning of an era of justice. Such men gratefully accepted this first instalment of such "justice" long delayed.

Ah, these baneful "instalments of justice," what ruin they have wrought to the dearest hopes of a country always governed by an irreconcilable and fanatical minority!

"In Ireland," wrote A. M. Sullivan, in reference to the very events we are narrating, "centuries of a cruel penal code had kept Catholics from every post of prominence or distinction in the public administration. The Emancipation Act had, indeed, declared them no longer ineligible for such offices by reason of religious faith; but (as Mr. Peel at the time pointed out to some unnecessarily alarmed Protestants) declaring men not disqualified was one thing, actually appointing them was another. From 1829 to 1849 the Emancipation Act was little more than an abstract declaration, for any substantial change that the people could see in the old *regime*. 'Catholic appointments' came to be regarded as the great test of Government liberality. The placing of Catholics in important public offices, especially as judges on the bench, was looked upon as the



Delphi Lodge.
(Continued.)

practical application of the Emancipation Act; and the Ministry who should make the Act a reality would be ranked very nearly as highly as those who had enacted it as a theory.

"In Dublin, at Vienna, and at Rome, Lord Aberdeen, through able and astute Catholic intermediaries, pledged himself to this view; and unquestionably he meant it. What greater proof, it was asked, could he give of his feelings and intention on this point than the fact of singling out for high position under his administration the most prominent and demonstrative opponents of the Titles Bill, the men whose ultra-Catholicism had rendered them most obnoxious to English Protestant prejudices?

"This aspect of the transaction unquestionably impressed many of the Irish bishops irresistibly. And they persuaded themselves that, even on the tenant question, Lord Aberdeen's dispositions were likely to go beyond anything otherwise practicable."¹

At Rome, then, the conduct of the pledge-breakers was represented not only as justifiable but as praiseworthy. As on the controversy about Undenominational Education, in all its phases, the British Government, and its supporters among the Irish Catholic clergy, had enlisted in their favor the good offices of the Austrian representatives near the Pope, so was it during Lord Aberdeen's administration. And Austria, otherwise unpopular in Rome, was at the time the only Continental country looked upon as Catholic by the Roman officials.

But, while justifying the acceptance of office by Keogh and Sadleir, and praising the magnanimity of Lord Aberdeen and his associates, good care was taken by his commissaries to present in the worst light both the principles and the acts of the national Irish party and its leaders.

"Political agitation," "revolutionary tendencies," "Communism and Socialism," were terms which suggested to the conservative mind, at Rome as well as in Vienna, ideas held in the greatest abhorrence. Such, as we have seen, the

¹ "New Ireland," p. 172.

tenant leaguers were held to be in the United Kingdom ; such they were represented in Rome and elsewhere on the Continent.

The great point to be gained in the campaign of misrepresentation thus inaugurated by the adversaries at home and abroad of the national Irish cause, was to discredit in Rome the Archbishop of Tuam, who was in 1853, more than ever before, the mainstay of the nation's hopes.

To effect this purpose it was only requisite to prove that the Archbishop neglected his legitimate duties as a pastor, in order to indulge his propensity for "political agitation." It was the old, old calumny so often refuted and set to rest, but always revived when the desperate fortunes of his people and nation demanded that the Archbishop of Tuam should devote his best energies to the defense of "the Poor of Christ," the oppressed and persecuted masses of his countrymen.

In 1852, and while the tenant league raised in Irishmen's breasts high hopes of coming prosperity, the Protestant Bishop of Tuam, Lord Plunket, took it into his head to make an official visitation of all his episcopal district, comprising the diocese of Tuam, Killala, and Achonry. These, with portions of the County Galway, were the very parts of Connaught in which famine, fever, eviction, and emigration had been at work to make the land a desert. There, too, the proselytizers with their money, their soup-kitchens, and their schools, had plied most industriously and indefatigably their trade by buying starving children from famished and evicted parents, and of buying, as well, for a mess of pottage, the outward adherence of these despairing parents themselves to Protestantism.

As the result of those years of "souperism," Lord Plunket published after his visitation the following letter, which was reproduced everywhere by the Protestant press :—

" TUAM, August 29th, 1852.

" The general total result of the whole tour, comprising all the three heads, is as follows :—

"In all 1294 persons were confirmed, being 454 original Protestants, and 840 converts.

"These converts, added to the number previously confirmed upon the two occasions within the last three years, make 2414 persons confirmed.

"Three new churches have been consecrated. Five new churches are in the process of completion. The first stones were laid of three more, and two were contracted for, making in all fourteen new churches, which will afford sittings for 5210 persons.

"Six new licensed houses for divine worship have been provided, accommodating 2300 worshippers, which, added to the former numbers, will afford accommodation to 7510 persons.

"Besides this accommodation afforded in twenty localities where none existed before, there are five other places in West Galway not included in the above tour, in which there is a school-room where divine service is performed on the Lord's Day, and in which accommodation is provided for 1350 worshippers. This number, added to the 7510 already stated, makes a total of 8860.

"By order of the Bishop of Tuam,

"B. J. CLARKE,

"Secretary and Deputy-Register."

We shall see, ere the end of this chapter, how little truth there is in this statement, the figures being only a bid for the money of the English Bible Societies; for, according to an official census taken in 1870, the total Protestant population of the three dioceses here mentioned only amounted to 17,087, whereas the Catholic population numbered 482,907.

This letter was a god-send to the detractors of the Archbishop of Tuam, and they made good use of it in official circles in Rome. Even before Lord Plunket had published the above statistical summary of his labors, the Protestant journals had exaggerated reports of the progress made in the West of Ireland by the "Gospellers," coupled, not un-

frequently, with derogatory comments on Dr. Mac Hale and his "political agitation."

At the Propaganda these reports had obtained a certain degree of credence, and excited alarm, if not indignation. Besides, the Secretary, Mgr. Barnabò, never favorable to Dr. Mac Hale, had of late been more than ever prejudiced against him, while Cardinal Fransoni, aged and infirm, had, perforce, to leave all the immense business of his office to the Secretary.

Under these circumstances the following letter of Dr. Mac Hale will speak for itself:—

"TUAM, Aug 17, 1852.

"YOUR EMINENCE:—On reaching home, after the journey mentioned in my last letter, I received your favor of the 31st of last month. As the bishops of the province are soon to meet to consult for the widowed church of Kilmacduagh, then we shall treat of the matter relating to the Bishop of Elphin, and your Eminence shall be as speedily as possible informed of our proceedings.

"With regard to the falling away from the faith of numbers of persons belonging to this province, which has been reported to you, it may be said without any fear of error that these numbers are excessively exaggerated. In this diocese there are fifty parishes, and only in one or two of these can we discover any persons thus seduced from their religion. Even in these one or two parishes the persons thus led astray by the promise of money or food are daily seen to return to the fold.

"When I quite lately mentioned to your Eminence the conversion of the Rev. Mr. Hopkins, I also pointed out the return to the Church of at least fifty boys who were frequenting Protestant schools in the island of Achill. I spent six entire days of the last week in this island, which may be called the stronghold of the heretics; I went from village to village, and house to house, exhorting the virtuous to perseverance, and the erring to repentance; and I am most happy to say that very few indeed of the native population

failed to hear the voice of their pastor, and did not promise on bended knees never again to enter the Protestant schools.

“What is to be deplored in this matter, is that they collect here in Achill orphans from every part of Ireland, from the cities of Dublin and Cork particularly. The island is for them an impregnable fortress; and we have not been able to make any impression on the perverts thus congregated here. Still we hope they too will soon yield to the efforts of the increased number of priests, and of the monks for whom we have begun to build there a monastery, soon to be completed. We have, therefore, every reason to hope that in the above mentioned parishes there shall not be left a single Protestant school frequented by our children.

“As to the parish of Oughterard, it cannot be denied that there not only young people, but the aged as well, have been tainted with heresy. This came from the want of Catechetical instruction, which the former parish-priest, afterwards President of the Queen's College, Galway, could not impart to the people, ignorant as he was of the Irish tongue, —a knowledge which is at present so necessary to both bishops and priests.

In all Ireland, nay, in the whole Catholic Church, there is no spot in which the people are more attached to the faith than in this province, or more eager to preserve it intact. In this town of Tuam, our people had during six entire months,—all of them, women as well as men, to protect themselves against the satellites of Satan armed with guns and bludgeons; and yet not one act of illegal violence was committed by the persecuted.

“Were any new proofs required to show the love of our people for their religion, it would be found in their conduct during the last election of members of Parliament. The province of Connaught sends thirteen members to the House of Commons; and of these eleven are at present Catholics. This diocese sends four members to Parliament; and just now all four are Catholics. In no other constituency, even where the Catholics are most numerous

and most wealthy, can be found such zeal for maintaining and defending the Catholic religion.

"As to retreats and missions, there is no question but they are of the greatest benefit both for keeping faith alive and for correcting immorality. Wherefore, in my address to the parochial clergy, I have often exhorted them to make use of this most salutary help of missions in fulfilling their own duties as pastors. One parish priest had solicited the help of the missionaries; but these were so exhausted by previous labors that they had to refuse for the time being his invitation.

"It is still to be regretted that the National Schools, as they are described in the Statutes of the Council of Thurles, do not contribute much toward the instruction of our poor children, because no child is allowed to frequent them who cannot pay two pence a week; and very many are too poor to afford even that sum.

"But, in all that concerns either Catholic schools or the work of retreats and missions, I shall omit nothing that I judge before God either necessary or useful toward the discharge of my duty.

"I have the honor to be,

"Of your Eminence, the most obedient servant,

"JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

"HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL FRANSONI, PREFECT, ETC."

Who the men were who thus succeeded in sowing suspicion and distrust in the minds of Pius IX. and his counselors, against Dr. Mac Hale and the public men who labored with him, we shall not determine here.

What we have said and what yet remains to be told will, doubtless, enable the reader to form an accurate judgment on this point. Full light can only be thrown on the dark and mischievous intrigues of this period and of the succeeding decade, when those who have had any share in them shall have passed away, and the records of the Propaganda, with the private correspondence of important personages, shall be given to the public.

The character of the Archbishop of Tuam can only gain

fresh lustre from what time is sure to reveal. Meanwhile, we deem it due to him as well as to Ireland, to publish the following letters.

“TO OUR VENERABLE BROTHER

“JOHN ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM,

“PIUS IX.

“Venerable Brother, Health and the Apostolic Benediction. We have been lately very much grieved to learn that many Catholics in your diocese, through the wicked and fraudulent manœuvres of their spiritual enemies, are deceived, led into error, and detached from the Catholic faith and worship. We, therefore, write you this letter, Venerable Brother, in order, for the discharge of the duty imposed on us by our Apostolic office, to admonish you most earnestly, and to urge you vehemently in the Lord, to be mindful of your duty as bishop, and with ever-increasing diligence and watchfulness to endeavor to discharge all the duties of a good shepherd. Spare no pains, no plans, no labors to defend your beloved flock from the attacks of the ravenous wolves; take them away from poisonous pasturages, and lead them to where they can feed in safety.

“You know well what a strict account is to be one day rendered to the Prince of pastors, and how severe a judgment is to be expected from Him by all those to whom the awful trust is given of governing and caring for souls. Be, therefore, unremitting in watching night and day in all things, fulfil your ministry, preach the word, reprove, beseech, reproach in all patience and knowledge; leave nothing untried to render the Catholic people entrusted to your keeping daily more firm in their profession of the faith, and immovable in their convictions, so that they may clearly discern the false reasoning of the men who try to undermine their belief, that they may be most careful to shun and detest them. Lead back the erring to the paths of truth, justice, and salvation.

“And, inasmuch as retreats and missions, under the direction of skilled laborers, are greatly conducive toward

the reformation of popular manners, and the fostering of religious fervor, we, therefore, most earnestly exhort you to undertake all that you can in your episcopal solicitude, so as to have missions given from time to time among your people. Make it your care also to have your priests perform, yearly, the exercises of a spiritual retreat; this, as you know, is a great help toward preserving and restoring ecclesiastical discipline.

"You are also well aware by what manifold and cunningly laid snares the arch-enemy endeavors to beset the incautious steps of youth, to corrupt young minds, and lead them into the paths of error. Relax not, therefore, your zeal, Venerable Brother, in this respect; bestow all your thoughts in imbuing from their early years the tender minds of the young, and informing their wax-like hearts with the salutary precepts of our holy religion. Provide schools in your diocese, in which the young may be carefully instructed and trained without any peril to their faith or to sound doctrine.

"And, on this important subject of education, do not cease to rouse and inflame the piety and charity of your people for the purpose of making them contribute generously to the building and supporting of such schools as are in every way Catholic in their teaching.

"In discharging all the duties of your episcopal office, you must take to heart the use of that priestly prudence, which, I need not tell you, Our Lord recommended so warmly, and which, as it is the controlling force of all our actions and virtues, brings so many benefits to those who accept its guidance.

"We have learned these days past from *Galignani's Messenger* of the 24th of September last, that this journal contains a letter of yours, written, as we have been told, in a tone which lacks moderation. We resolved to say this to you, that you may in future be most careful to abstain from everything which may appear in any way to depart from the prudence which befits a bishop.

"We are sure that you will, Venerable Brother, comply in every particular with these our admonitions, wishes, and

requests. Fin ally, be intimately persuaded of the great affection we bear you, and of which we give you a proof in this letter. . . .

“ Given at Rome, from St. Peter’s, the 21st of October, 1852, of our Pontificate the Seventh.

“ PIUS PP IX.”¹

The letter of Dr. Mac Hale referred to by the Pope was published in the “ Freeman’s Journal ” of September 21st, 1852, and reproduced, in whole or in part, by “ Galignani’s Messenger ” of the 24th. It is a letter to Lord Derby, then Prime Minister, and deals with the English Establishment and with the crusade got up against the faith of the starving populations of Ireland and the lying reports circulated through Great Britain about the thousands upon thousands of converts made by the “ Gospellers ” among the people of Galway and Mayo. It is the very subject on which the Pope’s letter chiefly dwells. Evidently the emissaries of the British Government had represented to the Roman authorities that these “ conversions ” had taken place, and were the consequence of Dr. Mac Hale’s neglect of his pastoral duties, of his leaving his people without schools and proper religious instruction. These representations, we also know, were corroborated by the agents in Rome of the Sadleir-Keogh conspiracy and their clerical adherents.

The British intriguers in Rome felt sore about the vigorous letter to Earl Derby. But in the letter itself there is not an expression which is not warranted by the subject it deals with, the monstrous iniquity of the Irish Church Establishment, the unblushing lies of the proselytizers, and the outrageous conduct of the Protestant apostles, of which Dr. Mac Hale cites instances in his letter.

Certes, it is not by honied words that a shepherd can repel from his fold a pack of ravenous wolves. Some ten months previously Dr. Cullen (as we have seen in the preceding chapter) suggested to Dr. Mac Hale to address the English people on this very subject. “ If your Grace,” he

¹ From the original Latin letter in the MAC HALE MSS.

says, "could get a statistic account of the missionaries in the West, and of their manner of acting, perhaps it would be well to publish it and to address the English people on the matter. If they knew how things were conducted, perhaps they would not send so much money."

This is precisely what the Archbishop of Tuam did, not only in the letter denounced to the Pope in September, 1852, but in the two letters addressed to Lord John Russell early in that same year, and while the Papal Aggression madness was still raging in England.

"It is not my aim," wrote the Archbishop to the author of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, on February 14th, "to solicit your Lordship's interposition to protect the Catholic clergy and people from the horde of lying impostors who are now not only let loose, but manifestly encouraged to annoy them and to insult their religion. Whoever would be weak enough to trust in the hope of such an interposition, should first blot from his memory the most recent events of the last year, marked by as rancorous an hostility to the Catholic Church as was ever displayed by a Prime Minister in the earliest days of that impious warfare by which its charities were plundered and its doctrines so ferociously assailed.

"Is it, my Lord," he continues, "no cause of serious anxiety to her Majesty's Ministers, that the quiet and peaceable inhabitants of this portion of the country, people who, in the most excited times, and under the privations of a protracted famine, were ever amenable to the laws, is it no cause of anxiety that they should be exposed to the musketry of a civil force, at the capricious and arbitrary bidding of a bigoted magistrate? And all for the sustainment of a wicked anti-Catholic crusade, of which the promoters are so reckless of all decency as to send round to the Catholic inhabitants, nay, to fling among ladies consecrated to religion, hand-bills and placards of the most offensive and insulting character?

"It was not enough that thousands were adandoned to a devouring famine, unpitied and unrelieved. It was not

enough that the moneys so ostentatiously boasted to have been granted toward their relief are now inexorably exacted. . . . It was not enough that your own census has borne testimony to the awful mortality, which, while mowing down the people, was by your mercenary journals so factiously denied, and that the details of your accredited records have tardily vindicated the veracity of a calumniated priesthood.

"No; all this was not enough while any remnant of the hated Celtic race remained in the land, threatening by its vigorous expansion to extend and perpetuate their hated religion. . . .

"Do not, my Lord, though sustained by the roving knaves who now infest this country, indulge the hope that you will root out of the land either our race or our religion. The latter has been decreed to last forever; and the former seems equally destined by Providence to secure its pure and permanent existence in Ireland, as well as to extend it to other countries. The experiment of the extinction of both has been often tried, and has always signally failed.

"This people shall not be rooted out for you; nor shall we suffer those hideous lies to go forth uncontradicted, by which the poor, credulous, thick-witted peasantry of England are swindled out of their money.

"A very recent instance of the unblushing mendacity of those deceivers will throw some light on the systematic imposture by which the English are deluded. One of these notorious messengers of discord, whose advent in any district is a sure forerunner of the most unwarrantable attacks on the faith of the people, is said recently to have stated, that he preached in Tuam, when about twenty-four Catholics attended, and that there were in the neighborhood about one hundred converts! It is no wonder that calumnies, hitherto unheeded, or treated with contempt by those on the spot who knew their falsity, should at length meet with the exposure which they merit.

"Now, the above statement has one feature which shows the source, the Father of Lies, from which it sprung. It

has not one single particle of truth to sustain it. There were no Catholics present at the profane exhibition called 'Service.' Were Catholics ever so fond of amusement, they would not go into conventicles where they hear their religion blasphemed, and their creed and holy discipline parodied.

"Had they any converts, these should be found among the destitute classes, whose poverty is traded on by those disturbers of society. And yet in the Workhouse of Tuam, where the active and offensive zeal of the Parson provoked the animadversion of the Guardians, he could number but one solitary Protestant out of the fourteen hundred paupers,—who, thanks to the rapacity of the English Church forced upon Ireland, are immured in a workhouse!

"Let this Saxon slanderer of the Celtic and Catholic population of this province vend his foul calumnies elsewhere, to bring among us, perhaps, some whining sentimentalists to weep over imaginary apostasies, which are exhibited for dramatic effect, and to claim the merit of winning over deluded persons who had never fallen away.

"The slanderer and the sympathy, like a twin offspring, often bear the mark of issuing from the same source."

This is strong writing, doubtless. But it is not more than is warranted by the righteous indignation which the conduct of the Russell Ministry and of the Parliament which executed their behests, on the one hand,—and the shameless artifices of the Church of England proselytizers, on the other, must naturally kindle in the breast of a bishop who sees his people so traduced?

The indignant protest which the Archbishop of Tuam here enters for the hundredth time against the oppressors, persecutors, and slanderers of his people, is substantially that which he lays before Pius IX.,—and not for the first time,—in answer to the accusations of open enemies and false brethren.

One more passage from this memorable letter, and we return to the letter of the Holy Father. Be it held in mind that one of the stereotyped accusations made both in Rome

and in Dublin against John of Tuam was, to the last, that he kept his people in systematic ignorance. Surely, they must have known, in the Court of Rome, how utterly baseless this accusation was. And yet its bold reiteration seems to have shaken even the opinion of Pius IX. and Cardinal Fransoni of the Archbishop's unwearied zeal in instructing and educating his people.

Here, in February 1852, is an answer to the charges of neglect of duty contained in the Pope's letter of the following October :—

“What a rich theme,” he continued, in addressing the Prime Minister,—“what a rich theme for compassionating the ignorance in which the people are held in Tuam, could the welcome calumny but be believed, that one hundred of the people had apostatized from the faith! And though it is as clear as noonday that not one single convert—‘pervert’ I should say—has been made, and that we have schools under the Sisters of Mercy, the Sisters of the Presentation, and the Christian Brothers, besides the College of St. Jarlath, affording the very best education to the youth of all classes,—it would not be surprising if the pretended defection of the ONE HUNDRED ideal apostates in the vicinity of Tuam was all to be ascribed to the absence of National Schools!

“No doubt such a thing falls in well with the Government scheme of education; and it may be worth your while to let loose these elements for the purpose of making hundreds of fictitious apostates in our land, in order to have these apostates reclaimed by a process of infidel teaching. . . .

“Are there no tares in the wheat-fields of England, that there should be such solicitude about the growing harvest in Ireland? They might have sufficient employment at home to spread the knowledge of the One God among the thousands who confess to never having heard of a Redeemer, and whose stupid lives and brutal sensuality afford evidence that they are only Christian in name.

“But enough for the present. I must throw a veil over those hideous vices, which might recall the terrible picture,

sketched by St. Paul, of the ancient Pagans. Our people require no reformation like this."

And here is the eloquent and masterly conclusion of this letter:—

"The peace of the country is too important for such peddling schemes of bigotry and perversion.

"The Establishment has lived its troubled period. Its disastrous days are numbered. Nor can this sort of warfare, carried on by unprincipled mercenaries, any longer sustain it. The unanimous voice of Ireland loudly demands its legislative downfall. Nor should the justice of that demand be any longer delayed.

"You require defences, it appears, all along our coasts. If so, why the infatuation of destroying, at the same time, the most impregnable defences which ever guarded a country or a throne,—the hearts of a brave and faithful people?

"Should this impious war on our faith or nation continue; should the arrogant and overbearing insolence with which English missionaries and English senators, and English journalists treat us, be continued; . . . it is right that you should know that every such aggression, come from what quarter it may, avowed or covert foes, shall be duly repelled in a befitting manner. It will be for you to consider whether energies that are all required for the support of the State should be wasted in religious or national strife, of which the aim is to enslave and corrupt, if not annihilate, an ancient and religious race, whose praise is in all the churches of Europe."¹

Between February and September, 1852, the Russell Ministry had been overturned, and to the liberal Whigs the Tories under Earl Derby had succeeded. The storm of bigotry which Lord John Russell had let loose Lord Derby had no thought of appeasing. On the contrary, it is well remembered how the anti-Catholic passions of himself and his followers culminated in the Stockport Riots.

Meanwhile the active campaign of proselytism inaugurated by the united Church of England and Ireland, among

¹ MAC HALE PAPERS and MSS.



The Eagle Mountain, Killeries.

(Connemara.)

the poor populations of Munster and Connaught, and the no less vigorous campaign of misrepresentation and falsehood carried on by English journalism in aid of the proselytizers, drew forth from the Archbishop of Tuam another letter, in which he laid bare the strategy of the enemies of Catholic Ireland.

The general elections, which had also taken place in the interval between the writing of the two letters, had sent to Parliament between 40 and 50 Irish representatives pledged to Tenant-Right and the policy of Independent Opposition.

This triumphant result, principally due to the labors of the Archbishop of Tuam and to the powerful advocacy of the *Tablet*, *Freeman's Journal*, and *Nation*, inspired Dr. Mac Hale's fearless denunciations of the Establishment and its host of Gossellers, contained in the letter to Lord Derby.

Dr. Mac Hale writes strongly; but he had always done so in denouncing the mortal enemies of his creed and race. It was to be expected that Lord Derby's emissaries in Rome should, in their turn, denounce the great champion of that same creed and race, while holding up to the eyes of the Pope and the Sacred College the usual mirage of concessions to the Court of Rome and plans of conciliation for Catholic Ireland.

The pity was that the officials nearest to the Pope should have been imposed upon by this crooked and lying diplomacy, as well as by the clerical go-betweens from Dublin, the tools of the late Archbishop Murray's short-sighted and anti-national policy, and the would-be courtiers of his successor.

The letter from the Pope, which we have deemed it our duty to give to the reader, is ominous of a serious change in the sentiments of the Curia toward the courageous prelate who had fought and won for the Catholic Church the great battle of Education, and who was then about to win the battle of Tenant-Right, the simple and long-withheld meed of JUSTICE due to the oppressed and beggared farming population of his native land.

But what, after all, are the "imprudent" utterances con-

tained in the September letter of Dr. Mac Hale? The leading purpose of the writer is to refute the notion spread abroad by the British press, and countenanced by the Government, that the "New Reformation" inaugurated in Ireland by the invading army of proselytizers was in reality as empty as the shining visions of a mirage in the Sahara Desert; and that the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, the great source of Irish misery, must soon be abolished, if the new Irish Parliamentary Party were only faithful to their solemn pledges.

In the subject matter of the letter, as well as in its treatment, there can be found, on an impartial scrutiny, neither unwarrantable violence of language, nor a single utterance deserving the qualification of *imprudent*.

"The adherents of the Protestant Establishment," the writer says to the Tory Premier, "may fancy that because they have been hitherto imposing on the English people and gathering fresh funds by an indulgence in all the licentiousness of slander, they may still be permitted to enjoy the same privileges by immunity from exposure. They appear, however, to feel that they have been somewhat mistaken in their calculation. The result of the recent elections in Ireland has filled them with an alarm which they are awkwardly trying to conceal. The loudness and audacity of their boasts, at a time when the world has witnessed the decline of their Parliament-established Church, and the vigorous reaction of a people whom the votaries of the Establishment had proclaimed to be utterly prostrate and helpless, are but too evident signs of their apprehension."

The *Times* and other such journals, who had countenanced all the lying reports about the spread of Protestantism in Ireland, come in here for a merited castigation. But no publicist or Churchman even will deem it an act of *imprudence* to apply the lash, in defence of Catholic and Irish national interests, to the truth-telling "Times."

"They may transfer to their mercenary columns," Dr. Mac Hale says, "the clumsy and stupid fabrications of

their Irish Protestant correspondents on the progress of what they call 'the Reformation in Ireland,' and of the new-born relish of the people for the chasteness and beauty of English Protestant morality.

"Your Lordship, I trust, will readily believe with the *Times* that the Celtic people are tenacious of antiquity, and above all of their antique faith and its pure morality. Therefore is it that the English people should be slow to believe that the Irish, notwithstanding their long acquaintance with the Saxon race, have not fallen in love with that brutal system of demoralization which, like a foul cancer, is eating up domestic virtue and morality in England, as is unhappily exemplified by so many recent trials for infanticide by unmarried females. All such practices, if we are to believe the panegyrists of this moral people, are the spontaneous fruits of that Protestant system which they are laboring, but, thank God, in vain, to propagate in Ireland.

"Notwithstanding the awful visitations of the Famine, which had spread its ravages to every quarter, and which was followed by the worst infliction of persecuting bigotry, there are in this diocese near fifty parishes in which these impostors could find no foothold. In the few in which they sought to fix themselves, by appealing to the instincts of parents of starving children, and to the bigotry of Landlord Guardians of the Workhouse, who had driven these famishing creatures first from their lands, and then from the Workhouse, or denied them access within its enclosure to relieve themselves from the Rates, the Gospelers sometimes forced from the despairing parents a feigned profession of belief, which they retracted when the dire necessity ceased.

"Let them now try to form a muster-roll of these poor victims of misrule and starvation. They will find them taken back to the bosom of that Church from which they had been driven by the terrible force of extreme need."

And then the Archbishop relates an instance which came within his own knowledge of the pseudo-charity of these new Reformation apostles.

"Let them boast," he says, "of these temporary defections. But let them not forget that these are the testimonies, as well, of their own tyranny and cruelty. Nor let them lightly recall the memory of events now past, of which all the shame and the guilt are their own.

"Do not imagine that I am now indulging in conjecture, or drawing on the analogies furnished by the sad history of our country in alluding to the scenes of eviction and religious persecution connected with the disgraceful proceedings of the agents of the Established Church.

"No! I am writing what I saw and witnessed, nay, what was palpable to every apprehension.

"Is your Lordship aware that in Connemara, the theatre of these extraordinary evangelical triumphs, there is a gallant landlord who threatened his tenantry with banishment from their farms, if ever they suffered to be performed in their homes the sacred functions of their religion?¹

"What will the people, the moral people of England, those self-praising lovers of fair play and justice and humanity, think of the tender piety of these proselytizers, at being informed that on Thursday, the 9th of this month, a mother on the road to Clifden to present at the altar her two children among hundreds of such victims of hunger, who had been induced to hear bad instruction, was literally waylaid by their keepers, who stripped them of the wretched raiment given them as the price of their attendance at school? The poor mother had to struggle with her feelings of decency to bring them to the House of God, and save them from the teaching and the fate of the females of Dorsetshire.

"And yet are we told that to procure these astonishing conversions not a particle of bribery is used, whereas it is the only mode that is found to influence every individual who, for a moment, has gone astray.

¹ The American and non-Catholic reader may not be aware that it has continued to be the custom, even after the celebrating or hearing of Mass has ceased to be felony and punishable with death, exile, or confiscation of property, to celebrate Mass in the houses of the peasantry at two seasons of the year, Advent and Lent, and in the remote districts, where there are no churches.



A Pattern in Connemara. Holly Well.

"Although the people were no strangers to that species of Christian charity which had given clothing to the naked orphans of Connemara, yet was it impossible to describe the thrill of horror which ran through the entire flock when they beheld the state of semi-nudity to which these robbers, by stripping the poor orphans of the garb of proselytism, had reduced their former victims. That one scene gave a fatal blow to the system.

"Although the famine has thinned the population, all the chapels in Connemara were crowded to excess, the young forming a considerable portion of the multitudes. . . . The diminution caused by the famine and evictions was compensated by the intensity of the zeal with which the people were resolved to do away with the impression that they were indifferent to the blessings of their holy religion."

The Archbishop then refutes the allegations scattered broadcast by the Protestant press confirming the recital of the Pseudo-Evangelists about their extraordinary successes in Connaught.

"We are told," he says, "as a proof of the progress of the Reformation, that numbers of Bible-readers are scattered along the coast. What a convincing proof of the conversion of the natives!

"The natives look with disgust and scorn at the impostors. Wherever the carrion is scented the vultures will gather. Never were cormorants more faithful to their instincts than those itinerant 'readers' and unattached parsons in finding out the places where English bounty is flowing for Irish evangelical recruits.

"Oh, but they are building churches!—you say. A voice must come forth from the stones, and they must be turned into living men, before the cold walls of deserted conventicles in the wilderness can be cited as witnesses of the number of congregations."

¹ We remind the reader that, even now, Catholic houses of worship in Great Britain and Ireland are called "Chapels," in contradistinction to the Protestant "Churches."

Here are some typical instances of the barren labors of ministers of the Establishment in Ireland:—

“It was imagined that the census,—I think of 1841,—exhibited so many parishes in Ireland *without a single Protestant*, though they were provided with snug glebes and churches with lofty steeples: the exhibit should have forever silenced the insulting argument based on the connection of a living Protestantism with a number of Protestant churches.

“Perhaps your Lordship may have some idea of the force of this argument from the incumbency of Parson Marly, of Annadown. During several years,—for he lived to a good old age,—he was obliged patiently to await the return of his Catholic clerk from Mass, there being nobody but the latter to answer Amen to the solitary service. But the good parson could boast that, however long his absence from the parish, for weeks or months, nay, a long series of years, never a member of his flock died without his ministrations!

“Even in the gravest readers, such facts, as ludicrous as they are melancholy, must excite a smile. But there is in the most degenerate and corrupt a sense of right and justice that rebels against the continuance of these monstrous wrongs. Almost every province in Ireland, as well as Connaught, could still exhibit many a Marly. Especially is this the case in Munster, notwithstanding the sprinkling of Protestant Police and Revenue officers, artfully disposed of here and there near the empty churches of sinecure parsons.

“And is it to perpetuate such farces, made so burthensome to a Catholic people, so disgraceful to any government, that you are still to continue the erection of these little receptacles, undeserving of the name of churches? Those ecclesiastical funds, so long misused, should, after the life-interest of their present occupants, revert to their own original purposes of promoting Catholic piety, charity, and education. Too long has their usufruct been squandered, with no other result than the propagating of dissension, and the upholding of an unholy ascendancy.”

This was, in the face of the boasts of the proselytizers, only a legitimate defence. It was more than that; it contained lessons of statesman-like wisdom,—if only any British Administration could be brought to listen to the voice of wisdom and the maxims of true statesmanship in dealing with the monstrous and inveterate wrongs of Irish Catholics.

Of course, under Lord Derby, as under Lord John Russell, one of the golden prospects held out to hungry and ambitious Catholic priests was the pensioning of the clergy. Dr. Mac Hale, while claiming the restoration to the Church of her confiscated property for the original purposes of education and charity,—brushes aside the supposition that the Irish hierarchy and priesthood would expect or accept any share of the restored funds for their own maintenance.

"As to the daily bread of the Catholic clergy," he says, in concluding, "they will exclusively rely on that rich fund that has never failed them, the spontaneous offerings of a grateful people, to whom protective measures for the fruits of their industry, no longer to be deferred, will give additional cheerfulness in discharging the duties of their religion."¹

Such are the two letters, addressed successively to the chiefs of the Whig and Tory Administrations in defence of the religious and civil rights of the Irish people, and in vindication of the Catholics of Connaught and the character of their bishops and clergy.

The letters were greeted in Ireland with intense satisfaction by all who were not in the service of the Government, or who were not looking forward to it for place and emolument.

Let us now see how the Archbishop of Tuam replies to the Pope's Brief. We shall presently see how this important document was, on its way from Rome, diverted from its proper channel, while the delay consequent on this mishap increased in Rome the dissatisfaction created by the conspirators, clerical and lay, against the influence and good name of the Archbishop.

¹ MAC HALE MSS. and "Freeman's Journal," Sept. 21, 1852.

Although the Brief had been sent in October, the complaints of the Holy Father only reached Tuam in January. The Archbishop, either in his anxiety to remove at once the impressions made on the Pope by false reports, or because he had not yet found the missing document, set about refuting the charges thus made against his own pastoral administration.

"MOST HOLY FATHER," the letter begins, "the commands of Your Holiness communicated to me by the Archbishop of Edessa were by me received with sentiments of the profoundest submission and filial reverence. Although deeply pained that any misrepresentation of the state of religion in my diocese should cause your fatherly heart sadness, I have been, nevertheless cheered by the hope of dispelling your grief by showing the utter lack of truth in the information by which Your Holiness has been deceived. For, religion among my people, both as regards the material edifices and as regards the spirit of piety which animates them, is not only not on the wane, but prospers from day to day.

"The fury with which our enemies are impelled to assail our flocks leads them to make use of falsehoods in publishing their successes. There are some Catholics, also, who, giving credence to these fraudulent reports, help to accredit abroad the fictitious narratives of these impostors: I do not here determine by what motives such Catholics are led. Just as it happened a few years ago, as Your Holiness may remember, when the clergy of my diocese were accused of making denunciations from the pulpit by which the people were excited to murder the landlords, albeit no such denunciations ever took place, nor was a single murder of the kind committed at any time under such incitement, nor did any public disturbance of any kind ever occur in this diocese; even so now, amid the cruel persecution with which our people are assailed, wherever there exists dire distress, or wherever in the adjacent districts, on account of this distress, anybody falls away from

the Church, it is forthwith bruited abroad that the apostate belongs to the diocese of Tuam.

“This is so true that when several persons went over to the Protestants in the parish of Oughterard, in the diocese of Galway, of which parish the present President of the Queen’s Colleges, Galway, had been rector, although the apostates returned soon afterward to the fold,—they were reported even by our Catholic journals as belonging to the archdiocese of Tuam!

“Although our enemies are said to propagate their errors everywhere, the whole of my diocese, if you except six or ¹ seven parishes, has escaped their misguided zeal. These six or seven parishes, which are more exposed to the peril than the others, have been twice visited by me in the course of the last twelvemonth, being everywhere attended by a numerous staff of priests, and preaching the word of God and administering the holy sacraments.

“I can, therefore, speak as an eye-witness, who has visited the localities and himself examined and ascertained everything. I can confidently assert that few, few indeed, if any, are the fathers or mothers among our Catholic populations who have gone over to the Protestants, even in these exposed districts. I say this of the Catholic populations,—because, of late, the Protestant gentry have been seized with such a rage of evicting the native farmer-tenants and of tearing down their cabins, that these had no alternative but to emigrate. In place of these numerous tenants a few Protestant strangers were brought in from England and Scotland, together with their assistants. . . . These very strangers, nevertheless, were counted among those who were proclaimed to be the first fruits of the ‘New Reformation,’ as they call it!

“In order that I may omit nothing, but rather openly and candidly state everything, I must say that there were some boys, generally orphans, the children of parents who had perished of hunger, or who, driven from their holdings, were obliged to take refuge in the poor-houses, and were thence

¹ Only in two parishes, in reality, was any ill effect produced.

expelled by the avarice, the cruelty, and the religious fanaticism of the local landlords. These landlords are unwilling, in the first place, to be taxed for the support of these paupers, and, in the next place, by driving these wretched creatures from the poor-house, they made them an easy prey to those who were lying in wait for their souls. In this desperate extremity, a few of these poor young things were led to frequent for a time the Protestant schools in order to obtain needed food and raiment.

“ But of the young children thus thrown in the jaws of danger, I had the consolation, while in the above-mentioned localities, to bring back several to the fold, to confirm them in the faith, to place them in Catholic schools, and to pay good teachers for instructing them.

“ Such were the fruits of my first visitation of these parishes during last Eastertide. As to my second visitation, in the autumn, and to the mission which then was held, their fruits were still more plentiful. I was enabled to hope that, with the favorable harvest, every trace of the temporary falling away from the faith would disappear entirely. And this hope has since been in a very great measure realized.

“ Moreover, while visiting these exposed parishes during the month of September last, I made it a point to distribute as many good books as possible, especially catechisms in the Irish and English tongues, together with beads indulgenced in conformity with the faculties granted me by Your Holiness, and which our people were most eager to obtain.

“ It could not, therefore, but fill me with wonder that, during the brief interval between my two visitations, such a sad change could be believed to be possible, or that the enemy of souls could so promptly and so abundantly scatter his tares among my wheat, that any sane person could, without a violation of the truth, represent to Your Holiness that many of my diocesans had apostatized from the faith!

“ I am well aware that it is an old habit with the professed patrons of Mixed Education and the National



Scene from Cloonacartin Hill

(Connemara.)

Schools to deal in these calumnious reports, and to assert that these pretended apostasies come from the absence of these same schools in the localities mentioned as belonging to my diocese.

"But there is no such lack of schools in my diocese as these persons persist in affirming. I confess that I have not as many National Schools as are to be found in other dioceses. The reason of this is, that from the beginning I judged the principle of mixed education on which these schools are founded to be one replete with danger, and I, therefore, did not encourage the establishment of such schools.

"Yet, although I make it a point to recommend in an especial manner the opening of purely Catholic schools, I do not indiscriminately forbid the introduction of the others. I merely admonish my priests to watch carefully over them, so that the conditions enjoined by the Apostolic See be complied with, and the dangers inherent in them carefully guarded against.

"That these National Schools are not without danger, I have again learned from a recent occurrence. A Catholic teacher in one of these schools, which was attended by our children, apostatized openly. This change of religion did not cause the dismissal of the teacher, although the Board of Commissioners of National Education counts some Catholic members, who, unable as they are to remove such a man, thereby seem, unwillingly, I grant it, to place a snare in the path of our Catholic children.

"The National Schools have, it is true, certain desirable advantages. But these are only granted on such hard conditions, that our priests complain that they cannot put up these schools without violating the conditions imposed by the Holy See in order to make them safe for Catholic children.

"Indeed, a sad experience has now taught us what a slender protection these same schools afford us against the fraudulent devices of the enemies of our faith. These display their bitter hostility not only where the National

Schools are flourishing, but where they do not exist. Nowhere have the teachers of false doctrine obtained a stronger foothold than in the diocese of Kerry, where there is such an abundance of National Schools.

“In the city of Dublin, which is the cradle and nursery of the National System, there are more non-Catholic schools than in any other diocese, and, as is well known, these schools, in spite of the zealous efforts of the clergy, are frequented by Catholic children of both sexes. I do not say this of any locality either to cast any blame on the piety of the people, or to lessen the good name of the clergy for zeal in supporting their religion. I only want to be impartially just toward all.

“The danger to the Catholic faith, as it is manifest, does not arise either from the lack of National Schools or from their abundance: these schools are two-faced, smiling with equal favor on Catholics and on Protestants.

“The danger comes from the extreme poverty of our people, who during these dreadful times have been put out of their holdings, through the fraudulent arts of those who are bent on perverting them. These poor ones only yield to temptation when extreme hunger presses them; when hunger no longer urges, they return, weeping and sorrowing, to the bosom of the Church.

“As to the diocese of Tuam, there are there other schools (besides the National) namely, those of the Tertiary Brothers of St. Francis; we have also the schools of the Christian Brothers. Of the Franciscan Brothers there are in the diocese eleven monasteries (with as many schools) some of these being established in the localities where the faith is most exposed; these have been nearly all founded during the last few years. They are a most precious resource to religion and a great comfort to the clergy. Of late also the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of the Presentation have been called into the principal towns; both Orders have houses in Tuam, and are the fruits of our latest progress.

“The clergy have had a yearly retreat, except during

these latter times of famine and sickness, when it was impossible to have the clergy attend a retreat without exposing the famishing and fever-stricken people to die without the sacraments. So exhausted were our priests by their uninterrupted labors in visiting and comforting their perishing flocks, that we lost eleven priests in a single year! In future, this sad necessity ceasing, this holy custom of annual retreats shall be renewed.¹

"As to parochial missions, I have always considered it to be so fruitful of good, that, while I am writing this letter, the missionaries are occupied in their holy work in a remote parish, where there was a special local need of their presence. Similar missions are to be given in the other parishes.

"I have thought proper, Most Holy Father, to write all this at full length, in order to satisfy my conscience and show my obedience and my submission towards Your Holiness. I could add to this other details, which would place in greater evidence the wretched condition of our poor, while showing at the same time how attached they are to the Roman Catholic faith, and how zealously our priests guard their flocks from evil. But I should rather prefer to return to this subject, and to inform Your Holiness from time to time of the state of religion in this diocese, than to fatigue you by a single or rare protracted account.

"Accept, I pray you, Most Holy Father, this incomplete letter, and forgive any defects which may appear unbecoming the humility of my office or the majesty of Yours.

"Kneeling at the feet of Your Holiness, I wish to profess towards the Apostolic See and Your Person the utmost obedience, reverence, and love, and to implore Your Apostolic benediction.

† JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.²

"TUAM, January 23th, 1853."

Though refuted here so peremptorily, these same charges

¹ Annual retreats for the clergy were an old and regular custom in the diocese of Tuam, as is evident from the published statutes of the diocese.

² From the Latin Copy in the MAC HALE MSS.

will be repeated again, and again, and again, down to the very last years of the Archbishop's life. And the shame of these stereotyped calumnies is not to be entirely traced to non-Catholic slanderers, but to Catholics,—to men who, from their character and position, should have been the first to give the lie to the slander, but who found it their interest to revive it whenever it had been for a while laid or forgotten.

Thus, while the Archbishop and his priests, together with the missionaries whom they had called to their aid, were working day and night to repair among the populations of the West the disasters wrought by the Famine and the proselytizers,—others, in Rome, were laboring to ruin the reputation and influence of both the Archbishop and his clergy with the Holy Father. Of the evil impression produced by these unscrupulous intriguers, the first intimation was given by Dr. Kirby, the rector of the Irish College in Rome. Writing to the Archbishop of Tuam about the 8th or 9th of January, 1853, Dr. Kirby says:—

“Having had the honor of speaking to His Holiness on the last day of the old year, I mentioned to him that your Grace had requested two bodies of missionaries to give retreats in the diocese. This news pleased him very much. But I am sorry to tell your Grace that the Holy Father and the Sacred Congregation have felt very sore for some time on this and other points. I would have written to your Grace on the subject, but for the extreme reluctance I felt to communicate what I feared would be disagreeable intelligence to your Grace, whom I so highly honor and esteem.”¹

This letter evidently reached Tuam before the missive of the Archbishop of Edessa conveying the complaints of the Holy Father. Dr. Mac Hale, surprised and indignant, at once wrote, on January 21st, two days before the date of the preceding letter to the Holy Father. “On the subject of the efforts to pervert the people,” he writes to Dr. Kirby, “I hope I had sufficiently satisfied the Sacred Congregation.

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

In the worst of times their (the proselytizers') success was grossly exaggerated. Since, thank God, the evil is, through the zeal of the clergy and people, so fast disappearing, that I trust there will not be a vestige of it left by the end of this year.

"I really do not understand your letter regarding the sources of the soreness of the Sacred Congregation. I am not conscious of giving cause to such a feeling. Nothing would grieve me more than that the Holy Father or the Sacred Congregation should be made so to feel on any subject connected with this diocese by any strange misrepresentation. It only shows me the necessity of rendering those communications, which I never neglected to hold with them, still more intimate and frequent, in order to guard them against the misrepresentations of those who are ever busy in endeavoring to excite prejudices against Irish ecclesiastics most devoted to the Holy See and the discharge of their spiritual duties.

"I beg to enclose a copy of the last Pastoral which I have issued, and which I should not trouble you with, were it not for its connection with a part of your letter." ¹

This answer to Dr. Kirby reached Rome before the letter of January 23d, addressed to the Holy Father, could find its way to him.

"I am most happy," Dr. Kirby replies on February 24th, "to acquaint your Grace that the sentiments contained in your Pastoral have been most gratifying not only to the authorities in the Propaganda, but to the Holy Father himself, to whom I had the honor of explaining the circumstances. He is consoled to see Your Grace not merely denouncing on paper, but assailing by the heavy artillery of the Church,—the sacred missions,—the shameless and prowling wolves who prowl around the fold to devour and destroy the most helpless and needy of the flock.

"His Holiness felt indeed most anxious on the subject. For he is thoroughly informed not only of what is done by the enemies of the Church in Tuam, but through all Ire-

¹ From the autograph copy, MAC HAILE MSS.

land. . . Your grace can have no idea of the feelings of His Holiness on this subject. . . It was really a pain to myself to see how anxious he was, whenever business brought me to his presence. Hence your Grace can guess what relief and gratification it afforded me to make the communication to His Holiness which your letter put me in possession of.

"It may not be amiss, however, to mention to your Grace that he told me he had written to you *in forma Brevis*, and that up to that date you had not answered him. He received the long letter sent through Propaganda by your Grace; but he complained that his own Brief remained unanswered."¹

The manifold press of business which the Archbishop had to face at this period, and the prostration which was the forerunner of a serious illness, caused him to defer the further answer to the Brief of Pius IX.

At length, on March 5, probably on the receipt of Dr. Kirby's last letter, the Archbishop sat down to write to His Holiness.

"Most Holy Father," he says, "in the letter which I addressed to Your Holiness last January, and in which, as in duty bound, I humbly endeavored to satisfy you on every point mentioned in the honored Brief of October last, I nevertheless, I regret to say, omitted to explain to your Holiness not only how Your letter was left without an answer, but how its existence remained so long unknown to me.

"It very rarely happens that Roman letters bearing the postmark of Rome are not received safely; and, in so far as I am concerned, that they are not duly and promptly answered. This is well known to their Eminences and the Most Reverend high officials of the Roman Church: they can attest, that during the course of a good many years I never failed to send a speedy and respectful answer to every business letter which they did me the honor to write to me occasionally.

"If I always made it both a duty and a pleasure to thus

¹ Autograph copy, MAC HALE MSS.



Garramin. — Connemara.

answer those who hold from Your Holiness their functions and authority, how much more would the love and reverence as well as the gratitude which I cherish for you, Most Holy Father, prompt me to obey any and every order of Yours, whether delivered by word of mouth or in writing, —by You, the Prince of bishops, who are Peter in authority, Christ in your priestly unction, who are alone the shepherd not only of all the fold but of all its shepherds?

“The letter of Your Holiness came to me in an English envelope, with an address in English, from an English hand, and bearing an English postmark and stamps, as if it were simply a missive coming from England. It was in size and form not unlike so many documents sent hither, all filled with revilings of our holy religion. When we divine the purport of these missives, or are apprized beforehand of their contents by the public papers, we do not take even the trouble to open them, and there they lie till carried away among the waste-paper.

“This, I am ashamed to say it, was what very nearly happened to the parcel containing the Brief. Because of its English envelope and supposed origin and character, it lay a long time among my waste-papers, until I opened it by chance, and was confounded by the sight of Your Holiness’s Brief. Surely, had I discovered it earlier, it should have received an instant and most respectful answer.

“Scarcely, if ever, in the whole course of my life, did I feel so anxious and embarrassed. I did not know what excuse to make for the unfortunate delay to the August Person to whom no ordinary reason could plead as an excuse. Nevertheless, I now feel that I should, in my last letter, have made explicit mention of the Brief, and have related this untoward delay just as it happened. Now nothing remains for me but most humbly to ask pardon for the omission: it was, in the first instance, due not to culpable neglect, but to a mere accident, and then it was aggravated by a mistaken feeling of respect.

“But although I did put off this explanation, I did not delay for a moment to comply with every one of the pre-

scriptions which the Letter contained, both with regard to missions and to the collections for new schools, and which our people's poverty necessarily renders very modest.

"It will be most grateful to Your Holiness to learn that already we have gathered abundant fruits from these missions, and that the missionaries can themselves bear most convincing testimony to the utter absence of truth in all that has been shamelessly reported about the perversion of my diocesans.

"In the letter of farewell which the missionaries addressed to the parishioners before leaving them, there is a passage which I must here quote:—

"‘During all the time that we labored among you,’ they say, ‘the consolation and edification which you gave us are such as we cannot find words to express: the zeal and fervor shown by you to attend all the exercises, amid storm and rain, morning, noon, and evening, through a whole fortnight, kept the church full to overflowing with a dense throng, who listened with absorbed attention to the instructions, and who awaited around the confessionals three and four days in succession, with a most wonderful patience, their turn to get to confession;—the zealous clergy of the neighboring parishes giving unwearied help to the missionaries.

"The enemies of the Catholic faith did not blush to write and publish that the parish of Clifden (where the mission was held) had nearly all become Protestant, and that the population of Connemara was about to renounce their ancient creed. Nay, some Catholics, imposed upon by the fraudulent artifices of these men, were induced to believe their assertions. These wretched and contemptible falsehoods, which are mere bids for more money, are refuted by the dense throngs who flock to the missions, while the most violent means used to fill the Protestant conventicles only result in drawing a mere handful of attendants, among whom are stipendiary officers, who would lose their pay if they dared to be absent. . . .

"‘In one word, we can say that in no part of Ireland did

we meet with a more living faith and greater fervor than in Connemara.'

"Thus do the missionaries write about the locality and the population of whom Protestants and even Catholics asserted that they had fallen away from the faith. Were the missionaries' letter not so long, it would be well worth while to quote it in its entirety.

"One matter only in the letter of Your Holiness remained to be answered, but which, for fear of wearying you, I passed over in my last letter, with a promise soon to return to the subject. This relates to a certain letter of mine published in *Galighani's Messenger* in last September. As I do not receive that paper, I cannot speak as to the genuineness of the letter itself. But, inasmuch as about the time mentioned I did publish a letter, and as it rarely happens that newspapers will place proper names after such writing, unless they are authentic, I do not doubt but the letter in *Galighani* is really mine.

"Had Your Holiness been able yourself to see and peruse this letter, and had it displeased you, this would be enough for me. I should keep silent on it without uttering a single word, as it is my rule, if a word escapes my lips or my pen unacceptable to Your Holiness, to hold it for not said or written.

"But I do not trust the reports of persons, who take no account of the circumstances in which we are placed, who censure expressions, writings, and actions which do not conform with their own private standard.

"In writing the letter in question, I thought I was only fulfilling a duty, that, namely, to protect the flock entrusted to me by the Apostolic See from the frauds of their enemies, and to expose the falsehoods by which they deceive the English people and induce them to supply them with money.

"As the Protestant Church is the source and origin of the spiritual evils, the loss of faith, etc., to which the faithful here are exposed, and as the ministers of this established Church make use of the property of which they have despoiled the Catholic Church in persecuting, in a scarcely dis-

sembled form, our poor people, I do not deny that I did not hesitate to allow my pen to lash the persecutors vigorously, though not at all as their merits deserve, for it is from the Anglican heresy that all our misery springs.

"My silence, in the midst of the outpouring of calumnies and falsehoods mentioned by the missionaries, all going to proclaim that our people had apostatized, scandalized many; and about a month after the appearance of my letter, I received congratulations from the Catholics of America, who rejoiced that I had at length undertaken to lay bare the falsehoods propagated by the enemies of our faith about their pretended conquests in the diocese of Tuam.

"Insults and outrages directed against myself, and of which there is a superabundance occasionally in the public papers, I can bear and overlook patiently. But Truth and Justice must be vindicated. Nor can I bear with equanimity that entire Catholic populations, most attached to the faith of their Catholic ancestors, who have endured hunger, thirst, and starvation, rather than abandon their religion, that these, I say, should be represented as a host of traitors to that faith dearer to them than life, by the widely-circulated press, without my raising my voice in refutation of the slander,—while, however, not overstepping the bounds of moderation.

"This moderation I did not wish to violate.

"I beseech Our Lord long to preserve Your Holiness for the honor and security of our religion; and kneeling at Your feet, as a most devoted son and most humble servant, I ask the Apostolic Benediction."¹

He had not, then, even while laboring so arduously for the national cause, which, after all, was the cause of the poor, neglected to look after his own immediate flock. His answers to Pius IX. and Cardinal Franson, as well as the letters published in the "*Freeman's Journal*," must have convinced the reader of this. And yet, there are other, and no less convincing evidences of the Archbishop's pastoral zeal afforded by the annals of these troublous years.

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

We have seen that Dr. Mac Hale was one of the first, if not the very first, to suggest the idea of holding the National Council of Thurles; he certainly was foremost in his zeal to promote the holding of that great assemblage.

Nor was he less zealous as an advocate of provincial synods. And, as soon as the terrible effects of the great famine of 1846-'49 had begun to press less heavily on the Catholic populations of Ireland, one of the Archbishop's first cares was to prepare all things for a provincial synod in Connaught. This care could not be thrust aside even by the "Great Clearances" which followed the years of famine, or by the earnest struggles for Tenant Right, Religious Liberty, and an incorruptible representation in Parliament.

Even while sustaining the courage of the nation after the Keogh-Sadleir betrayal, the Archbishop was getting all things in readiness for the Provincial Synod held in Tuam in 1854.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE BISHOPS OF CONNAUGHT IN PROVINCIAL COUNCIL AT
TUAM.

1854 and 1858.

*The Archbishop's Pastoral Zeal Vindicated by the Records of
his See.*

IT seems a strange mockery of truth and justice, that while the Archbishop of Tuam, beset as he and his suffragan bishops were by difficulties and trials which recall the desolation of the Christian provinces of Spain, of Northern Africa, and Western Asia, when the first Mohammedan hordes were let loose on them, the conspirators in Ireland and Rome should represent Dr. Mac Hale as not doing what he had ever been so zealous to accomplish, or as doing what was so foreign to his nature, and so far from his intention to do.

It is well, while glancing at the part which the Archbishop of Tuam played in 1854, and in the years immediately preceding and following, as the undaunted defender and advocate of the Irish people's rights and liberties, to consider how well he fulfilled all his duties as bishop and metropolitan, as the ecclesiastical head and spiritual parent of that sadly desolated Connaught confided to his care.

It could not have escaped his detractors that in the first months of 1854 the Archbishop had announced his intention of assembling the provincial prelates and clergy in council, to perfect still more the measures taken in the provincial synod held in Tuam in 1848. These, amid the ruin caused by the preceding years of famine and pestilence, and with the horrors of starvation and sickness, with the despair begotten by the wholesale evictions carried out in the West,



Lough Ina.
(Connemara.)

were only measures of precaution such as the master of a half-disabled vessel in mid-ocean takes in the first lull of the storm, when the cyclone has only spent a portion of its strength, and is about to assail vessel and crew with three-fold violence. The acts of the synod held in 1848 did not, under the circumstances both of Ireland and of the Holy See itself, fearfully assailed by the Mazzini conspirators, receive the consideration of the Roman authorities. The cardinals were dispersed at the time, and the Pope in exile at Gaëta.

In 1854, the outlook was more promising. On the 1st of March, the Archbishop of Tuam issued to his suffragans the letter of convocation.

“Though the custom which obtained in ancient times,” he says, “of holding provincial councils, has suffered a long interruption, at least in this country, because of the bitter times and cruel persecutions through which we had to pass; we nevertheless have cherished a fond hope of reviving the practice and of keeping it up in future, to the great benefit of religion. It seems befitting that the vigor of the sacred canons, weakened and decayed by the overwhelming misfortunes of another age, should be gradually restored, whenever, under the blessing of Providence, the Church should be able to assert her own liberty.

“Since, therefore, it has been decreed by the sacred (Ecumenical Council of Trent, that the holding of provincial councils should be renewed wherever it has been omitted, for the regulation of morals, the correction of excesses, the allaying of disputes, and for other matters sanctioned by the canons; and since metropolitans, at least every three years, should not fail to convene a council, each in his province, at which all bishops and others who by right or custom should assist thereat are bound to be present: We, mindful of the duty commended to us by a sanction so venerable, to the greater glory of God and the benefit of the churches of this our whole province of Tuam, hereby proclaim a provincial synod to be celebrated in our metropolitan church, and we order and decree that the same shall

be begun on the fifteenth day of August next, namely, on the feast of the Assumption into heaven of the Most Blessed and Immaculate Virgin Mary, Mother of God, to be continued during the following days.

“Wherefore, we exhort and by our archiepiscopal authority we notify our Right Reverend Brothers in Christ, the bishops of this our province, to attend the synod on the day aforesaid, unless prevented by necessity or some other just cause, which they must declare and prove in accordance with the prescriptions of the Canons.

“In this our council we shall treat of what relates to the integrity and security of the Catholic faith, to the majesty of divine worship, the administration of the sacraments, to clerical discipline, and the morals of the faithful. And as in tender youth the souls of children are formed to piety by Christian education, we shall also treat of seminaries and all other institutions whatever destined for the training of youth, in order that all the methods judged to be the most efficacious shall be chosen, so that from them may go forth young people supplied with scientific knowledge, cultivated in the arts and letters, and deeply imbued with religious sentiment.

“With all these subjects we shall deal in the synod, as well as with what relates to uniformity of discipline, in so far as it may be judged timely by the Fathers.”¹

To judge of the earnestness and thoroughness with which the Archbishop set about carrying out his purpose, we have only to look into the printed *Acts* of the second Provincial Council of Tuam. Between the issuing of the letter of convocation and the opening of the synod itself, five and a half months later, the Archbishop's time, energy, and forbearance were sorely tested. Warnings came to him about the damaging rumors set afloat in Rome; but they moved but little, if at all, a man conscious of his own absolute and entire devotion to duty. Events were happening in connection with the Tenant-Right movement and the persecution carried on against the priests who were foremost in

¹ *Acta et Decreta Conc. Tuamensis.*, pp. 15-17.

helping forward this cause, that seemed to call for his interference. But, true to the rule he had set himself of never interfering between bishop and priest even in his own province, save when appealed to and obliged to fulfil a canonical duty, no word or act of his brought him into conflict with the other metropolitans and bishops. Still, he felt that a strange and uncalled for rigor began to be exercised toward clergymen for acts in themselves perfectly justified both by the civil constitution, the laws of the Church, and the customs hitherto prevailing in Ireland.

He looked to Rome to protect innocent priests from injustice and the arbitrary will of their superiors; and he felt confident of being able to outlive the misrepresentation and slanders of his own enemies, as well as the treason of whilom friends and false brethren.

We shall have to mention some of these. But Dr. Mac Hale behaved, all through the spring and summer of 1854, as if not an echo of what was so loudly said and even openly done to his prejudice ever reached him. His nephew, the Very Reverend Thomas Mac Hale, D.D., when his duties as professor in the Irish College, Paris, permitted him to be absent, was summoned to Tuam, where he gave all the benefit of his ripe learning as a theologian, a canonist, and a Latin scholar, to aid in preparing the matters to be submitted to the judgment of the assembled prelates, and in giving to the synodal Acts the form required by canon law.

On the 15th of August the Provincial Council was solemnly opened. It was the most imposing spectacle beheld till then in the City of St. Jarlath.

The Archbishop himself delivered the opening sermon, at the solemn Pontifical Mass celebrated by the Bishop of Killala. It is one of the best pulpit discourses ever delivered by Dr. Mac Hale. His quotation from Pope St. Celestine, who sent St. Patrick to Ireland, was singularly appropriate.

He took for his text the words of St. Matthew xviii. 20, "For where there are two or three gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them."

"We cannot," the preacher said, "more appropriately open the solemn council on this great Festival of the Assumption of Our Blessed Lady, than in the language of our Divine Redeemer, which St. Celestine ¹ addressed to the bishops some fourteen hundred years ago, when convoking the Council of Ephesus.

"The presence of the Holy Ghost, observes the pious Pontiff, is attested by the numerous assemblage of his anointed priesthood. For, if the presence of the Holy Spirit be not wanting when only two or three are assembled in Our Saviour's name, how much more safely can we calculate on His presence and protection, when those are assembled in His name, and in greater numbers, with whom, through the Apostles, He has promised to abide to the end of time, teaching the things which He has commanded, and dispensing the graces of the sacraments which He has instituted.

"Never, continues the holy Pope, was Christ, whom they were commanded to preach, wanting in sustaining the doctrine of His own preachers, whether it was promulgated by the Apostles themselves, or by those to whom their divine commission had descended.

"It was not enough that the Apostles went forth casting the seed of sound doctrine and watering it abundantly with their blood. It was further necessary that this seed should be fostered and preserved; and the care of its cultivation and protection to the end of time devolves in a special manner upon all those who, notwithstanding the diversity of places over which they may be scattered, are bound, by their joint solicitude and labor to transmit in its integrity to others the rich treasure which has reached them through the series of their apostolical predecessors.

"It is to fulfil our portion of this common duty that we are assembled here on this occasion—bishops, priests, and

¹ St. Celestine I. was Pope from 423 to 435. His Legates presided at the Council of Ephesus, where Nestorius, who denied the divinity of Jesus, the Son of the Virgin Mary, was condemned, and Mary was solemnly declared to be the Mother of God. It was also from him that St. Patrick received his mission to Ireland.

people—in the name and to the glory of our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, relying firmly on His own promises, that He will vouchsafe to us His divine assistance, and that He will not fail to listen to the prayers of the assembled thousands of the people, ascending to the Throne of Mercy to bring down on our deliberations the blessings of Heaven.”¹

“If the Apostles have been justly considered fishermen in gaining countries to the Church, and if the Fathers I have alluded to have been likened to courageous combatants in protecting the faith, well might St. Celestine be entitled to the praise of both. For while he preserved the East from a heresy that was aimed against the Blessed Mother of God, he swept the Western seas with the nets of the fishermen, and brought our own nation from their depths into the bosom of the Catholic Church.

“Never had a more precious gem been yet drawn from the ocean bed; for since it caught the first gleam of the faith which set forth its richness and beauty, that supernal light has not departed from it. No matter how thick the surrounding darkness, it could not dim its lustre.

“It is not that the faith of our people has not been tried by the most fearful ordeals. . . It was a contest for life or death, for the light of faith or the darkness of infidelity. Like the serpent which leaves its body without defence when its head is in danger, the Irish people cheerfully sacrificed their bodies, their lands, their immunities,—nay, more,—all the material interests of their Church, to preserve their connection with Rome, the Head of Christianity. What is most painful to a sensitive and intellectual people, they bore the forced privation of literature and science, in order to save the rich jewel of their faith,—that pearl with which neither the wealth nor the wisdom of the world could be put in competition.

“In other countries even successful assaults upon religion were of short duration. In some the same voice which announced the approach of the aggressor was the harbinger

¹ Sermons and Discourses by the Most Rev. John Mac Hale, D.D., pp. 420, 421.

of his triumph: the faith and courage of the vanquished sank at once, without an effort to rise from under the first tide of barbarous conquest that passed over them.¹

“It was no wonder if, during such a protracted contest, . . . several of these mighty men who were appointed to surround Sion and encompass its walls should have gradually disappeared. It is no wonder if our churches were then defaced; if their towers had fallen; if our sanctuaries were left desolate; if our Sabbaths were made a reproach, and our festivals turned into mourning; if our temples became as a man without honor; and if the vessels of their glory were carried away captive.

“Then were literally fulfilled the words of our Redeemer: ‘The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air nests; but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head.’ Then was He again forced to fly into the desert, not from fear that the multitude might proclaim Him king, but from fear that His followers should be subjected to the tragic execution acted on Calvary. . . .”

The Archbishop and bishops of Connaught, after the seven long years of fearful trial,—not unmixed with the bitterness of open religious persecution, which had just desolated their province and thrice decimated their flocks, could not but feel how apt and true was every detail of the historic picture thus held up to their view. The preacher then asks:—

“And why do I dwell with such marked and special emphasis on these two periods of our history, when our bishops residing in Ireland were so few, and barely sufficient, by the imposition of their hands, enfeebled by age and embrowned by labor, to propagate the ministry of the priesthood? When they were obliged, like St. Athanasius, to snatch a hasty sight of their flocks, and then to fly? to fly, perhaps, in order to found, perhaps,—as our own Archbishop Florence McConry founded the University of Louvain,—colleges in foreign lands, from which the exiled youth of Ireland might bring home the sacred fire of re-

¹ This applies to the countries conquered by the Mohammedans.

ligion and learning, to scatter it among a people chilled and almost benumbed to death by the cold and creeping influence of heresy?....

"I do it to bear solemn and authentic testimony to the singular merits of such a nation, and to animate, by recalling the devotedness of their predecessors, the faith of the children who have succeeded such a religious race. I do it to carry out the spirit of my text,—to show that the Holy Ghost resides among those who are truly gathered together in His name, not only actively and infallibly guiding the teachers of God's Church, but infallibly guiding their flocks also, and making their docile hearts the depositories of His truth and graces, even when they may be for a short time, from some necessity, deprived of the care of their pastors.

"I do it to show, on opening this council, how great is our reliance on the prayers of all the faithful who are here assembled in the name of our Divine Redeemer."'

We have already mentioned, in the preceding volume, the decrees enacted in this synod, and sanctioned by the Holy See, in favor of separate schools for Catholic children.

The other decrees, all pertaining to ecclesiastical discipline, the security of the Catholic faith, the splendor and decency of public worship, the administration of the sacraments, the careful instruction of their flocks by the local pastors, the fostering of living faith and piety in the souls of the people, the establishment of seminaries in each diocese not only for the early training of candidates for the priesthood, but for the thorough education in letters, sciences, and piety of the sons of Catholic families,—these are only a few of the matters with which the Acts deal.

Clergymen are specially forbidden, in conformity with the general canon-law, to mix themselves up with secular affairs. They are not business men, devoted to commercial or industrial pursuits. They should not therefore frequent fairs for the purpose of trading. They are, in like manner, prohibited from getting mixed up in law-suits, even as wit-

¹ *Sermons and Discourses*, etc.

nesses. When compelled by necessity to appear either as principals or witnesses in a suit, they are bound, previously, to obtain their bishop's permission, and to explain to him the whole matter in dispute. In no case, without consulting with the bishop, can they become responsible for the pecuniary obligations of others, or pledge themselves for the performance of contracts.

The bishops in their respective dioceses are strictly to insist on the residence of the local pastors. They are carefully to examine the reasons for granting leave of absence; and such leave must be so limited as to make abuse impossible.

Regular priests and members of monastic orders must be held to the strict observance of their Rule. Except when employed in giving missions, they are not to be absent from their respective convents for more than three days at a time.¹

One decree, the 22d, deserves special mention; it is as follows: "Whereas both justice and piety require that priests should not be left exposed to want, when exhausted by old age or broken down by the labors of the holy ministry, we order that a hospice shall be erected as soon as possible for their relief; that it be governed by the united councils and authority of the bishops of the province; and that it be supported by the common gifts and collections of the clergy and people of the entire province."

These Acts, drawn up and subscribed by Very Rev. Thomas Mac Hale, D.D., were approved by the Congregation of Propaganda and by the Pope on the 18th of March, 1855; and one passage from the commendatory letter of the Cardinal Prefect says:—

"Their Eminences (the Cardinals, members of the Congregation) found in the Decrees many things deserving of special praise,—and most especially the provision made for erecting a hospice in favor of priests broken down by age or infirmity; and they hold it for certain that the diligent observance of the National Synod of Thurles, and that of

¹ *Acta Conc. Secundi Provinciæ Tuamensis*, pp. 15 seq.

this synod, in accordance with the terms of approbation, shall produce abundant fruits in the Province of Tuam."¹

The Third Provincial Council of Tuam was held in August, 1858,—the preparatory session taking place on the 9th of that month, and the solemn inauguration on the 10th, the Feast of St. Lawrence, Martyr. The Archbishop celebrated the Pontifical Mass and preached the opening sermon. It is stamped with his usual characteristics,—solidity of doctrines, broadness of view; the historical lights of the past concentrated on present circumstances and needs, so as to carry the minds and hearts of his hearers along with him, as he seems to paint the living present under the features of the long-buried past. And then there is the warm glow of patriotism and piety throughout, enabling the successor of St. Jarlath to make the Connaught folk of 1858 feel that they were the lawful heirs of that rich treasury of faith which Patrick brought from the Rome of the Apostles, and which the bishops he appointed and their heroic successors had guarded with such marvelous constancy. "Pass not beyond the ancient bounds which thy fathers have set."² The discourse is but the development of this practical maxim of ancient and inspired wisdom.

"It is this reverence for ancient usage, this zeal for the traditional doctrines once delivered to the Saints, this solicitude for walking in the same paths in which our holy predecessors have trodden;—yes, this sensitive apprehension of disturbing with rash and irreverent hands those striking landmarks of doctrine and discipline and jurisdiction which stand out before us in our retrospect of the past: it is, in short, all this, forming a feeling analogous to *a sense of an awful trust*, that swayed so powerfully the greatest of our predecessors, and enabled them to hand down to us the precious DEPOSIT which it is our duty to transmit with a like fidelity to after generations.

"It is on the peculiar nature of this DEPOSIT, and on the most effectual method to preserve and perpetuate it in its integrity, I now purpose to engage your attention."³

¹ Acta, Conc. II. Prov. Tuam., p. 34.

² Proverbs xxii. 28.

³ Sermons and Discourses. pp. 434. 435.

Contrasting the end of secular and civil society with that of the Divine and Universal society, called the Church, the Archbishop shows how the aim of the civil ruler is "to provide for the growing wants of a society that is ever changing," while "a wide latitude is allowed to secular legislators in the enactment of their laws, as well as in the discussion of the principles of public well-being on which such laws may be founded.

"Not so ecclesiastics: they have laid before them a model from which they are not permitted to depart."

While civil society pursues what it calls the necessity of the laws of intellectual and material progress, "the Church . . . silently pursues its majestic mission of guarding the treasure of divine truth which Heaven has entrusted to her keeping, and views the most brilliant discoveries in nature as but so many faint reflections of the Eternal Word, the Uncreated Wisdom. . . .

"The course of the Church is altogether distinct from that which reason is pursuing in such material discoveries; not less distinct are the laws by which their respective functions are guided.

"The Church was founded by our Divine Redeemer to conduct man to heaven, at a time when human reason, exhausted by fruitless efforts to teach man his origin, his duties, or his end, was obliged to acknowledge its utter incapacity for the performance of so arduous a work. . . .

"Our religion, then, being a code of laws, and precepts, and counsels, not discovered by reason, but revealed by Our Redeemer, its perfection consists in its being transmitted pure as it was received. . . . The duty of transmitting it must be performed by those to whom it has been intrusted.

"We should,' says St. Irenæus, 'hear those ancients in the Church who derive their succession from the Apostles, and who, according to the will of the Father, inherit the gift of truth with the succession of the episcopacy.'

"In order, then, that we should not cross the ancient boundaries of the true faith, . . . we have only to consult those who, by virtue of their episcopal succession, derived

their doctrines from the churches which the Apostles had founded and taught." ¹

Hence the practice of councils from the earliest times ; several bishops meeting occasionally together to collect the traditions of their respective churches, and to impress the seal of their authority on the sacred treasures of divine doctrine. . . .

Hence, too, ever since the Council of Jerusalem, the constant solicitude of the Church for the due celebration of ecclesiastical synods.

As to the object of these assemblies, they were "the protection of the faith against error, or the vindication of discipline against abuses. The beauty of God's house, the majesty of divine worship, the decent uniformity of the ceremonies in the administration of the sacraments, the diffusion of a Christian education, the protection of cloistered monastic life, were the subjects to which the assembled bishops most generally turned their attention.

"Nor were the occasions rare when the remonstrances of these assemblies were raised against the oppressors of the poor, and the despoilers of God's temple, but oftener against those insidious foes who, in every age of the Church, labor to subject its ministers to the influence of a secular policy, and to crush that evangelical freedom which the Apostle asserted even in his chains, and which is the soul breathed into it by its Divine Founder, forever preserving it from corruption.

"In the eventful annals of the Church there are not found any chapters more interesting than those that record the struggles of its holy and intrepid pastors against the encroachments by which the civil power sought to make the Church its footstool. And as long as the bishops of any country were both able and willing to meet in council, so long were they able to present a wall of brass, within which the sacred interests of faith and morality and mercy to the poor were guarded.

"The rights of the Church were at length overborne by

¹ Sermons, pp. 435-439.

violence in this struggle. The apostles of peace were stigmatized as the fomentors of discord, the best friends of society were represented as its bitterest foes; their stated assemblies were scattered or suppressed; and, with the discontinuance of those synods, discipline lost much of its force, and the Church was shorn of that eternal beauty derived from the splendid liturgy of its altars.

“Civil order did not long survive the shock which the Church had sustained. . . . If the Church suffered, its sufferings were shared in turn by the powers that inflicted them. . . .

“Since then, . . . a new order of things has sprung up with an amazing rapidity. The first feeling that naturally seized the pastors of the Church, was deep sorrow on witnessing the squalor which covered the face of the sanctuary. . . . They chid their grief and strenuously applied themselves to clearing away the rubbish, to raising the temple, to stimulating the builders. . . .

“It is to assist in seconding a change so consoling, and giving it a fresh impulse, that the venerable prelates of this province are assembled. They come to take counsel together, as inmates of the same household, as members of the same mystical body, as witnesses of the faith which they derive from their predecessors;—as legislators, also, having authority to enact such laws as will appear to them best fitted to guard that faith, with its free and unfettered actions, as well as the pure morality which flows from it. In short, they come together to help each other to walk more securely in the old ways, resolved not to pass themselves, or suffer others to pass, the ancient bounds which have been set by our fathers.”

This brings the preacher to speak in particular of provincial councils. The foregoing remarks were full of pointed allusions to the dangers and necessities of the present state of the Church in Ireland. What remains is no less pregnant with instruction and interest. Dr. Mac Hale could not take up his pen or open his lips in public without shedding light on whatever subject he treated.

“In nothing,” he says, “does the wisdom of the Church shine forth to more advantage than in those provincial councils meeting at stated times, and regulated by settled and canonical usage.

“Faith has no local limits. It is not regulated by the geographical latitude of countries, nor the civil boundaries of kingdoms; and therefore it is fitting that, when obscured or assailed, the different nations of the earth, under the guidance of the Holy Father, should sometimes assemble to illustrate and defend it.”

This is the purpose of general or œcumenical councils.

“The exercise of that tyranny which has so often afflicted the Church, and involved wholē provinces in one common persecution, is generally coördinate or coextensive with the sway of the ruler or government that inflicts it. Therefore is it but right and natural that the prelates of any such nation should take counsel together against a common injustice or a common oppression, which, however different might be their ecclesiastical customs, or however coördinate and independent their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, still . . . equally affects them all. Hence those national councils or assemblies are not of such stated and normal recurrence in the Church as provincial synods, being brought together by a national schism or a national persecution. . .

“Not so with provincial synods: they are of stated recurrence, and, with the high sanction of the Council of Trent, enter into the canonical constitution of the Church.

“No wonder. They are founded on two principles dear to the Church,—the regulated freedom of its local authority, and the uniformity of its local discipline.

“The manners, customs, and languages of nations being so different that they could not be recast into the same mould, and being no obstacle to the profession of the same faith, or the acknowledgment of one authority, or the prevalence of essential discipline, the Church has exercised the wisest forbearance in the permission of very subordinate differences of practice, thus strengthening her au-

thority by winning the attachment of widely different peoples.

“But, that the same people should not be offended or scandalized by a capricious diversity of rites in the midst of them, she has partitioned nations and kingdoms into the smaller division of provinces, consisting of dioceses supposed to be so similiar in habits that the united authority of all could easily establish and maintain among them that perfect uniformity in discipline and religious practice which is the foremost bond of ecclesiastical as well as of civil government.

“Thus we have at once that perfect unity of faith and essential discipline which the supreme authority of One Head is so well calculated to secure, and that difference of subordinate practices, arising from a diversity of local circumstances, which the wisdom of the same authority leaves to the experienced discretion of the local pastors.”¹

From 1854 to 1858, when the Third Provincial Council of Tuam was celebrated,—the Catholic population of Ireland was fearfully reduced by wholesale evictions and by emigration, all who could flying from a land where the laborer either could find no work, or would not be allowed to enjoy the fruits of his own industry or to retain the property created by his hard toil.

It seemed to be the aim of the governing classes to reduce the entire agricultural and working populations of Ireland to the dead level of pauperism, and thus to drive them to the Poor-House and disfranchise them, or to make them as dependent as serfs or slaves on the good will of the proprietary class. They were, in fact, becoming serfs and slaves, without having the protection or fostering care extended by the feudal lord and slave-holder to his menials.

Against this pauperizing process the following declarations of the Third Provincial Council of Tuam courageously protest:—

“1. Among the duties of a pastor we must justly rank the care which he is bound to take of the poor and all

¹ *Sermons, passim.*

other unfortunate persons. The priest is God's minister ; and to him it is said, ' To thee the poor man hath been given up ; to the orphan thou shalt be a helper ; ' and again, ' He hath sent me to preach to the poor, to heal the bruised of heart.' The Council of Trent hath, therefore, reason to say ' that by divine command it is enjoined on all who have charge of souls. . . . to show a fatherly care for the poor and all distressed persons ; ' and the Roman Pontifical, ' Let widows, orphans, and those of tender age (*pupilli*) rejoice to find in thee a most kind pastor and protector. To such as are oppressed be thou a timely defender. . . . But to the oppressors oppose a firm and efficacious resistance.'

" Wherefore priests are bound to succor with all their strength the poor and distressed among their charge.

" 2. Let our priests use the great liberty of speech and action authorized by our civil laws in every subject of the realm for the benefit of the distressed and the poor, *when-ever they can do so without wounding prudence and charity*; let them, as becometh God's ministers stand up as a wall for the House of Israel.

" The unheard of sufferings and persecutions borne by our populations, when with a willing spirit, like the courageous soldiers of Christ, they were stripped of their patrimonial property and of all worldly goods, driven into exile, and suffered death itself,—should impel the ministers of Christ to come to their aid at the needful season and in the most timely manner.

" Nor have these fateful and cruel days altogether passed away. They come back again frequently to fill with grief and the sounds of bitter wailing the lowly dwellings of our faithful people. How often are not our flocks reduced to the direst extremities, expelled cruelly from their poor homes, which are also the homes of every virtue,—while they, the victims, rivaling Job in patient endurance of evil, are heard to say like him: ' God hath given ; God hath taken away ; may His name be blessed and praised.' How often are they forced to bid farewell to parents, friends,

and the land they love so well, and to expose to the most serious perils their baptismal faith, compared to which all treasures of silver and gold are only a handful of sand ; nay, more, deprived in the land of exile of the spiritual helps afforded them at home, they are exposed to the danger,—a danger, alas ! which caused the shipwreck of so many souls,—of forsaking the narrow path leading to salvation for the broad road which leads to perdition !

“ Our eyes look forth daily upon an unchanging scene of woe.

“ Let our priests, then, continue to remedy these evils in so far as they can and may becomingly ; should they be silent under the circumstances here described, they must be numbered among those who are called in the Sacred Scriptures, ‘ blind watchers, . . . silent dogs, that cannot bark.’

“ 3. Let priests show by their labors and their virtues that they seek not their own interests but those of Christ Jesus. Let pastors, mindful only of the place they hold, and of the sacred character they have the honor to bear, show that they solely love and seek the liberty of the Church and the good of religion, as well as to be the protectors of the poor and the wretched ; and He Who is the Supreme Pastor will not refuse them that crown of righteousness promised by the Apostle to all who fight the good fight, who will fulfil their holy race, and preserve their faith to the end.

“ 4. Let priests daily recall to mind that they are called to be a part of the Master’s inheritance, that their ordination sets them apart from the body of the faithful, and obliges them truly to lead a life of integrity and holiness. Hence it is that they ought not to take any part in worldly affairs save only in so far as these can advance the kingdom of God. If they only keep steadily before their eyes both the dignity of the priestly office and the prescriptions of their country’s laws, they will certainly promote the spiritual as well as the temporal welfare of their people, in a manner becoming God’s priests and the suc-

cessors of the men who sustained before our days, and with success, the cause of the suffering poor.”¹

The Congregation of Propaganda caused the insertion here of the rules enacted by the assembly of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland at Dublin in 1854, for the government of priests' conduct in political affairs, and which were approved by said Congregation.

Here are the rules:—

“ We remind all the priests of this kingdom of their obligation to expound to the faithful people on feast days the mysteries of faith, the sacraments, the commandments of God, and all else which pertains to religion. But inasmuch as there is danger that these duties will be neglected, if in the churches they treat of things profane and foreign to religion, we strictly forbid their discussing during the celebration of Mass, or within the church in any way, mere secular matters, such as political elections, which may easily create dissensions between the pastor and the people, or excite passionate feelings. This, however, is not to be understood as prohibiting priests from speaking about bribe-taking, about avoiding perjury, or dealing with what concerns the rights of the Church, as well as the duties of charity and care of the poor.

“ Should any secular or regular priest treat of these (forbidden) subjects, or, in violation of the decrees of the Council of Thurles, denounce by name any person in the church, let him be punished by suspension or by some other penalty, at the will of the Ordinary.

“ We, on the other hand, exhort priests to avoid all occasion of dissensions and quarrels among themselves in public assemblies, and still more by writing in the public papers, so that the dignity of the priestly character shall not be thereby lowered, that charity which is the strength of the Church shall not be injured, and that they shall not be involved in quarrels and contestations with others.

“ While enacting these rules, we think we are only doing

¹ *Acta et Decreta Conciliorum Provinciæ Tuamensis*; Duffy, Dublin, 1859; pp. 86-88.

what is required by the good of religion and the liberty of the Church, by demanding that, whenever there is question of electing poor-law guardians or members of Parliament, from whose way of acting the faith and safety of our Catholic poor or the rights and liberties of the Church would have to suffer, priests should be solicitous to have these offices conferred on men of integrity and favorable to the Catholic religion.

“Still we think that all these matters should be discussed outside of the church-edifices, without any tumultuous proceedings, without wounding charity, with a due regard to the obedience which they owe to their bishop, and so as to avoid all dissension among the clergy with that moderation which is so becoming to the clerical character, and while allowing to all persons, in doubtful matters, the fullest freedom to judge for themselves.”¹

The letter of the Archbishop to Pius IX., accompanying the Acts of the Synod, must be inserted here. Nothing conveys so truthful an idea of the great Prelate's deepest sentiments as the letters to the Head of the Church, in which he allows his heart to speak to the Vicar of Christ without reserve.

“MOST HOLY FATHER :—It is for us a delight to forward to Your Holiness the Acts and Decrees of our Third Provincial Council, which, with the help of God, we have just brought to the happy close we hoped for. In conformity with the prescriptions of Canon Law, and following up the decree enacted by ourselves regarding the profession of Catholic faith, we submit this work of ours to the sovereign judgment of the Holy See, in order that You, Most Holy Father, who fill the Chair of Peter with such resplendent merit, may by your sentence confirm our labors ; or, should these Acts contain anything irregular or not in conformity with canonical discipline, then do you deign to correct and amend the same.

“Your Holiness will be rejoiced to learn that we have labored conjointly to make this a work of peace, toiling

¹ *Acta et Decreta Conciliorum Provinciæ Tuamensis*, pp. 102, 103.

together with all humility and meekness, bearing with each other patiently, in all charity, and careful to preserve unanimity of counsels and unity of spirit. We have endeavored to meet all the needs of our dioceses by restoring discipline to its former purity.

“On some points of discipline, which the wholesale massacres perpetrated periodically in our country during several centuries had caused to fall into decay, we have been unwilling to exercise a too great severity, knowing that to promote disciplinary reform, one must proceed gently and slowly. What is done in a spirit of gentleness helps the work of reform among conscientious clergymen much more than violent and inconsiderate attempts at change.

“The prelates of this province entertain a most just affection toward their native country, their clergy, and their people, so deserving of love on account of the faith they have imbibed with their mother’s milk, as well as of the Christian virtues which shine forth in the deep spirit of piety with which they love and worship God; of this deep and tender affection we wish to leave as a testimony our decree regarding the poor and suffering.

“The decrees which we have enacted in this Provincial Council have been framed chiefly for the purpose of preventing our priests from conforming themselves to the spirit of this world, of urging them to be reformed in the newness of spirit, so that they shall only think, do, and speak what is holy, being themselves holy; that they may cast aside all worldly desires, and live a sober, just, and pious life; that, crucified to the world and to the manners of mere lay-folk, they may ever think that for them to live is to live forth Christ Himself.

“May God grant, therefore, Who is the sovereign ruler of human councils, that what we had solely in our hearts and before our minds; what with all the ardor of our souls we wished and prayed for; that what we set above all other things, as becometh men whom the Holy Ghost hath appointed to govern the Church of God,—the Holy Church of God may flourish and prevail everywhere in

our ancient nation, which no promise or bribe has ever been able to detach from the solidity of the Rock (which is Peter).

“Deign, Most Holy Father, You to whom is given the care of both shepherds and flocks, to beseech the Supreme Shepherd, that inasmuch as He began in us the good work, He may continue to perfect it also Himself, until the day of the coming of the Sovereign Judge; so that pastors and people, having walked in the ways of the Lord in fear and trembling, shall obtain at length that unfading crown of glory which He hath prepared for his good and faithful servants

“Kneeling at the feet of Your Holiness, and beseeching most humbly Your blessing for myself, for my suffragan bishops, for the clergy and people of this province,

“I remain, Most Holy Father,

“Your most devoted servant and son in Christ,

“JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

“TUAM, Sept. 16, 1858.”

To this a prompt answer was returned by Pius IX., who was, doubtless, glad to find a solemn opportunity for healing deep wounds so needlessly inflicted, for repairing a public wrong, done to one of the noblest and most deserving prelates of the Church of God, through the persistent misrepresentations of a conspiracy which deceived and enlisted in its unhallowed work men whose conscience would or should have abhorred the idea of wronging even in thought the anointed of the Lord.

At any rate, the just and generous praise bestowed by the Pontiff, in this letter, is such as might have been uttered by him or his successors of the episcopal zeal and labors of John Mac Hale at any time during every year elapsed since 1825 up to 1858.

“TO OUR VENERABLE BROTHER, JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

“Venerable Brother, health and the Apostolic Benediction. Most gladly did we receive the letter dated the 16th

of this month, and written also in the name of the other bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Tuam, and in which both you and they greatly pride yourselves, after the manner of your ancestors, in having just concluded your Third Provincial, and in submitting its Acts to the supreme judgment of ourselves and this Holy See, in order that we may approve these same Acts, or amend them wherever needful.

“We handed over forthwith these Acts to our Congregation of the Propaganda, that they may take cognizance thereof, and report to us upon them in proper season.

“Meanwhile, however, we cannot refrain from expressing to you hereby how very great was our delight on learning once more from your letter, how uncommon are the filial devotedness, love, and obedience displayed by you and by your Venerable Brother-Bishops toward us and this Chair of Peter, how great are the pastoral care and watchfulness in fulfilling the duties which procure God's greater glory and the salvation of souls.

“It was also most pleasing to us to learn from your same letter, with what extreme care, in celebrating the Council, both you and your suffragans vied with each other in studiously preserving unity of spirit in the bond of peace, and, with most united minds and hearts, in consulting about all the spiritual necessities of your respective dioceses, bestowing your earnest attention on bringing back ecclesiastical discipline to its ancient vigor and lustre, so that priests, ever mindful of their calling and dignity, and living up to the level of the Sacred Canons, in piety and holiness, shall give to the Christian people examples of all the virtues, apply themselves zealously to the conscientious discharge of their own ministry, and that their aims, and acts, and words may breathe of nothing but what is holy.

“It was also a great gratification for us to see what care both you and your brother-bishops have taken of the poor and the wretched, and what timely measures you have adopted together to remove the sources of corruption im-

ported into society by the sad vicissitudes and circumstances of our times.

“We, therefore, bestow on yourself and your venerable suffragans all due praise for your having once more met together, in obedience to the Canons of the Church, and for having, in your episcopal solicitude, taken such counsel as should result in the greatest benefit to your faithful people. We feel assured, moreover, that nothing shall be left undone by you and the bishops of your province, to make our holy religion flourish, increase, and spread in your country from day to day, thereby increasing the glorious merits and the numbers of your Catholic people.

“We, meanwhile, do not cease fervently to pray in the humility of our heart the Father of Mercies, to shed on you, on your brother-bishops, and on the faithful of your respective dioceses the abundance of His gifts. As an earnest of these, and a mark of our fatherly affection, we bestow, from the bottom of our heart, the Apostolic Benediction on yourself, your suffragans, and on all the clergy and faithful people belonging to your churches.

“Given at Rome, from St. Peter’s, the 30th day of September, of the year 1858, of our Pontificate the 13th.

“PIUS PP. IX.”¹


¹ *Acta et Decreta Conc. Prov. Tuamensis.*, pp. 92-96.

PART FIFTH.

OTHER VARIOUS AND GLORIOUS LABORS FROM 1852-1875.

CHAPTER XVII.

DR. MAC HALE AND THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND.

 ONE of the most cherished objects pursued by the Archbishop of Tuam in his labors and struggles for Ireland was the creation of a Catholic university. This was to be the crowning stone of the religious system of education which he had through life advocated for his country.

We do not say that he was the very first, when the Government scheme of academical education became a legal reality in Ireland,—to propose, as a counter project, the establishment of a Catholic university, where the youth of Ireland should receive all the benefits of the highest culture, religious and secular, without any danger to their baptismal faith.

Certain it is that the Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel, with such bishops as Drs. Cantwell of Meath, O'Higgins of Ardagh, Maginn of Derry, Mac Nally of Clogher, Derry of Clonfert, and others well known, were unanimous in pleading the necessity and urgency of such a creation, at home among their priests and people, and at Rome whenever an opportunity offered.

The idea of such a university found favor with the Propaganda. It was entertained by Gregory XVI., at the end of his Pontificate; it was still more warmly taken up by Pius IX.

When Dr. Cullen was appointed Archbishop of Armagh on the recommendation of Dr. Mac Hale, supported by the Archbishop of Cashel, the creation of a Catholic university in Ireland, and the holding of a national synod to concert the first united measures for its foundation, were the two chief projects which he was charged by Rome to carry out without delay.

In perfect truth it may be said that both projects had been matured among the majority of the Irish prelates whom Drs. Mac Hale and O'Higgins went to represent in Rome in 1848. They were accepted by the Propaganda and the Pope, as a twofold measure pregnant with untold good to the youth of Ireland, and calculated to promote harmony and unity among the episcopal body, so long divided by the Government anti-Catholic schemes and intrigues.

At the Synod of Thurles all Ireland beheld in the Archbishop of Tuam the prelate above all others identified with the coming Catholic university, the life-long, consistent advocate of Catholic education in all its stages. We have quoted in a preceding chapter his magnificent vindication of the right of the Church to educate mankind, and to minister to every succeeding generation the choicest fruits of supernatural and natural knowledge.

The ideal which he had conceived of a great national university for his people included not only the teaching of all the sciences and literatures prized by the nineteenth century, but the language and literature as well of his Celtic forefathers, the rich remnants of which are one of the most precious storehouses of the national history. His was no narrow and exclusive spirit in this as in all other matters connected with the development of the mind and energies of his country.

With the splendid prospect which seemed to dawn on the nation at the time of the Synod of Thurles, and with the real enthusiasm excited among the Irish race abroad by the project of a great national university, there arose new hopes of unity among the clergy, of solid progress for the people. And these hopes were encouraged and blessed by Pius IX.

It is well to afford to the reader ample and solid ground on which to form and rest his judgment on a matter which is still one of the living questions of the day in Ireland as well as in Great Britain.

In a document quoted at length in a preceding chapter,

the answer made by Drs. Mac Hale and O'Higgins, in the summer of 1848, to the misrepresentations of Rev. Dr. Ennis on the subject of the Queen's Colleges, we have a first plea for the establishment of a Catholic university in Ireland. The document drawn up by the Archbishop of Tuam is in his own handwriting among the precious manuscripts from which we draw our information. It is addressed to Pius IX., in person.

"If a few of our bishops," it is there said, "had not, alas! been found to encourage those colleges even since their condemnation by the Holy See, the Government would have at once abandoned the project in utter despair of ever succeeding. And the hopes of the Government to procure their coöperation may be clearly traced to the wrong step unfortunately taken by them recently in carrying a most obnoxious Act regarding pious bequests and legacies, which Act, under an hypocritical preamble of securing Catholic charities, renews some of the worst of the Penal Laws regarding the religious orders, usurps the canonical rights of bishops as well as those of the Holy See, and has already had the fatal effect of drying up Catholic charities.

"For these were left in such abundance during the few years previous to the passing of the Bequests Act, as to enable the bishops of Ireland not only to erect the few churches yet wanted, but to build even diocesan and provincial colleges, *and to create, in due course of time, a NATIONAL UNIVERSITY on the most magnificent scale.*

"So odious was the law to the Catholics of Ireland, that some were amused with the hopes of its being amended, nay, some of the bishops, who had been persuaded to become commissioners, were known to have declared that they would retire from the Board, if the obnoxious clauses were not amended. Yet this Penal Law remains still in all its vicious integrity, and these bishops, removable at the beck of the Crown, continue to administer all its noxious provisions....

"By continuing as agents to carry out this penal enactment against the obvious interests of religion and education,

these bishops are encouraging the Government to plan and carry out still more oppressive measures. . . .

"This reference to the Bequests Act not only shows the tendency to other encroachments on our religion, as exemplified in the Colleges scheme, but it also shows how deceitful are the professions of those who talk of these Colleges *as a boon offered to Catholics in the midst of their poverty*.

"It was never the poverty of the Catholics alone, but it was the jealous influence of anti-Catholic laws that debarred and continues still to debar them from the advantages of the most improved collegiate education."

Thus the Archbishop of Tuam clearly sets before the Holy See the real obstacle toward higher, nay, the very highest, education in Ireland,—“the jealous influence of anti-Catholic legislation.” No less clearly did he point out the resources possessed by the Catholics for creating a great national university, and their ardent yearning to do so.

He goes back more than half a century, to the epoch of the foundation of Maynooth College, to prove victoriously that the Irish Catholics even then possessed the resources, the generosity, and the will to found at their own expense a national school of higher studies worthy of their religion and their past history.

“Even the College of Maynooth,” he says, “now so much boasted of, was never endowed or even contemplated by the British Government, until they found the people and gentry of Ireland,—one of whom subscribed £10,000 sterling. . . . for the purpose,—had already secured voluntary funds for giving their clergy the most ample collegiate education.

“Again, the charitable bequests left, a few years previous to the Bequests Act, enabled some of the bishops of Ireland not only to erect convents, but also to administer charities on an extensive scale. It is then an Act comes out to check this stream of charity under pretence of its proper application.

“ This sufficiently proves that there is wealth and generosity enough in the Catholic body to foster its own institutions, if not forced by penal legislation from the channels into which the pious would pour them. And, as to the pretence of relieving our poverty, it is the same as that in the time of the Penal Laws,—first despoiling Catholics of their wealth, and then, under pretence of relieving the poverty thus created, proffering a poisonous education in order to destroy our religion.”

At the conclusion of this eloquent plea, which stands on record as an undying testimony to the patriotism of John of Tuam, we have the following passage:—

“ Ireland, recovering from the famine that has been chastening her, will rapidly recruit her energies. ¹ Already measures are in progress for carrying out Your Holiness's instructions as to founding a university ; and she will best evince her gratitude to Your Holiness and the nations who succored her, by erecting Catholic colleges which, as in former times, will afford gratuitous education to the English as well as to the Irish, and from which missionaries will go forth to bear the faith of Rome over all the regions of earth.”

In laboring to found a national university, in watching over its growth, in providing for its equipment and prosperous administration, the archbishops and bishops of Ireland must have, as Dr. Mac Hale conceived and ever consistently maintained, an indefeasible right, under the supreme direction of the Holy See, to direct and control.

The archbishops and bishops alone were to draw from the exhaustless resources of their impoverished people's generosity the necessary pecuniary means for creating and supporting this great establishment. Every bishop in Ireland, then, as the divinely appointed guardian of his people's faith and morals, must ever have a voice in the

¹ In 1848 the Archbishop of Tuam could not foresee with what a deadly and persistent purpose Administration after Administration would pursue the depopulation of Ireland,—the extermination, by the resistless working of the land-laws, of the Celto-Catholic inhabitants of Ireland. No, in 1890, Ireland, depleted and impoverished, has not yet “ recruited her energies.”

nomination of the men who taught and governed in the University, and who, in their teaching and governing capacity, only represented the shepherds of the flock. Moreover, as it must be on the bishops' coöperation that the University had to rely, solely or principally, for the means of support, it was natural, right, and strictly just, that every bishop in Ireland should have a voice in the administration of the University's temporalities.

This twofold right the Archbishop of Tuam upheld from the beginning as a thing which could not be gainsaid. And his firmness in thus maintaining the joint privilege of the whole body of the Irish bishops was one of the first grounds on which he and Dr. Cullen soon differed, as we shall see from the following letters.

We insert here a letter from Dr. Cullen, which the Archbishop of Tuam, with his own hand, marks as "a most curious letter," because in it the Archbishop of Armagh takes on himself to deal with the ecclesiastical affairs of the province of Connaught, an interference which Dr. Mac Hale resented as unwarranted, and entirely beyond the scope of Dr. Cullen's powers as Apostolic Delegate. The *Italicized* passages are all as in the original.

"DROGHEDA, Dec. 6th, 1851.

"MY DEAR LORD:—I have just received a letter from Cardinal Frasoni on the present position of our affairs, *in which he insists on the necessity of having efficient men at the head of each diocese.* His principal object in writing to me was to get a coadjutor for Dr. O'Higgins, a measure which, I expect, will be carried into effect with the concurrence of his Lordship, as I have written to him on the necessity of it in the present dangerous state of his health.

"The Cardinal *desires me to write to your Grace about the state of some of your suffragans.* I suppose he refers to Drs. O'Donnell, Ffrench, and McNicholas. Would it not be well for your Grace to get something done in each of the dioceses of those bishops? It has been stated at Rome that Dr. Ffrench has not been able to visit his diocese for

years, and that Dr. O'Donnell, since his consecration, never visited the famous parish of Oughterard.

"If your Grace could devise some means to provide for these two dioceses, the Holy See will approve of anything you recommend. Perhaps the very best thing would be to get *Dr. Derry appointed administrator of Galway during Dr. O'Donnell's life*, and to have an election for a coadjutor in *Kilmacduagh*. But your Grace will best understand what ought to be done.

"In the letter from Cardinal Franson, and *in another from His Holiness, great anxiety is expressed about providing for the wants of any diocese that may appear neglected*, inasmuch as our present circumstances require great energy and activity *in iis qui presunt*.

"Perhaps in publishing the Decrees of Thurles it will be as well not to say anything about the Godless [Colleges]. When the Decrees shall have been published, of course they will bind all connected with those establishments; if they obey, all will be right,—if not, they can be called to account.

"Believe me to be, my dear Lord, with profoundest respect, your devoted servant,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE."

"DROGHEDA, Feb. 16th, 1852.

"MY DEAR LORD:—I think it would be important for us to obtain just now a Brief from the Pope authorizing the erection of our University. In Belgium the bishops obtained this favor before they commenced. It appears that we may more easily obtain it now than after the change of Ministers, or when the Government will think it worth while to intrigue.

"I will draw up a short petition; and if your Grace concurs in the plan, I will send it to you.

"Believe me to be, with the profoundest respect, your devoted servant,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE."

"DROGHEDA, Feb. 17th, 1852.

"MY DEAR LORD:—I send your Grace the petition of which I spoke yesterday. It seems to me that we ought to secure the desired concession from Rome, before the Government can intrigue against us. The present Ministers cannot do us much harm.

"If your Grace approve of the petition, you will have the kindness to sign it and to get it signed by Dr. Derry.

"Believe me to be, etc.,

"PAUL CULLEN.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE."

"TUAM, Feb. 20th, 1852.

"MY DEAR LORD:—Any petition to the Holy Father on the subject of the University should, I think, have the signatures of all the bishops, at least of such as would wish to sign it. Confining it to the archbishops and the suffragans who are of the Committee would appear to encourage the notion of some members of the Committee, that they are a permanent body, to whom the bishops had transferred or delegated their trust. Now, neither the bishops who consented to be of the Committee, nor the others understood its formation in that sense.

"The wording of the Petition¹ would seem to limit the duty and the power of completing this affair to the episcopal members of the Committee; and we know well that several of the other members, lay and clerical, consider themselves equally entitled to vote on any great question as the episcopal members.

¹ The wording of the Petition strictly warrants the interpretation of Dr. Mac Hale; and the subsequent conduct of Dr. Cullen, both with regard to the use made of this Committee, and with regard to the setting aside the legitimate rights and powers of the entire episcopal body in the administration of the University,—proves how true was the instinct or the foresight which prompted Dr. Mac Hale to resist.

The Petition says: *Infrascripti Archiepiscopi et Episcopi, qui jubente Synodo Thurlesiana, huic negotio expediendo operam dederunt.*—"The undersigned Archbishops and Bishops, who, by the command of the Council of Thurles, have labored to carry out this business." The Petition does not pretend to speak in the name of all the archbishops and bishops of Ireland.

"There should no longer be any doubt or ambiguity regarding the exclusive right of the bishops to legislate and to make all appointments. I feel I cannot be a party to interfere with the rights of the other bishops, and it is because the signing of the Petition and asking the signature of only one of the suffragans of this province might be construed in a manner as derogatory to their rights, as it would be ultimately injurious to the interests of the University, that I decline signing the Petition in its present form, and until, in founding as well as governing the University, the rights and suffrages of the bishops of Ireland are exclusively recognized.

"I remain, my dear Lord, your Grace's most respectful servant,

"JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

"MOST REV. DR. CULLEN."

The most prominent in zeal, after the Archbishop of Tuam, among the Irish prelates, for establishing a university, was Dr. Cantwell of Meath. How cordially he agreed with his friend in condemning the course which Dr. Cullen entered upon, even as early as 1852, with regard to the University and the Catholic Defence Association, is evident from his letters.

"MULLINGAR, January 7th, 1852.

"MY DEAR LORD:—The events connected with the Association which have occurred since our meeting have realized the fears which I expressed, and on which I acted by withdrawing on that occasion. This early explosion has afforded a great triumph to the enemies of poor Ireland. Any active steps toward the completion of its (the Association's) extinction would, in my opinion, be hailed by the faction as relieving them from the odium which must necessarily await those who will be instrumental in depriving the empire of an association which was the boast and the hope of all good Catholics.

"From any share in the blame, the prelates are (thanks be to God) as yet exempt, and, I think, ought to continue

so. The party will feel how powerless and uninfluential they are, when left to themselves and without the active support and coöperation of the bishops. Very little time will suffice to expose their insignificance and their want of confidence from the millions.

"This will also demonstrate in the University case that it is unwise and injurious to invest them with privileges and surrender to them rights which exclusively belong to, and can alone be beneficially exercised by the episcopal body. The present position of affairs is embarrassing and imposes the duty of proceeding with great caution and moderation. They will soon do the work.

"... Wishing your Grace most cordially very many happy New Years, I have the honor to remain, etc., etc.,

"JOHN CANTWELL.

'THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.'

"MULLINGAR, Feb. 20th, 1852.

"MY DEAR LORD :—That the bishops of Ireland possess *exclusively* the right to legislate for and govern the University cannot be a matter of doubt after the distinct declaration of our views and resolves at the late meeting in Dublin. It is fortunate that the prelates whom your Grace lately met understood that the Committee was merely provisional, with powers to carry out the preliminary arrangements. I am persuaded that most, if not all others who are not of the Committee are under the same impression. This decides the case. For, surely, we of the Committee could never entertain the idea of assuming and exercising powers invading the rights of our brothers in the episcopacy. This is the feeling and determination of the acting majority of the Episcopal Committee, without whose concurrence the others, if there be any such,—could not either validly or legitimately do a single act. I am of opinion that the Primate now adopts this view, and that he will act accordingly.

"His Grace, I think, looks on the petition for the Brief as a matter of course and a purely preliminary measure. He does not say a word about asking the concurrence of the

clerical or lay members of the Committee. I am glad, however, that your Grace reminded him of our late understanding, by which we must hereafter be uniformly guided. We must at the same time effectually guard against even the *appearance* of disagreement. This can easily be secured, as on the last occasion, by discussing all matters of grave importance separately from the priests or lay gentlemen.

"The turn which things took in the Defence Association had the good effect of exhibiting the hopelessness of any movement not sustained by the cordial and active support of the bishops and clergy. I went to the last meeting at the earnest request of the Primate (Dr. Cullen), and also to save the appearance of a total break. I remained only a short time. The assemblage and proceedings were far from being worthy of a cause enlisting the sympathy or zeal of the country.

"I was charmed with the music of your last salute to the infamous Russell.

"Your Grace's most faithful and devoted servant,

" + JOHN CANTWELL."

"THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

There is also among the Archbishop's manuscripts a copy of a previous letter on the same subject, which it may be well to insert here:—

"TUAM, February 18, 1852.

"MY DEAR LORD:—I found your Grace's letter here on my return from the diocese of Achonry, where on Monday I was assisting on the melancholy occasion of the interment of the late bishop.

"It is desirable to have the Brief for the erection of the University in accordance with the rescripts for that object, and the petition will have my full concurrence.

"Your Grace is already aware that the bishops feel that they, and they alone, have the right to found and govern the Catholic University, and that any other body or committee associated with them was only provisionally estab-

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

lished and for preparatory arrangements. Hence the conference of the bishops at our last meeting for the purpose of inviting all the bishops to our future meetings.

"I can now further state that the bishops of this province whom I met at the funeral declared that they looked on the Committee only in a mere provisional and subordinate light, and [that] they never meant, nor would they consent to delegate their own rights to any body whatever in which a majority composed of laymen and clergymen could out-vote and overrule the bishops.

"The occasion of obtaining the Brief may be the most seasonable for putting the erection and future government of the University on a proper footing. It may not be amiss to consult all the bishops on the form of the petition and the nature of the Brief. If not, as we should endeavor to secure their coöperation, our petition, I think, should fully recognize their rights, so far that, in drawing up the code of laws by which the University is to be governed, as well as in making the appointments and disbursing the funds, the bishops alone are to have the entire authority. Such were the requisitions contained in the letter of one of the bishops. I remain, my dear Lord, etc.,

"JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

"MOST REV. DR. CULLEN."

A further step, one which had a fatally ruinous effect on the fortunes of the Catholic University of Ireland, was taken by the Delegate Apostolic in appointing the illustrious and universally revered Dr. Newman as rector of the University. No one in the Three Kingdoms entertained a higher opinion of this great Christian scholar than the Archbishop of Tuam, and no one more openly professed his admiration for his character, his virtues, and the sacrifices made by him in severing his connection with the Church of England. The Archbishop was also well aware of Dr. Newman's kindly sentiments towards Ireland and Irish Catholics.

But his Grace opposed the nomination of Dr. Newman

to the rectorship of the Catholic University on far higher grounds than mere personal considerations. He wished to have the University to all intents and purposes a national one, governed by Irishmen, the chairs in every faculty filled by Irish scholars, and the entire institution placed under the fostering care of the Irish hierarchy and animated by a spirit national and Catholic in the fullest, truest, most unexceptionable sense of the word.

Instead of being all this, when the University was first organized and started on its career of active existence as a teaching body, it was found to be an institution managed by the Archbishop of Dublin as Delegate Apostolic, the authority and superintendence of the episcopal body being subsidiary to the purposes of Dr. Cullen, and absolutely subordinate to his will.

A letter of Dr. O'Hanlon of Maynooth throws no little light on the manner in which, through the University Committee, a mixed body of bishops, priests, and laymen appointed in 1850, after the National Synod of Thurles, the Delegate Apostolic managed the University business.

“MAYNOOTH COLLEGE, January 29, 1853.

“MY DEAR LORD:—In consequence of a severe attack of influenza, I have not until the present moment been able to furnish your Grace with an account of the proceedings of the University Committee at its last meeting.

“The first event which took place was the appointment of Dr. Taylor, some time since a member of the Castleknock community, and previously president of Carlow College, to the office of *secretary to the University Committee*, at a salary of £ 150 per annum. The chair had been scarcely taken by his Grace of Dublin, when Dr. Haly of Kildare proposed that Dr. Taylor should be appointed *vice-rector of the University*. This motion was seconded by the Archbishop of Armagh and warmly supported by Dr. Cullen, Father Maher, Father Brennan, P.P., of Kildare, James O'Farrell, Mr. Errington, etc. . . . It was resisted by Bianconi and a few others on the ground that, if the Committee

ever possessed the power of making such an appointment, they deprived themselves of it by having passed a resolution to the effect that the right of appointing to the several offices in the University should be vested in the four archbishops and the rector conjointly. When this objection was made, Dr. Cullen stated that he had Dr. Newman's approval of Dr. Taylor's appointment, and Mr. James O'Farrell observed that there could be no difficulty in that case, as the majority, three, of the archbishops were present. It was then urged that, by another resolution of the Committee, ten days' notice should have been given of so important a motion as the present. This objection had the effect of preventing Dr. Taylor's appointment to the vicerectorship *pro hac vice*, but it did not prevent his friends from making handsome provision for him in another form.

After a short consultation with Dr. Cullen, Dr. Haly again came forward and proposed that Dr. Taylor should be appointed to the place of the late Dr. Cooper, at a salary of £ 100 per annum. Whereupon Father Maher protested that, if the Committee offered so paltry a sum even to so humble a man as himself, he should regard it as an insult. James O'Farrell and other friends expressed themselves to the same effect. Dr. Haly at once took the hint, and proposed that the salary should be £ 150 per annum. His Grace of Armagh seconded the amended motion, which, after some wrangling, was carried by a very large majority. In truth, all opposition was fruitless, as the whole business was manifestly pre-concerted, and measures had been taken to insure its success.

"Bianconi had the courage and honesty to denounce it as a job, and O'Reilly of Knockabbey, to my great surprise, resisted it manfully for a considerable time.

"Dr. Taylor is, I believe, a pious and excellent priest; but I have reason to know that both his talents and literary attainments are of a very mediocre description. Within the last few days he has, I understand, been also appointed private secretary to his Grace of Dublin, in place of Dr. Forde.

"The Committee, in the next place, empowered Dr. Cullen to purchase Whalley's house in Stephen's Green, together with the Coburg Gardens, which comprise eleven Irish acres. The knowledge of this matter is, for obvious reasons, to be confined to the members of the Committee, until the purchase is concluded.

"A sub-committee was appointed for the purpose of devising the best means for manifesting our sense and appreciation of the services of Dr. Cooper and Mr. Skelly to the cause of the University. It was also resolved that the American collectors should be called on to furnish a full and exact account of the several sums they received, as well as of those they expended.

"The foregoing was the only business transacted at the last meeting of the Committee.

"Your Grace is probably aware that the Trustees have eliminated Bailly¹ from the College. Dr. Ryan of Limerick fought vigorously for its retention in the College as a class book. The author to be adopted in lieu of Bailly will be determined at the summer meeting of the Trustees. The professors have been directed to apply themselves in the mean time, as much as possible, to the Dogmatic Theology.

"Dr. Carew of Calcutta states it to have been the general impression in Rome, when he was leaving it, that the three clergymen recommended by the priests of Ardagh had been set aside. It would also appear that Dr. Fallon has been accused of living on terms of friendship and intimacy with some family in his parish, some of the members of which had become apostates, and that the Roman authorities had regarded this charge in rather a serious light. If Rome continues to attach importance to the representations or rather misrepresentations of every unprincipled villain in the country, the powers derived by the priests and prelates from the Rescript regarding the appointment of bishops in Ireland will become altogether nugatory, or will

¹ BAILLY was a *Gallican* theologian, whose works were, fifty and sixty years ago, generally used as class books in theological seminaries throughout France, Canada, and some parts of the United States.

be engrossed by some crafty, ambitious, monopolizing interloper between this country and Rome.

“Dr. Forde was the only candidate in the field for the Paris professorship. It is generally supposed that in the course of six or seven weeks open hostility will commence between him and Dr. Miley. Hoping that nothing will prevent your Grace from attending the next Board, I have the honor to remain, my dear Lord, with the highest veneration and warmest attachment,

“Your Grace’s ever faithful and devoted servant,

“JOHN O’HANLON.

“THE MOST REVEREND THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.”

As this letter states, Dr. Newman had already, in the beginning of 1853, been appointed rector of the Catholic University. The following correspondence between him and the Archbishop of Tuam will tell the reader how the latter was regarded by the eminent convert, and on what questions of principle he differed with the Rector of the Catholic University.

“16 HARCOURT STREET, DUBLIN, June 13, 1854.

“MY DEAR LORD:—I want to ask your Grace’s permission to enter your name on the University Books. This permission will neither involve trouble nor expense to you. And, if you do not see any objection, while to us it will be a great gain, to you it will be no loss.

“Also, I am about to make a request, which I should not have ventured upon, unless Dr. Leahy had encouraged me to hope I might succeed. I am making a list of University preachers,—and I hope your Grace will condescend to be one of them. It will not involve more than one sermon in the year, which, I trust, would be possible. If so, here again we shall be the gainers, while you are not the sufferer.

“There is a still further request which I now lay before you. I want to have your countenance and aid in obtaining *students*. Bishops, indeed, have their own work, and it is pretty commonly sufficient to occupy them; but it

might so happen that, without effort, opportunities might fall in your way which might turn to our advantage.

"Begging your Grace's blessing, I am, my dear Lord Archbishop,

"Your faithful servant in Christ,

"JOHN H. NEWMAN, *of the Oratory.*

"THE MOST REVEREND THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

"TUAM, June 16, 1854.

"MY DEAR DR. NEWMAN :—In reply to your letter, I beg to state that you have my cordial permission to enter my name in the University Books.

"As to preachers, you cannot fail in securing a sufficient number of persons qualified for the task in your own vicinity. Our feeble efforts we ought to reserve for our own poor people.

"Although I cannot promise many students from this quarter, for some time at least, I shall not be wanting in taking an interest in the Catholic University, and I trust that its management will earn the confidence and support of the Catholics of Ireland.

"I am, my dear Dr. Newman, etc., etc.,

"† JOHN MAC HALE."

It is most deeply to be regretted that these two great men, so well fitted to appreciate each other's worth and to work successfully together in promoting the divine cause of Christian education, should have been brought nearer to each other in circumstances which prevented harmony of counsels, unity of purpose, and cordial coöperation.

Dr. Newman, with all his magnificent gifts, and his ardent devotion to the Church of his choice and to Ireland, which he sincerely loved, was made the victim of the purblind and obstinate policy adopted by those who had obtained for the time being absolute control of the religious interests of Catholic Ireland. Happy had it been for the nascent Catholic University, and for the gentle and unsuspecting Rector so unwisely chosen by "the one man power" then prevailing, if the real sentiments of the nation had

been consulted in Dr. Mac Hale and the prelates who had so long fought by his side in the battle for Catholic schools.

The next letter will show where dissentiment began in the "management" of the University, and the transaction of the most important business begun and ended without the previous advice and consent of the body of bishops.

"THE ORATORY, BIRMINGHAM, August 17, 1854.

"MY DEAR LORD :—You will be pleased to hear that I have been able to accomplish the purchase of a Medical School in Dublin for something like £1500. I trust it will be a very serviceable building, although we shall not be able to open our classes in it in the ensuing autumn.

"I have not liked to conclude the transaction without having the satisfaction of feeling that I have your Grace's congratulations and blessing, though I do not expect, nor does the occasion need, that you should put yourself to the trouble of answering this.

"I am, my dear Lord Archbishop, with profound respect,

"Your obedient, faithful servant in Christ,

"JOHN H. NEWMAN, *of the Oratory.*

"THE MOST REVEREND THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

On the back of this letter is the following pregnant note in the Archbishop's handwriting: "Dr. Newman's letter about a purchase for the new University. *No answer*, he says, *is required.*

Then comes the difficulty about the appointment of professors :—

"MOUNT SALUS, DALKEY, October 3d, 1854.

"MY DEAR LORD :—It has vexed me that I have been able neither to send to your Grace sooner, nor on the other hand to postpone for the present, the list of the gentlemen whom I submit to your Grace for *ad interim* employment in the lecture rooms of the University.

"That I have not sooner written to you on the subject has not been owing to any want of zeal on my part, but to the unavoidable slowness with which the correspondence

has proceeded which was preliminary to any satisfactory arrangement.

“On the other hand, the publication of a list cannot, I fear, be postponed with a due regard to the probable wants of the University, and without impairing the confidence of the public in the reality of our commencement.

“As to the Schools of Theology, Law, and Medicine, they certainly may wait. What presses is the School of Arts. And here the appointments (*ad interim*) which I would submit to your Grace (with those already made) run as follows:—

1. *Professor of Dogmatic Theology*, - - - FATHER O'REILLY, D.D., S.J.
2. *Professor of Exegetics*, - - - - - VERY REV. P. LEAHY, D.D., V.G.
3. *Professor of Archæology and Irish History*, EUGENE CURRY, Esq.
4. *Professor of Classical Literature*, - - - ROBERT ORNSBY, Esq.
5. *Professor of Mathematics*, - - - EDWARD BUTLER, Esq.
6. *Professor of Civil Engineering*, - - - - - TERENCE FLANAGAN, Esq.
7. *Lecturer on Political Economy*, - - - JOHN O'HAGAN, Esq.
8. *Lecturer in Poetry*, - - - - - D. F. MCCARTHY, Esq.
9. *Lecturer in the Philosophy of History*, - - - T. V. ALLIES, Esq.
10. *Lecturer in Geography*, - - - - - J. B. ROBERTSON, Esq.
11. *Lecturer in Logic*, - - - - - D. B. DUNNE, Esq., D.D.
12. *Lecturer in Ancient History*, - - - - - JAMES STEWART, Esq.
13. *Lecturer in English Literature*, - - - E. H. THOMPSON, Esq.
14. *Lecturer in French Literature*, - - - M. P. LE PAGE-RENOUF.
15. *Lecturer in Italian and Spanish Lit.*, - - - SIGNOR MARANI.

“Most of these gentlemen must be known by reputation to your Grace, and do not need any commendation of mine. Mr. Butler is of Trinity College, Dublin, and bears a high name for mathematical attainments. Dr. Dunne is of the Irish College at Rome, and is most highly thought of by those who know him. Mr. Flanagan has much experience of English railroads, has been employed in the railroads of Belgium, and is now similarly occupied in Portugal. Mr. Robertson, who has lived some time in Germany, is the translator of some of the works of Moehler and Schlegel, and is a contributor to the *Dublin Review*. Mr. Ornsby and Mr. Renouf are from Oxford; Mr. Thompson and Mr. Stewart from Cambridge. They are all men of well-known ability, and I am convinced would do jus-

tice to their appointment. Mr. Renouf is a native of Guernsey, and speaks English and French with equal facility. He has been living for the last seven years in a family of distinction in France. He is a classical scholar, well versed in theology and history, and possessed of much general information. Mr. Ornsby gained the highest honors at Oxford, was fellow and rhetorical lecturer in his college, and master of the schools. He, as well as M. Renouf, is a successful writer. The two gentlemen from Cambridge are equally well qualified. Signor Marani has high testimonials from persons in Dublin, where he teaches, and I have heard what is to the credit of his religious character.

"I trust your Grace will believe the anxious care with which I have prepared this list for your approval. I am sanguine that, when tried, it will deserve it. Of course, none of the gentlemen who are upon it will be employed till wanted, nor paid till employed.

"I have addressed a similar statement to the other three archbishops, and am, my dear Lord, begging your Grace's blessing,

"Your faithful servant in Christ,

"JOHN H. NEWMAN, RECTOR, *of the Oratory.*

"HIS GRACE, THE MOST REVD. THE ARCHBP. OF TUAM."

The Archbishop of Tuam was well aware of "the anxious care" with which Dr. Newman had sought to secure a body of teachers for the faculty of arts in every way worthy of a great university. Indeed, he deeply sympathized with the rector in the bitter and manifold anxieties which pressed upon him in the discharge of his new duties. But there were other considerations, which the Archbishop could not put aside in replying to this letter.

"TUAM, (date torn off in the copy).

"MY DEAR DOCTOR NEWMAN:—I am in receipt of your letter of the 3d instant, as I have been of that of the 17th of August, to which I would have replied, were it not for the concluding words, that 'no answer was needed.'

"From this it appears that to consult the archbishops on the purchase of schools or the fitness of professors is a matter of mere courtesy. On the subject of the list forwarded [to me] I have only to remark that, with the exception of a very few, I know nothing of the individuals it contains, and could not venture to express approval or disapprobation of them, even if I considered it the appropriate occasion.

"I purpose to express my opinions when the opportunity shall offer of meeting, assembled and acting together, the prelates to whom the provisional appointment of the professors is intrusted.

"I remain, my dear Dr. Newman,

"Your very faithful servant,

"† JOHN MAC HAILE."

"MOUNT SALUS, DALKEY, Oct. 8, 1854.

"MY DEAR LORD:—I hope this letter will find you still in this country, for I should be very sorry not to have the opportunity of submitting to you a few words in explanation of my letters of August 17 and Oct. 3d, which I am concerned to find have not met with your approbation.

"It would be a serious trouble to me to have it brought home to me that I had misconceived the powers which your Grace and the other Irish prelates have, in so flattering a way, bestowed upon me as rector of the new University; and, if I have really overstepped them in consequence, I beg to offer you my sincere and humble apology.

"It is very plain that, whatever powers I have, come from the Irish episcopate; and that, as it gave them, so it may at any moment withdraw them. But it seems to be equally plain, that the confidence their Lordships have placed in me is very full, and the powers in consequence intrusted to me are very ample; and you will have, I am sure, no difficulty in entering into my feeling when I say that, unless I have that full confidence and those ample powers, it would have been the height of presumption and

folly in me to aspire to such very anxious responsibilities as I have accepted.

“The purchase of the Medical School was one of those measures which I certainly did think came upon me by virtue of my situation. I never should have ventured to trouble the bishops with a matter of business which was nothing else than a part of the work which they had imposed upon me; nor should I have been able to form any clear idea of my duties, had I been told that this was included in them. Accordingly I acted on my own responsibility. When, however, the negotiation was brought to a satisfactory issue, the feeling, never absent from me, that I am acting for the bishops, prompted me, on the other hand, at once to acquaint you with my success, by way of offering you an evidence that I was not idling at my post. Writing under these circumstances, I wrote without form, and did not keep a copy of my letter; I cannot, however, but be surprised and deeply pained to find that I so expressed myself as to admit of the interpretation, foreign from my real meaning, which you have been led to put upon my words.

“As to the *ad interim* appointments of professors and lecturers, still more distinctly do I bear in mind that they rest with a power more authoritative than my own. At the same time, I thought I was required to suggest them to your Grace and the other archbishops; and, if we are to open our schools without delay, it is surely undeniable that, had I not moved in the matter, the schools would be opened without lecturers to lecture in them. The meeting of the bishops to which your Grace postpones the *ad interim* decision will take place, by the very force of the terms, at a time when the *ad interim* session has expired.

“I do not like to keep anything back from your Grace; and, since you have opened the subject, you will, I know, suffer me to speak, with the generous condescension which is so much your characteristic. From the bishops, then, I hold whatever power I possess in the University; they have the appointment of professors, and they can exert

their Veto at their pleasure upon the names which I present to them. But I am deliberately of opinion, that, if they exercise it except on definite grounds, sufficient in the judgment of each other, they will be making the commencement of the University an impossible problem to any one who is not better fitted for the work than I am. Having so many instances of their consideration for me, I do not fear any such misfortune.

"I am, my dear Lord, with profound respect, your Grace's obedient servant in Christ,

"JOHN H. NEWMAN, *of the Oratory.*

"THE MOST REV'D. THE ARCHB'P OF TUAM."

As the Archbishop of Tuam was then setting out for Rome, he may not have received this letter in Ireland, or been able to return an immediate answer to it. His quarrel was not with Dr. Newman,—but with the men who deliberately, systematically, and unjustifiably set aside the authority of the Irish episcopate in the government of the University, and only made use of the shadow of authority left to that body as an instrument for their own purpose, and a cloak for proceedings which ended in discrediting and ruining the University itself.

The following letters were written after the Archbishop's return from Rome, in 1855.

"THE ORATORY, BIRMINGHAM, July 28th, 1855.

"MY DEAR LORD:—I write to your Grace and to the other archbishops to say, that I have designated and propose to present to the *Cetus Episcoporum* the following professional gentlemen of Dublin to fill chairs in the Medical Faculty of the University:—

"Dr. Ellis to be professor of the Practice of Surgery.

"Dr. Hayden and Dr. Crogan to be professors of Anatomy.

"Dr. Lyons to be professor of Pathology.

"I have not found it practicable as yet to fill up the remaining chairs; but I am assured that enough has been now done for the commencement of the School.

"I inform your Grace of these arrangements at this

moment, because the custom of the Medical Schools of Dublin obliges me to publish the names by anticipation, though subject to the bishops' nomination, in order that our School may open in November.

"Begging your Grace's blessing, I am, my dear Lord, your faithful servant in Christ,

"JOHN H. NEWMAN, *Rector*.

"HIS GRACE THE ARCHB'P OF TUAM."

To this the Archbishop returned the following reply:—

"TUAM, August 3, 1855.

"MY DEAR DR. NEWMAN:—I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo, and beg to know whether, in forwarding to the archbishops the list it contains, you consider it only as a communication of courtesy, or whether it is meant to submit it to their approval?

"I remain, my dear Dr. Newman, your faithful servant,

"† JOHN MAC HALE.

"VERY REV. JOHN H. NEWMAN."

"CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, DUBLIN, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY, 87 STEPHEN'S GREEN, SOUTH, Jan. 10, 1856.

"MY LORD ARCHBISHOP:—I have to request the favor of your Grace's signature as one of the trustees of the funds collected for the establishment of the Catholic University, of the enclosed cheque for £2500 for the quarter beginning the 1st of February, 1856.

"I propose to send the cheque, when returned, to such of the trustees as have not already signed it.

"I have the honor to be, my Lord Archbishop,

"Your Grace's obedient servant,

"JOHN H. NEWMAN, *Rector*.

"HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

The Archbishop, after due deliberation, replied as follows:—

"The Archbishop of Tuam begs to forward the annexed paper with his signature to Dr. Newman's address, by whom it was sent, omitting for the present the observations

with which he should have respectfully accompanied it, if the Very Rev. writer of the application were not said to be now absent.

“ST. JARLATH’S, TUAM, January 22, 1856.”

On May 1st Dr. Newman again wrote:—

“MY DEAR LORD:—I know how many are your Grace’s engagements, and do not know how to encroach upon you without an apology. I hope I shall not do so except for a few minutes.

“Will you, then, allow me to say that I should feel much the kindness of your Grace’s *returning to me the cheque*, already signed by two trustees of the University Fund, which I sent to you on Friday last. This day, the 1st of May, is the appointed day for the payment of a great number of sums due for the University; and without the cheque in question we are not able to satisfy our claimants.

“I am, my dear Lord, your Grace’s faithful servant,

“JOHN H. NEWMAN, *of the Oratory*.

“THE MOST REV. ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.”

“TUAM, May 1st, 1856.

“VERY REVEREND SIR:—I am desired by his Grace the Archbishop to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th ultimo, which reached Tuam on the 26th, requesting his signature to the cheque with which it was accompanied. When applied to for his signature to a similar cheque in January last, he signed it for once, as you happened to be absent at the time, omitting any observations which, as he remarked in his reply, he would have deemed it his duty otherwise to make. Now, he begs leave to return it unsigned, as he is not aware of his being trustee to any such fund as that you termed in the cheque “the Cullen and Newman account.”

“I have the honor to be your very obedient servant,

“JOHN MAC EVILLY.

“VERY REV. DR. NEWMAN.”

MULLINGAR, May 4th, 1856.

"MY DEAR LORD:—The Jesuit Fathers opened a "mission" here on this day. I have, in consequence, only a few moments to acknowledge your Grace's favor of yesterday. The course you have adopted will force parties into an abandonment of their unwise career, or prompt a more obstinate, reckless, and injurious step, ruinous to the University. I had hopes of an amicable adjustment of our difficulties until I read the circular of Dr. Slattery about the collection. It surprised and disgusted me. It struck at the powerful argument, which should tell on all who wished success to the institution. It could not progress without "the sinews of war," which he stepped forward to supply.

"I heard nothing from Dublin since except a formal card from Rector and Professors [inviting me] to be present at the opening of the church on Thursday, an invitation which I thought proper to decline. We are daily sinking deeper and becoming more prostrate by divisions in Church and State. Never did Ireland exhibit greater evidence of weakness. My only hope now is the appointment of [Cardinal] Brunelli to the prefectship, and the removal of Barnabò from the secretaryship. God grant them both!

"Ever, my dearest Lord,

"Your Grace's faithfully devoted servant,

"† JOHN CANTWELL.

"TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

We here append a letter of the then bishop of Clonfert, Dr. Derry, on the same subject.

"LOUGHREA, May 10th, 1856.

"MY DEAR LORD:—I need hardly say with what pleasure I read the transcript your Grace so kindly sent me of the answer to Dr. Newman. . . .

"Either there should be an assertion of responsible trusteeship, in the present instance, on the part of your Grace and of Dr. Cantwell,—and I wish I might be sure of Dr.

Slattery's views also, — or you should at once resign the trusts reposed in you by the bishops of Ireland.

"I have enough of respect for the British Constitution to make me approve of that part of it which places, — at least theoretically, — expenditure under the control of those whom the payers of taxes appoint to watch it and to be the administrators of the public funds. It was on the faith of certain trustees being the custodians of the University Fund that it was collected and paid. And, surely, there has been as much latitude already taken, rather than given, in respect to its administration, as could be well endured. . . .

"I remain, my dear Lord, your Grace's faithful servant,
"† JOHN DERRY."

The University Schools had been opened and the formidable expense of an unendowed establishment went on increasing. The year 1857 opened for Dr. Newman with no better prospects than the two preceding years. He had, as usual, to appeal to the archbishops.

"CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, DUBLIN, Jan. 26th, 1857.

"MY LORD :—I beg to ask the favor of your Grace's signature to the enclosed cheque for £ 2050 for the quarter's expenses of the University. It is made up as follows :—Quarter of £ 5000, the yearly sum asked by me for the faculties of philosophy, and letters, medicine, and science, and the £ 1,250 quarter of interest of the University Fund, for the faculty of theology ; prizes, University High Mass, etc., £ 300. Extraordinary sum (partly in lieu of students' fees as yet deficient) for the moiety of the burses of £ 40 each held by nominees of the archbishops of Dublin, Armagh, and Cashel, and the bishops of Kildare, Elphin, Kilmore, Achonry ; for rates and taxes of University buildings, chemical laboratory, etc., natural philosophy apparatus, printing, etc., £ 500,—in all £ 2050.

"I have the honor to be, my Lord, your Grace's obedient, humble servant,

"JOHN H. NEWMAN, *Rector*.

"TO HIS GRACE, THE AB'P OF TUAM.

"P.S.—I have addressed a copy of this letter to the other Most Rev. and Rt. Rev. Trustees of the University Fund."

"TUAM, February 3d, 1857.

"VERY REV. DEAR SIR:—I am desired by his Grace, the Archbishop, to acknowledge your letter of the 26th ultimo, which reached him only on the 3d instant, together with the cheque with which it was accompanied. As the letter explanatory of the cheque refers to items which have not received any due sanction, his Grace is not a little surprised that the Trustees should be asked to authorize them by their signatures. However, he affixes his name to a cheque for a thousand pounds sterling, for the present, without any reference whatever to the items for which there is no authority, and with the perfect understanding that the Trustees do not undertake, by signing such cheques, to be responsible for any stated demands of any certain salary or allowance to the officers of the University."

The original copy of this letter bears no signature, and is in the handwriting of the Archbishop. The cheque for £1000 was duly acknowledged by Dr. Newman, whose position was made so difficult by the want of harmony among the Irish prelates. The Bishop of Meath, Dr. Cantwell, one of the most generous benefactors of the University, thus animadverted on Dr. Newman's last application for money:—

"MULLINGAR, Jan. 31st, 1857.

"MY DEAR LORD:—My impression is, that at the last general meeting of the bishops we deputed to the archbishops and the Rector until our next meeting the entire management of the University, with a distinct understanding that all appointments should be made and other transactions of importance should be performed with their approval and concurrence.

"If this arrangement has not been complied with (and I believe it has not) your Grace might quietly ascertain what really have been the powers deputed to the archbishops by the body of prelates, and to insist on a rigid conformity

to them, as a condition on which alone you would feel justified in signing a cheque for such a large amount. The archbishops, in my opinion, are responsible for, and in conscience are strictly bound to satisfy themselves of *the just and proper* appropriation of the funds confided to their trust. On this ground I felt much relieved by the late resolution which exempted me from any share in such responsibility. The irregular and unsatisfactory course hitherto pursued by those concerned reconciled me to a change which I would otherwise regret.

"Rome should be informed of such monstrous expenditure by an institution conferring such little benefit.

"No cheque [sent] or application as yet made to me.

"My dear Lord your Grace's ever faithful, devoted servant,

"† JOHN CANTWELL.

"TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

"P.S.—What of the citation to Rome of the archbishops, the Cardinal, the bishops of Galway and Ferns?"

"BALLINASLOE, Feb. 1st, 1857.

"MY DEAR LORD:—Your Grace's letter of the 30th has just reached me here, where I have been this day holding an ordination. I think your Grace cannot sign such a cheque as has been forwarded to you. The *fiscal* part of Dr. Newman's project was not approved or adopted at the late meeting of the bishops; and, even though it had been adopted, the execution of it should remain in abeyance until the arrival of the confirmatory or amendatory decree of the Sacred Congregation, to which all the regulations of that meeting were deferred.

"If it be deemed right in matters hitherto managed by the Irish episcopate in their domestic meetings, to so limit the action of the bishops as to leave all their proceedings ineffective until the Sacred Congregation has revised them, the pecuniary part of the legislation must, as well as the rest, await the answer of the S. Congregation.

"In point of fact, however, the project of Dr. Newman

was treated as consisting of two independent parts. One of these, the first on the statutes, was accepted with certain important mutilations; the second, a statement of the mode of collection of funds, of their disbursement, etc., was not entered upon at all.

“In truth, it appeared to me that it was considered so *outré*, that the very patrons of the scheme generally could not undertake to press the fiscal sections, contained, I believe, in a letter appended to the project on the Statutes.

“The salaries of professors were not, therefore, decided upon by the bishops, nor did I even before *hear* of moieties of burses, such as are enumerated. In fact, I do not understand a word about that item of the expenditure for which supply is demanded.

“Again, rent, taxes, etc., are to be paid only for houses that are *ours*, that belong to the *University*, that are vested in Trustees for University purposes; that are rented by *competent* persons for temporary University purposes.

“I know of no houses permanently secured to the University by legal instruments; nor do I know of any *competent* persons having hired houses for University purposes.

“The explanations given in the meeting at —— about the School of Medicine were to the effect that it was a purchase made by Dr. Cullen, or for him, out of funds left entirely at *his* disposal by some friend, for University purposes. That seemed to me to be the only property in houses, or such, that the University could be said to have. And even that was not, that I recollect, said to be vested in any Trustees for the University. The house in Stephen's Green, though a great deal has been expended on it, is held by a very precarious tenure; that in Harcourt Street is Dr. Newman's residence, with some accommodation for boarders. It belongs to Mrs. Legram, Sergeant O'Brien's mother-in-law, and I know not that it has been taken by Dr. Newman on any other authority than his own.

“If the late defunct Committee be invoked as an authority, any act of its, subsequent to the May meeting 1854, assuming to regulate contracts, salaries, or anything else than

the *acceptance* of money for University purposes, would be a clear contravention of the law there passed and approved of at Rome. It is in the latter end of the approved proceedings of that meeting.

“ It may be that salaries were fixed and agreed upon at an earlier period by that Committee. But I, at least, would not be bound by its acts. I believe the same Committee did sanction the *purchase* of the Stephen's Green house; but the purchase fell to the ground on examination of the title; and it is only held from year to year, or rather held at a yearly rent until title is made out,—if it can be made out,—the seller being bound to accept that rent, unless he make out title. This is the best account, I believe, that could be given of that transaction; and on such an imperfect arrangement a great deal of money has been already expended in the repairs and adjustments of the house. I do not refer to the *church*, which is said to be built at Dr. Newman's expense.

“ Under all these circumstances, I think, however painful the step, your Grace is at least warranted, if not called upon, to refuse a summary compliance with so heavy a demand as you are asked to sanction. . . .

“ Your Grace's faithful servant,

“ † JOHN DERRY.”

“ LOUGHREA, Feb. 5, 1857.

“ MY DEAR LORD:—when I sent my rapidly written answer to your Grace's letter, on last Sunday, I intended to write again next day, and perhaps said so. I was, however, so occupied since that I did not carry out my intention. . . . I believe I have said enough already regarding the cheque your Grace was asked to sign. The sum was certainly of a very respectable amount; and, as it has been spent, it cannot be said that the University is a failure for want of a respectable outlay, whatever other explanations may be offered for its want of success. A quarterly expenditure of £2050 is, at all events, as much as need be thought of for the number of those educated, a number so avowedly

scanty, as that part of the sum in question is meant to supply the deficit in their estimated fees.

"If other trustees, without your Grace's coöperation, are competent and willing to apply so large a sum to meet the quarterly expenditure, no inconvenience can arise from your Grace's refusal to be a party to such expenditure, no inconvenience, I should say, except the grave prospective one of a rapid exhaustion of the funds. The Rector's views will be carried out, the professors and all the other functionaries will be paid, and the machine will be kept lubricated to the full extent of the wishes of the stipendiaries in attendance on it.

"But I can scarcely expect any further benefit to education arising from the generosity of the support so given to it. If, on the other hand, other Trustees hesitate about endorsing such cheques on the funds entrusted to them, your Grace's refusal to do so will combine with their reluctance in enforcing an accountability at present scarcely nominally admitted. On the whole, I think it will be very well if your Grace has refused to be a party to the proceeding.

"Dr. Fallon is here to-day. I did not see his Lordship until to-day since the meeting, last June, in Dublin. He has heard from a friend in Dublin (a lay relative of his) that Dr. Cullen stated, three weeks ago, that Father Mac Evilly was appointed to Galway. Dr. Keane was the unanimous choice of the bishops of Munster for the see of Cloyne.

"The paragraph about the archbishops being called to Rome was a very extraordinary one. I think there must be some gossip going on in Rome to that effect, and that the small talk there was sent home by some correspondent. I should not, however, be in the least surprised, if recourse were had to some such expedient in order to impose a University Code, fiscal and administrative, on the Irish Church.

"Your Grace has, of course, seen the letter of the Roman Correspondent of the "Times." The writer has certainly

access to good sources of information. Some of the information, such as with regard to our proceedings in Dublin, would appear to be furnished from Ireland. The views, and the facts, too, are somewhat distorted, but there is a groundwork of truth. *This is a pervading idea of the propriety of remodelling everything connected with Ireland, and introducing the regimen of St. Agatha's*, that is really quite consistent with the views of the Archbishop of Dublin. Yet the newspaper friends of your Grace find the idea so repugnant to all Irish notions, that they treat the writer as an enemy of the Archbishop, and, I suppose, regard all his suggestions as ironically put forth to show the tendency of those of the Archbishop.

"After reading the letter over carefully, and the comments of the "Post" upon it, I really do not know whether I ought to consider the writer [to be] in earnest or not. . . .

"I am, my dear Lord, your Grace's faithful servant,

"+ JOHN DERRY."

At length Dr. Newman grew weary of the contest thus thrust upon him. He had accepted the office of rector with the belief that all Catholic Ireland, and the Irish race all over the world, would be with him in the godlike work which he had undertaken so lovingly, so trustingly for the benefit of a people so long and cruelly wronged. How lofty was the idea which he had formed of the Irish, and what glorious possibilities he hoped to realize in undertaking to govern the Catholic University, he has told us himself, in part at least, in the beautiful and soul-stirring lectures delivered in Dublin during the all too brief season of his stay in the Emerald Isle.

The author of this biography would wish to find words to convey in this page to the venerable man who honors the Roman purple by his genius and his virtues as much as does Cardinal Manning by his apostolic labors, the deep reverence and the holy love entertained for him by all Irishmen at home and abroad.

It was the misfortune both of Dr. Mac Hale and of Dr. Newman, as it was the undeserved ill fate of Ireland, that

profound and ever-to-be deplored dissensions prevailed among the Irish episcopate when the Catholic University of Ireland began its first brief career. For the failure of the national hopes in this sudden ending of that career, the justice of history will not find JOHN MAC HALE or JOHN HENRY NEWMAN accountable.

We have only two letters more to quote of this saddening correspondence.

“DUBLIN, April 2, 1857.

“MY LORD ARCHBISHOP:—I beg to acquaint your Grace that the term of years is now nearly completed which I proposed to myself to devote to the service of your University. It is my intention to resign the office of rector, with which you have honored me, next St. Lawrence’s Day, November 14.

“I have the honor to be, my Lord,

“Your Grace’s obedient servant,

“JOHN H. NEWMAN, *of the Oratory.*

“HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.”

Only one more letter from Dr. Newman to the Archbishop of Tuam is found in the “Mac Hale Manuscripts and Correspondence.”

“CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, May 21, 1857.

“MY LORD ARCHBISHOP:—In accordance with the Decrees of the Synodal Meeting of May 1854, which determine concerning the University appointments as follows:

“*Professorum tam ordinariorum quam extraordinariorum, quorum designatio ac præsentatio ad Rectorem spectabit, definitivam nominationem a nobis dumtaxat ratam et firmam habendam esse.*”

And again:

“*Supremam potestatem regendi nomine nostro et administrandi, usque dum proximus Episcoporum conventus habebitur, quatuor Archiepiscopis in iis pro quibus consensus episcopalis requireretur, committimus.*”

And again:

“*Regimen Universitatis quatuor Archiepiscopis commit-*

titur, donec proximus cœtus Episcopalis habebitur. Quod si Rector aliorum opere ad res Universitatis promovendas indignerit, statutum fuit ut provisorie aliquos viros doctos adhiberet."

And with the letter of the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation P. F., which says:

"Iis annis, quibus Episcoporum omnium cœtus non habeatur, de rebus ad Universitatem pertinentibus, tractare simul poterunt quatuor Archiepiscopi, quemadmodum nuperrime pro hoc anno mandatum fuit."

"I beg to present to your Graces, for the professorship of English Language and Literature, Thomas Arnold, Esq., late of University College, Oxford.

"I have the honor to be, my Lord,

"Your Grace's obedient servant,

"JOHN H. NEWMAN, *of the Oratory.*"¹

"HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

The dissentiment which arose early, on the constitution and government of the University, between the Archbishop of Tuam and the Delegate Apostolic, was unfortunate; but it was, on the part of the former, founded on solid reasons and objections dictated by conscience. As on other most important points of difference, the principles advocated by Dr. Mac Hale were admitted, in the course of time, to be those which should have been followed, and the ill-success he predicted but too surely and swiftly befell the institution he in vain wished to see prosper.

In the direction given to the Catholic University, as in that which Dr. Cullen gave to the politico-ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland,—men who were the best judges of what was most needed in Ireland regretted that one who had been educated outside of the country, and whose habits of thought and maxims of conduct had been formed in a social atmosphere so different from that of the United Kingdom, should have been intrusted with almost absolute power.

The following letter will tell how hopeless a task it became to govern the University.

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

“LOUGHREA, Jan. 13, 1860.

“MY DEAR LORD:—It would be presumptuous in me to discuss with your Grace further the expediency of your attending the University Committee meetings. And if I do attend them, I freely acknowledge I am far from being sanguine of any good result. But having urged for years the adoption of the present mode of administration, and having accepted the position of a delegate from this province, I think it better to go through the trial of attendance, until the trial is over one way or the other. It may be that I shall see the hopelessness of the concern; and then, of course, I shall declare my opinion and act on it. But, certainly, I cannot say, with your Grace, that the University is *now* organized contrary to the wishes of the bishops.

“Its staff, and their salaries and its arrangements, are decidedly not to my taste. I fear the substance of the good work contemplated will be crushed under the weight of expenses. But I cannot conceal from myself that the whole of that state of things (though introduced by others) was, at the late meeting, deliberately perpetuated by the bishops at large. Right or wrong they may have been; but the vast majority of the bishops decided on perpetuating that state of things.

“I know full well your Grace earnestly opposed the ratification of what I as well as your Grace would call ‘the abuses.’ But if a vote had been taken at any one stage of our deliberations, I am convinced there would not have been more than three or four dissentients from the proposed plan of continuing all the salaries, etc., etc.,

“It is under this impression, namely, that the University, such as it is, is the adopted of the bishops (I speak of them, of course, morally as a body) that I consented to act as from this province, and that I have been up once or twice. I have not the satisfaction of thinking that I have done or can do much or any good. But for a while I think it better to follow that course.

“The Clandestine Address got into the newspapers very soon. Mr. Hennessy did partial justice to it; but much

more could be said against the dupes or intriguers with whom it originated. The piety and charitable acts of some of them are, I see, set off in their favor. One is forcibly reminded of O'Connell's compliment to Lord Shrewsbury in the Jesuit aphorism.

"I was very sorry to see the Archbishop of Dublin's anxious defence of the Address of those gentlemen. I have had some correspondence with his Grace about it, and I send him my views again this evening. I do not refer to his Grace's letter; but I deal with the questions very plainly, and expressly quote the O'Connell's estimate of the value of such a set off as his Grace has offered.

"I remain, my dear Lord, your Grace's faithful servant,
"† JOHN DERRY."

The negotiation with the Government which occurred in 1864-65, regarding the Catholic University and education in general, ended in smoke, because the bishops were not united, and, therefore, treated by the Government as if they "were not in earnest." In all these negotiations the Archbishop of Tuam adhered inflexibly to his own principles and rules of conduct; and here again his sagacity proved that he knew Ministers well, and that nothing was to be expected from them but such concessions as a compact unity in the episcopal body, and a compact and independent party in the House of Commons, would compel them to yield to the Catholics of Ireland.

"TUAM, March 13th, 1860.

"MY LORD:—I am in receipt of your Grace's letter of the 8th instant, together with the printed copy of the reply intended for Mr. Cardwell.

"The gentleman secretary having, in his answer to your memorial, expressed in the plainest terms the steadfast adherence of her Majesty's Government to the principles of the National System, I do not think that a second application would be more successful than the first in securing for Catholics the blessings of a separate education. I cannot, therefore, concur in having my signature put to

any such rejoinder, from which no good result is to be anticipated.

"The votes of ten or even five members of Parliament, strenuously resolved to see our application carried out, would, in my opinion, grounded on long experience, have more weight with the Government than twenty memorials and their rejoinders with the signatures of all the episcopacy.

"I remain your Grace's faithful servant,

"† JOHN MAC HALE.

"MOST REV. DR. CULLEN."

"TUAM, March 31st, 1860.

"MY LORD:—Having already stated why I declined affixing my signature to the rejoinder to Mr. Cardwell, I do not find in your Grace's recent letter any reason to make me come to a different determination. I have had occasion to remark to your Grace more than once, that the mode of sending round letters to bishops soliciting their signatures for various objects without the opportunity of mutual consultation was, in general, liable to grave exceptions.

"I scarcely ever knew it to be productive of good. It is certain that it has been productive of evils. What benefit could accrue from the second document bearing the signatures of all the bishops, I do not understand, when the highest members of the Government could treat it like the former one, not believing, it is said, that the bishops were in earnest.

"This, no doubt, has been an injurious imputation. But, should reference be made to the petitions since presented to Parliament on the subject, as was agreed on by all, they should scarcely convince the Government of any earnest pressure on the Legislature.

"There is, in several quarters, more anxiety to get situations as commissioners and inspectors with large salaries under the present Board, than for separate grants for Catholics. And if those who look for such places could be

gratified, but little solicitude would be left by them or their friends for the rights and duties of Catholic bishops regarding the education of their flocks.

“Your Grace acknowledges how unfairly we have been dealt with by the English Government. But you will not be much surprised when you reflect that the Government which has treated us so unfairly regarding such solemn interests is so vigorously and zealously sustained by several among those who complain of its unfairness, nay, encouraged by such earnest and extensive support to continue and aggravate the same unjust and insulting treatment.

“I have the honor to be, my Lord, your Grace’s very obedient servant,

“† JOHN MAC HALE.

“MOST REV. DR. CULLEN.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

DR. MAC HALE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION AND SECRET SOCIETIES.

Called to the Council of the Vatican.

HAD the constitutional principles and policy advocated through life by the Archbishop of Tuam been adopted by a unanimous clergy and a united people, and persistently pursued in practice, the Ireland of the nineteenth century would have known of secret societies and unlawful associations nothing but the name. It is the violent repression of constitutional agitation, the calling in the strong arm of military force to put down public meetings and the free discussion of political and social questions, or the punishing by imprisonment and worse penalties the constitutional right of association, that drive citizens to band themselves together in secrecy and darkness for the purpose of righting wrong. Coercion, landlord oppression, and wholesale evictions rooting up from their native soil entire populations, and casting them on the highways like noxious weeds, there to wither and perish, these are the foster-parents of secret societies, agrarian crime, and abortive attempts at insurrection and revolution.

"The disastrous failure of the tenant-right movement inaugurated in 1849-'50; the deception of the people's hopes in 1853 by the Sadleir-Keogh betrayal and the breaking up the Independent Parliamentary party; and the campaign of wholesale evictions which the landlords at once began against the betrayed tenants, these were the events out of which sprang the Phoenix conspiracy, and later the Fenian organization.

"The last endeavor," writes A. M. Sullivan, "of the Irish masses to accomplish ameliorations within the lines of

the Constitution had been baffled and crushed. By skilful exercise of 'patronage' the Government had bought off the leaders and exploded the hopes and plans of the Tenant Leaguers. No direct political defeat could have accomplished so complete a dispersion of the popular organization. . . . Their faith in one another, their confidence in leaders, their reliance on constitutional effort, all, all were swept away. . . . Repeal was buried. Disaffection had disappeared. Nationality was unmentioned. Not a shout was raised. Not even a village Tenant-Right Club survived."¹

Whoever despaired of Ireland amid the political silence, the apparent peace, and the deep moral gloom which had fallen on the nation, the Archbishop of Tuam certainly did not. His sudden departure from Rome in the beginning of 1855 had for motive, not only the determination not to be inveigled or coerced into approving or accepting the rules then sought to be imposed on the clergy of Ireland by the influence of the Apostolic Delegate, but also and still more his anxiety to prevent both priests and people at home from giving way to despair and lending ear to the violent counsels begotten of aggravated oppression and the disappointment of hopes the most cherished and most legitimate.

It is on record how he struggled, all through 1856, 1857, and the following years, to reorganize the Tenant-Right and Independent Opposition party, to heal the divisions which were continually springing up in the national ranks, and to infuse his own indomitable spirit into the faithful members of Parliament then led by George Henry Moore.

In the many letters before us, both from Dr. Gray of the "Freeman," and from Mr. Moore, complaining to the Archbishop of the bitter dissensions which marked the assemblies of the League, and, by rendering harmony of feeling and unity of purpose impossible, imperilled the national cause and lost precious opportunities, we pass by those revelations of personal animosities which are of no interest to the reader.

¹ "New Ireland," ch. xvii., p. 196.

The foremost men in the nationalist ranks appealed to Dr. Mac Hale as to one whom all looked up to as the acknowledged arbiter and guide. And no one can read the letters written in answer to such appeals without seeing how little there was in the great prelate of the demagogue, and how much of the true statesman, the wise counsellor, the impartial and disinterested judge.

Take the following letters as a sample of this practical and patriotic wisdom.

“TUAM, April 27, 1857.

“MY DEAR DR. GRAY:—Having in my note of last week alluded to the dissensions that have, unhappily, sprung up in the League, I expressed a hope that, for the interest of the tenant class, which you have so much at heart, they would be put an end to, and fresh hope infused into the hearts of the people.

“Unprepared as the Freeholders were, it is astonishing what an appreciation they manifested of their own interests, and of the policy of independent opposition, with the exception of that class, numerous enough, to which I referred, who are looking for places even at the expense of broken pledges.

“Emancipation never took a more thorough hold of the people than Tenant-Right and the only sure mode of gaining that or any other Right, Independent Opposition.

“You are aware of the observations of several friends of the “Freeman,” that it has not recently advocated that policy as vigorously as in former times. I mention merely the fact; all the same, none should forget the time and occasion when you and the “Freeman,” as your powerful organ, were so instrumental in dissipating the illusion with which crafty Representatives amused their constituents, by exhibiting votes apparently good, but still valueless, whilst they supported the hostile Minister. It should be recollected, too, that after so large a number of the Representatives had betrayed their trust, there is among the members of the League the same earnestness in advocating

this policy as at the period of its triumph, in 1852. To this circumstance should be added that the Representatives who remained faithful did not give that countenance to the League which you advocated for the success of the cause. Now the feelings and interests of the people are so thoroughly engaged in favor of Tenant-Right and Independent Opposition, that I am convinced they will never be reconciled to any other agitation, be its name or object what it may, that they never will consent to become parties to push Independent Opposition for any other interest, until the safety of the Tenant-Right and full Religious Equality be secured to all the Catholic people of Ireland.

"I remain, my dear Dr. Gray,

"Your faithful servant,

† "JOHN MAC HALE."

This, in substance, is what the Archbishop of Tuam maintained in the memorable letters written by him to Pius IX. and the Propaganda, in 1855, in vindication of the national policy with regard to Tenant-Right and Independent Opposition, as against the subserviency of the Government prelates and against the corruptionists and pledge-breakers.

The apparent triumph of Dr. Cullen in Rome, and that of the Sadleir-Keogh conspirators in Parliament, as well as the discouragement or despair which had seized upon the Irish people, in no wise cast down the high-souled defender of popular rights.

"TUAM, May 11, 1857.

"MY DEAR DR. GRAY:—I regret much that I had gone when you did me the favor of calling.

"The reason why the difficulties surrounding the Tenant Question appear so great, is the manifest indisposition of some of its friends to work harmoniously together. Unless they resolve on doing so, the same difficulties will continue. As they have the interests of the question at heart, it would not, I think, be hopeless to see them yet exerting themselves in concert to achieve its success. With a com-

mon zeal for a great common object, greater personal differences have been often effectually reconciled. This cannot be done by mutual warfare; and, if you refer to the recent attacks of the "Tablet" and "Nation" as calculated to widen the breach, others, friendly, too, to the cause of Tenant-Right, point to the recent articles in the "Freeman" against Mr. Moore as especially calculated to embitter the already existing misunderstanding.

"The question at present is how the Tenant Question, for which all friends appear especially anxious, can best be promoted. The Tenant League, such as it is, for I am not offering any opinion on its materials or its constitution, is yet the only organized body before the country as a means to further the cause. And the members of Parliament returned on the principle of Independent Opposition are, however few, the recognized Parliamentary party to carry out that principle and, through it, the success of the Tenant Question.

"Neither of these bodies is as influential as the friends of the Tenant Question would wish to see them. Still, by those friends they are recognized as having claims to their support. No doubt there is a large section of Irishmen, including also several of the Catholic body, who look upon them,—all Opposition members and League men,—as persons not entitled to much consideration.

"But it is not from any want of influence in numbers or respectability that the aversion to them on the part of those people proceeds. They hate the very existence of any such bodies as interfering with their own monopoly, as they have uniformly hated all preceding associations. And if the League were more powerful, and the members of the Independent Opposition still more numerous, far from finding favor on that account with such people, they would become objects of more bitter assaults from those journals that have so long and so uniformly labored against every popular organization.

"As long, then, as the League and the members of the Independent Opposition enjoy a certain decree of confidence

from the friends of the Tenant Question, the latter will look with much jealousy on any systematic opposition to them; and, unless in cases of self-defence and to repel unwarranted attacks, they will not consider those journals favorable to the measure of Tenant Right which are hostile at the same time, or opposed to the organization of the League or to the Parliamentary party by which they hope ultimately to carry it.

"In all this there is nothing to preclude a change or improvement in the existing organization, the exercise of a fair and legitimate criticism of the acts of public men, members of Parliament or otherwise.

"If the "*Freeman*," so favorable to Tenant Right, and so influential in its assertion of it, should be found hostile to the means adopted by those who are so deeply interested in its success, such a contingency would be embarrassing to them and the question. But not alone the hostility, but the neutrality or indifference of such an organ as the "*Freeman*" to the popular cause, would cast a damp on the Tenant Right movement.

"The first step, I think, toward a proper adjustment should be the cessation of hostilities on both sides. After this people would be in better temper to understand each other; and I have no doubt but all, without any sacrifice of honor from any, would be disposed to merge their personal feelings in a cause of so much importance to the country, and which cannot succeed without a more cordial coöperation among its friends.

"I wish I could do anything to bring about so desirable a result. I remain, my dear Dr. Gray, yours very faithfully,

"JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."¹

It is evident that to infuse into the hearts of the masses as well as their leaders his own indomitable spirit, with the firm hope and conviction that the national cause must triumph in the end, was the first step toward success. To trust, to hope, and to struggle, banishes despair. To estab-

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

lish harmony of feeling, unity of thought and purpose, and combined, persistent effort toward the attainment of a noble end, this in the Ireland of 1856-'57 was the only means under heaven to prevent eviction and coercion from producing an abundant crop of secret societies and agrarian crime. This Dr. Mac Hale steadily tried to do.

His way of dealing with the secret societies, and with associations of every kind, even those professing to have for their object piety and benevolence, well deserves, even at the present day, the attention of Churchmen. Politicians will also discover in the firm hold which the Archbishop and his priests ever kept, in the diocese of Tuam, of the people, and their perfect control of all popular movements, a golden truth which should never be lost sight of, in Ireland at least: That, when a bishop and his priests are identified in sympathy and interest with their flock, and where the pastors are thus avowed advocates of their people's civil and religious rights, and their defenders against oppression, *there is no room for secret and criminal associations.*

We, in America, remember well the mingled hope and alarm with which the spread of the Fenian Brotherhood in the United States was viewed immediately before our great civil war, and during its progress. An Irish priest at the head of a parish in one of our States consulted the Archbishop on this subject, and received in the following letter instruction which we earnestly recommend to bishops, priests, and laymen alike.

“ST. JARLATH'S, TUAM, April 28, 1862.

“REV. DEAR SIR:—Though your kind letter and generous remittance of fifty pounds reached me in Holy Week, I had to delay their acknowledgment on account of the duties of those days and of the Easter festival. Now, however, I beg to convey to you, on my own part and on that of our afflicted people, my most grateful acknowledgments. You will not omit, I trust, to assure all our good benefactors of the like feelings of gratitude to them for their practical sympathy.

"I am much edified by your anxiety 'to get all the information I can give in respect to the *Fenian Brotherhood*, as you wish to encourage it, if good, denounce it, if unlawful and unworthy the confidence of American Irishmen.' I am not able to furnish the information looked for, having no knowledge of its constitution or its rules. However, from a recent controversy in Ireland regarding kindred subjects, I have no hesitation in stating that the distinct principles of such associations should be cautiously inquired into and diligently ascertained ere they should be confounded [with such as are unlawful].

"To arrive at a safe conclusion regarding them, their respective rules should be examined in the different countries in which they are formed, and thus you may do justice to them and to the public weal, and avoid the danger of rashly committing yourself to an indiscriminate approval or condemnation.

"The advocates of St. Patrick's Brotherhood in Ireland disown any secret oaths or symbols which its opponents charge it with encouraging. On the existence or absence of such covert and unlawful oaths and covenants among the Fenian Brotherhood you and the American clergy can form your own judgment.

"In this diocese we are strangers to the Fenian Brotherhood as well as to the Brotherhood of St. Patrick and the Young Men's Societies. And the reason is, because we deem the sacred bond of Catholicity uniting the members of the flock with each other, and the entire flock with their pastors, under their respective bishops, to be the most effectual of all associations for vigorous and legitimate action in promoting both the spiritual interests of the Church and the civil welfare of the people.

"One erroneous and mischievous notion should be carefully guarded against, which so often confounds a dutiful love of country with treason to the State. The propounders of such a maxim are the worst enemies of government, and have created more Ribbonmen and secret societies than ever could spring from an open and vigorous assertion of

right and justice. We know from experience, if some have been seduced by wicked and artful leaders into dangerous political courses under the mask of patriotism, others have been made, under self-constituted leaders, unconscious instruments of political corruption, being forbidden to assume the legitimate attitude and speak the language of constitutional freedom in remonstrance against manifest oppression.

"I send you a paper containing an account of a very large meeting held here on Easter Monday on the subject of the famine, by which you will perceive that we are not insensible to the cruelty with which the people are treated by their rulers, or to the gratitude which the seasonable aid of our American friends should inspire.

"I felt much pleasure in sending the money, £5 to Athlone, and £5 to Shannon Bridge, in accordance with your instructions.

"Again, accept my best thanks, and believe me, Rev. dear Sir,

"Your faithful and obliged servant.

"†JOHN MAC HALE, *Archbishop of Tuam*.¹

"REV. L. B. KILROY, P. P.:"

The Archbishop's answers to other clergymen, both in Great Britain and in Ireland, were founded on the same sound principles of religion and of practical wisdom. Where, under what professes to be a free and constitutional government, the laws are enacted by the representatives of the people, and impartial and independent courts of justice administer the laws; where the popular will, as expressed by the majority of the electors and their representatives in the Legislature, is the supreme rule of public action,—there the people must have an indefeasible right to give expression to their grievances, their needs, their opinion of their servants in the Government. Deprive them of this right of public meeting, of free speech, and a free press,—and you make them conspire and plot in the darkness. Then, in a country like the United Kingdom and its colonies, and like

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

the United States, you make secret conspiracies and associations a preparatory school for insurrection and revolution.

The rule laid down by the Archbishop of Tuam is one founded on both principle and experience: Let citizens never be "forbidden to assume the legitimate attitude and speak the language of constitutional freedom in remonstrance against oppression."

While he thus consistently vindicated the right of free and lawful remonstrance, he was most careful to prevent his people from being "seduced by wicked and artful leaders into dangerous political courses, under the mask of patriotism." He was, if possible, still more energetic in drying up the sources of unlawful conspiracy and crime, by putting a stop to injustice and oppression, and by urging on each successive administration the sad condition of the popular masses in Ireland, where the primary laws of nature were violated, and the essential maxims of social and economical wisdom were utterly ignored by the men in power.

Year after year, from 1850 till the very last months of his life, appeared in the public papers his eloquent remonstrances against the cruelty, injustice, and unwisdom of the measures enacted by Parliament, or the blind and heartless callousness of the Government in their treatment of Ireland. The volume of Dr. Mac Hale's letters published by his own care, in 1847,—is far inferior in real interest to the splendid series of letters which thus appeared in the public press on every subject which affected the vital interests of the Irish people, through all the dread vicissitudes of their history from 1846 to 1881.

In 1864, the great demonstration which took place in Dublin in the month of August, in honor of O'Connell, by laying the foundation stone of the national monument about to be erected to him, revived among Nationalists the hope of forming, on the model of the Catholic Defence Association, one which might once more rally Irishmen of all parties under the flag of Tenant Right and Repeal. A requisition to the Lord Mayor of Dublin was got up and signed

by influential persons, asking him to convene an aggregate meeting such as that of 1851. Mr. John Blake Dillon, universally respected for his pure and noble character, wrote to the Archbishop of Tuam, requesting him to sign this requisition. The answer, which made a deep impression on the public mind, sets forth his Grace's reasons for declining, and gives us a key to his policy all through these dark years:—

“ST. JARLATH'S, TUAM, December 6, 1864.

“DEAR SIR:—I am in receipt of your respected letter, and the accompanying requisition to the Lord Mayor. . . With regard to the objects (stated in the requisition), there can be no question of their great importance, and the only wonder is, how the representatives of Ireland, at least those of the popular constituencies, have been so long and so generally silent on the legislative requirements of the country, up to the eve of the dissolution of Parliament. But, though there is no question regarding the importance of the objects, not so with the agency proposed to carry them into serious and practical effect.

“The zeal to found an association at this crisis reminds us of the great Association founded in 1851; and from its fate, and the consequences which followed, one may draw a lesson in estimating what would be, probably, the result of the projected association.

“No association now to be formed for the good of Ireland could surpass or probably equal that Association, in the number of its members, in the pledges by which the fidelity of Parliamentary candidates was sought to be secured, or in the unusual solemnity with which its first meeting was inaugurated. The sequel need not be told. It is written in the present prostrate condition of the country, and the dispersion of its people.

“Yes, after allowing, in latter times, their own share to bad harvests, this state of things is brought about by the breach of the covenants then made; by the treachery of representatives then, unfortunately, trusted; by the acquies-

cence of entire, and principally corrupt, municipal constituencies ;¹ in the scandalous violation of engagements of which they were the witnesses, if not the securities : and, finally, the ominous silence of a large portion of the once popular press, at first rather loud in its censures of the political apostasy, but gradually adopting a more tolerant tone, until it subsided into a gentle condemnation of this hideous national betrayal.

“ Nay, more : these infamous men, who betrayed the best interests of the country, were not content with being silent on their misdeeds, but had the hardihood, together with their supporters, to assume the language of complaint and to arraign the conduct of the clergy and people who labored to carry out the policy to which all classes of society were then so clearly committed.

“ Are we, then, justified in expecting from the association now contemplated more favorable results ?

“ I am not insensible to the lamentable condition of the country, or to the necessity of great and generous exertions to save the people from utter extermination. Nor am I indifferent to the observations regretting the want of union, and expressive of a wish that all past errors and mistakes should be forgotten. The long continued reluctance to unite with convicted delinquents, and the speedy failure following on every attempt to create such an association, are matters of deep significance. They show what a shock has been given to public confidence, which must be restored ere there can be a hope of forming any effective confederation. This caution in trusting projects so often delusive, through the dishonesty of those who betrayed the people, is creditable to the virtue of the nation.

“ Finding how much they were deceived and injured by public men, the people should naturally expect from those who had been parties to the injury and deceit a sincere and sorrowful acknowledgment of their errors, as well as a sincere pledge of their resolve not to repeat them, before

¹ Such as Athlone, where the traitor Keogh was re-elected, and Sligo, which returned the arch-traitor Sadleir.

they could again be invested with the country's confidence. This should be the first necessary preliminary to the construction of any national association.

"But it may be said that there was no such delinquency as is assumed, and that, therefore, there is no need of apology or reparation. I have no doubt but this is the opinion of several who would wish to take a prominent part in the association. The avowal of that opinion would be creditable to their candor, and not less useful in enabling the people to shape their own course, than the confession of having pursued a wrong career.

Giving, then, credit for sincerity in their views to this large section of the community who can see nothing faulty in what has been done, and who have not a word or feeling of reproach for the most notorious of dead or living delinquents, what is to be expected from an association in which these opinions might prevail? Nothing, in all consistency, but that those who hold them are prepared to play over again the same old game, in which they could see no harm.

"To sanction such a result, and it would be the probable one, I am not at all prepared. I cannot enter into alliance with any who manifest no regret for the violation of former solemn engagements. To have been once deceived is in no way discreditable. It only argues a too generous confidence in the faith and integrity of our fellow-men. But to be deceived again by entering into unconditional fellowship with any who had been unfaithful to their trust, would expose one to the reproach of being a willing party to the deception.

"Such are my views on the important subject of the requisition, and which I feel due to you, to myself, and to the country, thus to explain in reply to your communication. If I thought that against a large section of men who look solely to their narrow, individual interests, careless of the fate of the great mass of the people, you and some others in whom I have confidence could muster a sufficient force to be at your post, to watch and to baffle their selfish designs, I might then be induced to give any little influence

I may have to the experiment; but, aware that the self-seekers are always more ingenious in devising, and more active in prosecuting their schemes, than those who generously labor for the common weal, I must respectfully decline affixing my signature to the requisition.

"I have the honor to remain, my dear sir, your faithful servant,

" JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

" J. B. DILLON, ESQ."

Mr. Dillon having failed to obtain the Archbishop's sanction to this new movement, or his acquiescing in the reasons so clearly stated in the above letter for withholding his Grace's signature, another old and valued friend, Mr. O'Neill Daunt, endeavored to overcome the Prelate's objections.

" KILCASCAN, BALLYNEEN, BANDON, CO. CORK,

Jan. 6, 1865.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—I need scarcely say that I very much deplore that your Grace should have seen fit to deprive us of the invaluable advantage of your adhesion to the national movement. When I first became aware that the new association was contemplated, I flattered myself that your Grace would have been among the first of those whose countenance would help to give it strength.

"In your published letter you express—what I always knew you held—opinions strongly favorable to the objects we desire to obtain. The obstacle to your Grace's adhesion is the fear lest the present agitation should share the fortunes of its predecessor in 1851; and from similar causes.

"With regard to the particular elements of weakness apprehended by your Grace, I wish respectfully to say a word or two. Firstly, I have reason to know that all the prelates who have joined the movement are thoroughly in earnest; and whatever may be your thoughts with reference to any particular individual, there is, I submit, no reasonable doubt that the episcopal body will preserve the

movement in its straightforward character and working. Next, I well remember that some members of the body then formed were so injudicious as to hint a desire of recovering for the Catholic Church a portion of the Ecclesiastical State Endowments. This was enough to destroy all chance of help from the British Voluntaries.

"But I took care at the Aggregate Meeting to give full emphasis to our thorough voluntarism, and our total repudiation of this source of weakness. By the way, I was most wretchedly reported in the *Freeman*. Good reports were in the *Dublin Evening Post*, *News*, and *Nation*.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP, will you pardon an old friend for expressing his anxiety that you may see your way to confer on us the great benefit of your coöperation?

"I have the honor to be, my Lord, of your Grace the sincere friend and humble servant,

"W. J. O'N. DAUNT."

The Archbishop was immovable.

"ST. JARLATH'S, TUAM, January 13, 1865.

"MY DEAR SIR:—Your very kind letter reached me in due time. I need not say with what pleasure I read your excellent speech at the late Aggregate Meeting, which was true to those sound and equitable principles once universally promulgated throughout the entire land.

"You were, I believe, the only one who ventured, in that assembly, to refer to the great injury inflicted by the Union, and to the necessity of repairing it as the only efficient means of repairing the other grievances which engaged the attention of the Meeting. You observed fairly that, though a member of the League, you deemed it not incompatible with your duties as such to aid in the present movement.

"It does not appear that there was any reciprocal response to the effect that those who would aid that Association would not deem it incompatible with their duties to advocate, through a similar convention, the restoration of a native legislature.

"It is unnecessary to enumerate the obvious causes of the deep distrust in the recent movement. They are found in the studied forbearance from any reference to the treachery already practised on the Irish people. One of the deepest, however, is the restriction of our country's misery to subordinate grievances, without daring even to allude to the prolific parent of wrong, from which all the rest derive their noxious vitality.

"Without, however, discussing this cause more at length, it is an obvious fact that there is no confidence in the present agitation.

"Glad, under any circumstances, thus to commune with an old and respected friend, who can recollect those occasions when, under a sincere inspiration for the people's weal, their faith and confidence enabled us to effect what battallions could not achieve, I have the honor to remain, my dear sir, your faithful servant,

"JOHN MAC HALE.

"W. J. O'N. DAUNT, ESQ."

To Dr. Denvir, Bishop of Down and Connor, who had written to him regarding the Association, the Archbishop briefly sums up the reasons why he cannot encourage this movement.

"TUAM, December 18, 1864.

"MY DEAR LORD:—Your Lordship's kind and respected letter has just reached me. It is not to the objects of the Association that any objection is made. But I rather fear that, instead of sincerely and earnestly laboring for the attainment of these laudable objects, some will make use of them to forward their own selfish purposes. This fear is founded on recent experience, which has sunk deep into the minds of the people; nor is there any peculiar reason to hope that a similar deception will not be again practised.

"In looking over the published list of bishops (who had signed the requisition), I missed your Lordship's name out of

the number. Wishing you all the blessings of the coming great festival, I remain, etc.,

“† JOHN MAC HALE.

“MOST REV. DR. DENVIR.”

The proposed aggregate meeting had been held, as we gather from Mr. O'Neill Daunt's second letter, and the proceedings only justified too well the Archbishop's instinctive aversion to the movement thus begun; his prediction of its failure to produce any beneficial result was fulfilled by the event. Still, Mr. O'Neill Daunt persisted in urging Dr. Mac Hale to join the Association. “If any such danger,” he writes on January 13, “as you seemed to apprehend, has existence, it can be best neutralized by your Grace's adhesion, and by the adhesion of those who like you, are thoroughly in earnest. My purpose in now addressing your Grace is to acquaint you that I have received, within this week, the strongest assurances of active support in our efforts to disendow the State Church, from the Central Committee of the English Liberation Society. Their organization in England and Wales is most powerful, extensively ramified, and thoroughly efficient. Their alliance is an element of strength of the utmost importance.

“But they, very properly, require to be assured that *we mean to persevere*, and that we are firmly resolved to leave no constitutional means untried to accomplish our object. If well assured of this, their hearty, active help is at our call; and their admirably organized machinery will enable them to back us up by petitions through the length and breadth of England and Wales. They are not only willing but eager to help us, provided only that we help ourselves. . . .

“Whether the movement be illusory or not, must depend on the hierarchy, clergy, and people of Ireland. Your Grace, if with us, will be a tower of strength, and will potently help to infuse life and vigor into our councils and our acts.”¹

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

The Archbishop's answer to this earnest appeal can be guessed from another letter of Mr. Daunt's of the 18th of the same month. "Only one word," he says, "in answer to your Grace's kind letter of the 14th instant. It is this:—Granted the causes of distrust, I submit to your Grace that the true way to remove such distrust, to neutralize treachery, and thereby to render the Association operative for its good (though subordinate) objects, is for those who command public confidence to join it, and to give it the strength of their talents and virtue. Conceive the effect upon the public mind, if the Archbishop of Tuam appeared in the ranks of the movement as a leader, carrying a resolution against place-hunting.

"I joined Mr. Martin's League. Its beginnings are small; but I think it is sound policy to keep the tiny spark of nationality alive. If a large Rotundo meeting can be held of leaguers, I shall, of course, try to attend it. Hatred of the Union is part of my Irish nature. But I am not thereby debarred from uniting with a society that seeks minor objects.

"Having been in communication with the English Liberation Society, I am enabled to say that we possess a vast mass of friendly strength in England, which only awaits a popular Irish movement for the disendowment of that hideous wrong, the Alien Church, in order to render us prompt, indefatigable, effective assistance. The disendowment will facilitate the Repeal of the Union, by removing a most potent cause of the denationalization of the Irish Protestants. . . .

"I shall not now intrude further on your Grace's time than to implore you to consider well whether much of what you desire would not at once be supplied by your own adhesion and that of the numerous patriotic men who would follow your example."¹

Of course, this legitimate agitation for Tenant-Right and the Disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland could not go on for years without making some impression

¹ *Ibidem.*

on the British public as well as on all fair-minded men in Ireland. The principles invoked by the agitators, Protestant and Catholic, on both sides of the channel, and the powerful arguments employed, were precisely those which John Mac Hale had repeated, year after year, since he penned the first letters signed HIEROPHILOS. People knew this and said it. The masterly reports given to the public by the "Commissioner" of the *Freeman's Journal* on the condition of the Irish Establishment were a new and precious contribution in aid of Disestablishment.

At any rate, when, several years after the birth of the short-lived "National Association," Disestablishment was carried by Mr. Gladstone, Dr. Mac Hale was congratulated as if he had personally achieved this success,—though barren in all substantial profit to Irish Catholics. The joy he felt at the disappearance of this monstrous anomaly was the joy of a man who knew the power and beheld the result of a legal, constitutional agitation against an inveterate grievance. He rejoiced, as he did in 1869, when another national synod, with the solemn sanction of the Holy See, decreed that mixed education of every kind was intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals. This had been the contention of his entire episcopal career,—a legal, constitutional agitation within the bosom of the Church, carried on with deep conviction and earnestness, and with a persistency that never failed, till the Church proclaimed that the Archbishop of Tuam's opinion was in accordance with the standard of Catholic truth and morality.

Then, too, a brother-prelate publicly congratulated him on having achieved "the greatest triumph of his life."

But if it be legitimate and constitutional, within the bosom of the Church of Christ, to discuss and uphold opinions on questions of faith, or morals, or discipline, while reverently appealing to and awaiting the infallible judgment of the supreme authority,—how much more wise and healthy is the freedom granted under a constitutional government to discuss publicly the rights of citizens, and to agitate peacefully, without violating law or order,

the repeal of an iniquitous law or the abolition of some great popular wrong.

As, happily, secret societies of every kind had no existence in the diocese of Tuam, and agrarian outrages were there unknown,—the Archbishop did not deem it his duty to interfere in any way with them outside of his diocese and province. Wherever his own patriotic line of conduct was followed by a brother-bishop, there also secret organizations did not dare to lift their head; and there, too, legal disorder and violent agitation had no room.

When needful, the Archbishop never failed to condemn revolutionary principles and tendencies, or to denounce secret conspiracies for righting wrong, when open, legal agitation and constitutional combination could alone advance the popular cause.

The Fenian conspiracy was born, grew, and flourished in the very dioceses where the bishops had espoused the fatal course adopted by the Delegate Apostolic, and where, in consequence, the priests were forbidden "to meddle in politics," and bishops and clergy had lost touch of the people.

When the Fenians, betrayed to the Government by their own confederates, were imprisoned, and a mad attempt at insurrection was quickly repressed, the Archbishop of Tuam did not feel justified in denouncing by public letter the men who were then about to be tried for their lives before packed juries and judges who were not ashamed to sit on the bench of justice by the side of WILLIAM KEOGH. He and the men who had sanctioned his faithlessness, and who had thereby strengthened the cause of the rackrenter and evictor, might denounce the Fenians. Dr. Mac Hale recoiled from such inhumanity.

This was another fruitful theme of declamation against the Archbishop of the West, and of misrepresentation at the Vatican. But no current of abuse and slander was ever powerful enough to make him utter a word, write a line, or perform a single act contrary to what he deemed truth and justice toward the lowliest or the highest of the misguided

men, led astray by too ardent a love of country and the despair begotten of ceaseless oppression.

We have seen above how wise, how Christian, how firm withal, was his conduct toward occult organizations.

While watching over the cause of Tenant Right, Repeal, and Home Rule,—with as constant a devotion as ever Vestal watched over the perpetual flame on her altars,—the time came for the opening of the Vatican Council, in 1869.

The question of Pontifical Infallibility,—as explained at length by the author in another work,¹ was forced to the front by the anti-Jesuit conspiracy in Germany, headed by the late Dr. Doellinger. The misconceptions which existed in 1868–1869 in the non-Catholic mind in both hemispheres with regard to the nature and bearing of the Pontifical Infallibility as distinct from that claimed by the Church,—were much increased by the declamation of the Protestant and rationalistic press. It was sought to impress public opinion with the belief that an *Infallible Pope* meant one who could be supreme and unerring in the temporal as well as in the spiritual order. This created a violent anti-Papal prejudice in Germany,—which, not long afterward, led to the Culturkampf persecutions.

This sad result, especially in the critical condition of the Papacy in Italy in 1869–70, was one leading motive of the prelates who were opposed to the discussion of the question of Pontifical Infallibility in the coming council. They deemed such discussion INOPPORTUNE,—that is, unseasonable and impolitic in view of the agitated state of public opinion and the fresh persecutions threatened against the Church and the Papacy. Of those who were thus opposed to the discussion and definition of the doctrine, at least nine out of every ten believed in the doctrine itself as expressly revealed and an integral part of the true faith. Among the believers was the Archbishop of Tuam.

During the session of the Council he delivered a discourse, insisting on the inopportuneness of an immediate definition. But on his return to Tuam he lost not a mo-

¹ “Life of Pius IX.,” New York, 1878.

ment in proclaiming from the pulpit of St. Jarlath's the dogma just defined by an overwhelming majority of the assembled prelates as true Catholic doctrine, which he believed with his whole heart and mind, as he believed the articles of the Apostles' Creed. This act created a great impression in Ireland. It raised the Archbishop in the esteem of all generous and enlightened minds, who valued independence of thought in all matters on which the Church has not pronounced, but who value still more the childlike submission of a great intellect to the infallible definition and judgment of a universal council.

In due time this act of filial submission was made known to the Holy Father, to whom, indeed, the Archbishop, before leaving Rome, and immediately after the assembled Church had pronounced its sentence, had solemnly declared his unqualified acceptance of the dogma itself.

Later, to satisfy his own conscience, Dr. Mac Hale wrote to Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, a letter which he wished to be put on record regarding his adhesion to the Vatican Decrees.

"From the moment," he writes, "that the Council of the Vatican defined and promulgated its dogmatical decrees, among which stand prominent the decrees on the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, on the force and bearing of the same, as well as on the irreformable and infallible teaching office of the same Roman Pontiff, in deciding the questions of faith and morals to be believed or reprobated by the faithful. I have accepted all of them and held them, with that filial and due submission, and after that manner and form in which I have accepted and held all other articles of faith and morals handed down to us and defined in the other œcumenical councils, from the first to the last.

"I also gave in my solemn adhesion and my signature to a like form of declaration drawn up in our National Synod of 1875, held in the College of Maynooth."

To this Cardinal Simeoni replied on April 12th, 1880:—"Taking into consideration your dutiful submission to the

¹ From the Latin copy, MAC HALE MSS.

Holy See, of which you have lately given a most signal proof in what you wrote about the Council of the Vatican in your letter of the 29th of last month, I have sent that letter to the Archives of the same Council [of the Vatican]."¹

The people of Tuam waited with intense anxiety, in 1870, for the return of their venerable and venerated Archbishop. The war between France and Prussia, and the attitude of the Piedmontese toward the Holy Father, filled them with just alarm. They were deeply concerned about their octogenarian pastor's health and safety. Their joy at beholding him once more in their midst was unbounded and most touching. There was a grand demonstration of welcome, an eloquent and truth-telling address, and an answer dignified and modest.

There was work for John of Tuam to do yet in Ireland; plenty of hard work and glorious work; and love made it light for the old man of eighty.

¹ *Ibidem.*

PART SIXTH.

THE EVENING OF A LONG DAY—LIGHTS AND SHADOWS.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE EPISCOPAL JUBILEE.

1875.

The Preparation.

IN 1865, after the fiftieth anniversary of the Archbishop of Tuam's elevation to the priesthood had passed away, it occurred to the clergy of Connaught that some lasting memorial of their patriot-prelate's services to Church and country should be raised, even though the object of their love and veneration was still among the living. This idea originated with the clergy of Killala. The devoted priests of the West were unwilling to make any appeal to their thrice decimated and sadly impoverished people. And, though sharing in that poverty themselves, they resolved to bear all the expenses necessary toward the completion of a testimonial which, if not national in every sense of the word, should not be unworthy of him who was the object of the nation's worship.

"It is now half a century," wrote the editor of a London paper, the organ of the true Catholic sentiment of England,¹ "since the Archbishop of Tuam began to shed upon his country the light of his brilliant intellect, and in that long period of so many and such trying vicissitudes in the fortunes of Ireland and the Church, he has ever been true to the interests of both as the needle to the pole. The idol of Maynooth, of which he was the most distinguished and cherished ornament, while he filled the chair of Dogmatic Theology, he has during the forty-one years of his episcopate enjoyed the confidence, the love, and the veneration of the people of Ireland to a greater extent than any of his

¹ The *Weekly Register* of October 7th, 1865.

contemporaries, ecclesiastical or lay, except his illustrious friend and admirer, O'CONNELL.

“ And, like O'Connell, he has won by signal services the unparalleled popularity he enjoys.

“ Who has shown more ardent love of country? more unswerving devotion to the Holy See? more zeal for religion? more unwavering adherence to the patriotic ideas and aspirations of his youth? more indomitable courage in asserting the rights of his country and denouncing the wrongs under which she labored and still suffers? MORE TENDER REGARD FOR THE CONDITION OF THE POOR? more constant watchfulness for the preservation of the young against the insidious wiles of perverters? or a more unshaken resolution to keep clear of the blandishments of power, in order to be free upon all occasions to do battle for the cause of his native land in its civil, social, and religious aspects, than the illustrious Archbishop of Tuam?

“ Whoever may fall away or be surprised in an unguarded hour, or mistaken,—in the great Metropolitan of the West, the Irish rely implicitly upon always finding the faithful sentinel awake upon the watch-tower.

“ Sometimes he has been charged with impracticability, but in the end his conduct has always been vindicated and justified by events, and the Church and his country have found in that obstinate resistance to temporary expediency, of which complaint has been occasionally made, their surest safe-guard.

“ In politics HIS COUNTRY has always been Archbishop Mac Hale's party. Whigs and Tories have been all the same to him, and to either he has given his support or his opposition as they deserved well or ill of his country. So conspicuous has been this admirable characteristic of his Grace, and so thoroughly has it been understood and appreciated by the clergy and people of Ireland, that they seldom withhold their support from any measure which he recommends, and still more rarely adopt any course with reference to Irish affairs, spiritual or temporal, which he condemns.

.... "The lion of the fold of Judah' has not defended the rights of the people of the archdiocese of Tuam alone. Neither have his eminent services been confined within the borders of the province which is proud to contain his birthplace! To Ireland and to the Universal Church he has devoted a long life and the powers of a noble intellect. It is fitting that the testimonial which will gladden his heart in his green old age, as an evidence of the love borne him, and the confidence reposed in him by his countrymen, should have as wide a basis as the sphere of his services.

"Already the clergy of Tuam, Elphin, Clonfert, Killala, Achonry, Killaloe, Killfenora, Kilmacduagh, and Waterford have passed resolutions in favor of the project, and formed subscription lists; and we expect within a week or two every diocese in Ireland will have entered into the matter in the same spirit that dictated the patriotic resolutions of the clergy of Waterford and Lismore.

"But while expressing our very great gratification at the conduct of the Irish clergy in giving a national character to the testimonial, we confess that it would heighten our pleasure to see the subject taken up in a thoroughly national manner, and the subscription list thrown open to the laity generally, so that Irishmen, no matter where resident, might have an opportunity of joining in this expression of confidence, gratitude, and esteem toward the Archbishop of Tuam."

The movement for this memorial fund ended in erecting a marble statue of the Archbishop of Tuam, which, as we shall presently see, was solemnly unveiled during the episcopal jubilee of 1875.

At length the year 1875 dawned upon Ireland, the year of John Mac Hale's episcopal jubilee. Few, comparatively, are the priests or bishops to whom it is given to celebrate the 50th anniversary of their ordination as priests. This supposes that they have lived several years beyond the 70 assigned by Scripture. But the episcopal dignity is, generally, bestowed on priests who must have attained at least

the age of 35 or 40. Dr. Mac Hale was in his 35th year when he was consecrated, June 5, 1825, titular bishop of Maronia and coadjutor of Killala. In June, 1875, he was in his 85th year, with a career to look back upon of 61 years of priestly labors, and 50 of episcopal responsibility.

How full of glorious toil and unwearied devotion to duty these long, long years of seemingly endless trial and struggle had been, the reader does not need to be told.

Nothing can more aptly introduce us to the soul-stirring scenes of the Archbishop of Tuam's episcopal jubilee than the following letter of one of his old Maynooth pupils and his Grace's hearty answer.

“WEXFORD, May 30th, 1875.

“MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—Fifty years ago, next Saturday, I had the comfort of being present at your Grace's consecration.

All the prelates, superiors, professors, and about 480 of the students who were assembled in the chapel on that joyous occasion, are now in eternity. As nearly as I can ascertain, not more than twenty-one of the Maynooth College community of 1825 have survived.

“I regret that my engagements here will not permit me to go to Tuam next week. I should have wished so much to join in paying homage to your Grace in person on this glorious jubilee festival. However, my congregations at each of our churches will, on Sunday next, unite with me in public prayers, that Divine Providence may continue to your Grace many, many years of health and happiness.

“In September, 1860, you placed Wexford under a debt of gratitude by preaching the consecration sermon of our Church of the Assumption. I have not had the pleasure of meeting you since; but I am rejoiced to learn that your health continues to be as vigorous as ever.

“Asking your Grace's blessing for myself and the parish of Wexford, I have the honor to remain, my dear Lord

Archbishop, with the utmost respect and gratitude, your Grace's most obedient servant,

"JAMES ROCHE, one of the few survivors of those present at the Consecration on June 5th, 1825."

"ST. JARLATH'S, TUAM, June 2, 1875.

"MY DEAR FATHER ROCHE:—For your very kind remembrance of our old College times and their associations I beg cordially to thank you.

"It is a great grace to have been spared so long by the Divine Goodness, for which I cannot be sufficiently grateful; and you, too, may share in a corresponding obligation.

"On next Sunday, then, the anniversary of my consecration, to which you so kindly recall my recollection, we shall, I hope, illustrate the beautiful recommendation of the Church, *oremus pro invicem*,¹ making our mutual mementos in the Mass."

Here is a brief note from another Maynooth Pupil:—

"MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP:—I do not know whether you remember me—B. Crosbie, one of your pupils at Maynooth, of the diocese of Achonry. I have been now on the mission in England for 50 years. My first mission was at Leamington Priors, where I built a church, and where I have seen and entertained Dr. Kelly, Dr. Doyle, Dr. Murray, Dr. Magauran, and my own bishop, Dr. McNicholas.

"I have a copy of your Theology, which has been doing good service in England, as I have lent it to some parsons here, who have read it over twice. I have a copy of your Catechism in Irish, and "Moore's Melodies" put into Irish metre.

"I was glad to read the account of your administering confirmation to 1500 people at Castlebar, and your attending the funeral of Dr. Durcan at Ballaghaderreen, who lived to a fine old age. Age is honorable when sanctified by labors in the vineyard of Our Lord. I am myself near 80, and hope soon to leave this miserable dying life or living death, to go to receive the reward of my labors in this

¹ "Let us pray for each other."

heretical land, where the faith has made rapid and immense progress since I have come here, in town and country.

"They are building chapels and churches, colleges and monasteries everywhere. *Deo Gratias!*

"One line in answer to this will give great and sincere pleasure to your old pupil at Maynooth,

"R. P. CROSBIE.

"M. A. this year of Jubilee, 1875. Baddes by Clinton, Knowle, Birmingham, England.

"*Ad multos annos! Festivitas Corporis Christi: Alleluia!*"

Father "Tom Burke," as he was and is still affectionately called by Irishmen at home and abroad, had been invited to preach the jubilee sermon at Tuam. But his excessive labors in the United States, as well as his untiring exertions after his return to Ireland, had made sad inroads on the health of the great popular preacher. Much was expected from him at Tuam, and no doubt he would have fulfilled these expectations. Let him tell his own story.

"GALWAY, June 7th, 1875.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—I have been living on and cheering myself during my sickness with the hope of being present on this happy occasion, to lay my tribute of love and veneration at your Grace's feet. I am not able to move in body, but in heart and affection not one of the thousands who will represent the Irish Race in Tuam tomorrow will be prouder or happier than I.

"May God, who gave you to His Church and people in dark days, and preserved you to them so long, still preserve your Grace for many a long year to be a tower of strength and a pillar of light to us, both as Catholics and as Irishmen, at home and abroad!

"I should have written sooner, but I knew that Canon Burke had informed your Grace of my state, and of my resolve to make a supreme effort to be present, even at the last moment, if it were possible.

"Begging your Grace's blessing, I have the honor and

the joy to be your Grace's most humble and loving son,
"THOMAS BURKE, O. P."

"ST. JARLATH'S, TUAM, Feast of St. Barnabas, 1875.

"MY DEAR FATHER BURKE:—In the extraordinary and, it seems, unprecedented celebration just closed, there was only one thing wanting to give it an appropriate completion, the presence of the eloquent preacher's voice, the faithful expounder of the special duties of his illustrious order, who has filled both hemispheres, I will not say with his fame, but with his fruitful teaching, which will continue to grow and flourish, when the weeds by which it was sought to choke it will wither and dry to be cast into the fire.

"You may perceive that I was about trenching on your specialty. But I shall stop, merely assuring you that amidst the number of congratulatory letters from all parts on this side and beyond the Atlantic, with which I am unexpectedly overwhelmed, and which I purpose, D. V., to answer, yours is the first which I was enabled to acknowledge.

"I hope the advice is not yet too tardy: why not moderate the Celtic-Norman fire of your nature, and reserve a portion of it for the rising youth of Ireland, who will be placed in a more perilous position than we who had to pass through the ordeal of the Penal Laws? If it has passed into a proverb that even a living ass is better than a dead lion, why should one of the most eminent of that lordly race be accessory to silencing before its time that voice which here and throughout America has dismayed and scattered the noxious tenants of the forest?

"But *trêve aux métaphores* and that sort of figurative language, which so often runs riot with us, the unmixed Celtic race of Ireland.

"To conclude, then, with one or two single sentences, which I intended should be the whole of this letter, allow me to adjure you to make a firm resolution of sparing yourself, and we shall all fervently pray that God may soon

restore you to your wonted vigorous health, in union with which prayer I purpose to say Mass to-morrow.

“Yours, my dear Father Burke, devotedly,

“† JOHN MAC HALE.”

The prelates who had greeted with loud acclaim the elevation of Dr. Mac Hale to the episcopal dignity, who had joined in urging his further promotion to the See of Tuam in 1834; the faithful friends who had stood by him in the long battles for religion, for country, and the sacred rights of the poor during the half century which followed 1825, all, all had passed away. A new generation of prelates had succeeded, most of whom, if not all, had been chosen by an influence hostile to the patriarchal Archbishop of the West, and through agencies and intrigues which he openly condemned, and which were as foreign to his loyal and manly nature as they were baneful to the best interests of Ireland.

One great consolation, however, remained in the solitude which time and these unhallowed intrigues had made around the metropolitan of St. Jarlath's, the dearest and most trusted of the great prelates who had fought with him the battles of faith and fatherland, DR. CANTWELL of Meath, lived in the Most Rev. THOMAS NULTY. In this accomplished and patriotic bishop happily survives down to the present day all that ever has been most noble and most praiseworthy in the sentiments of the bishops, the priests, and the people of Royal Meath.

And in June, 1875, as we shall presently see, in the person of Dr. Nulty, presiding in Tuam at the glorious festivities of the Jubilee, spoke and acted the great and good bishops, whose memory is still a household treasure in Ireland,—the Maginns, the Cantwells, the O'Higginses, the Mac Nallys, the Mac Nicholases, and the Derrys.

From some other members of the Irish hierarchy, when the auspicious day had come round, congratulations were sent to St. Jarlath's.

Dr. Leahy, Coadjutor-Bishop of Dromore, thus writes:—

“VIOLET HILL, NEWRY, June 5th, 1875.

“MY DEAR LORD:—May I be permitted to join hundreds of thousands in congratulating your Grace on the Jubilee of your consecration, and to express my fervent hope that you may long continue to be, in health, and happiness, the Father of the Irish Episcopacy.

“I am, my dear Lord, your Grace’s servant in Christ,
“† JOHN P. LEAHY.”

“MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.”

This is from the Bishop of Raphoe;—

“LETTERKENNY, JUNE 3d, 1875.

“MY DEAR LORD:—Allow me to offer my sincere congratulations to your Grace on the happy completion of the fiftieth year of your episcopate, and to pray, which I do most earnestly, that God may long continue to you these singular blessings, which have rendered JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM, a glorious and venerable name in our land.

“The half-century now closing presents. . . a course of events more honorable to the religion and patriotism of Ireland than any other portion of our history: and it is no flattery to say that your Grace’s career is conspicuous by its lustre even amongst the vast assemblage of brilliant events of this memorable epoch.

“Begging your Grace to accept the expression of my affectionate regard and admiration, I have the honor to remain, my dear Lord, your Grace’s obedient servant,

“JAMES McDEVITT.

“THE MOST REV. JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.”

But from the new world, from the greater Ireland beyond the seas, where subserviency to persecuting or corrupting governments did not change in a day professedly patriotic prelates into fawning courtiers, came from bishops and flocks a heartfelt homage of veneration. Thank God, our place-hunters in America, and there is no lack of such in every religious demonination and every class of citizens, have no compromising connection with the

Church. Their self-seeking can reflect no discredit on her, free as she is to develop her institutions, without protection or privilege, guarded solely, in the magnificent unfolding of her life and mission, by the Common Law and the devoted zeal of her own prelates and priests.

In 1875, how could we in America understand the unnatural ostracism sought to be put—by men who should have gloried in doing homage to the virtues which had adorned his 50 years of episcopal devotion—on the man who above all living men drew to himself the eyes and the hearts of the Irish race in both hemispheres?

But let us listen to these loved, revered, and authorized voices which come from beyond the Atlantic to salute in John, Archbishop of Tuam, the idol of the Irish heart and the proudest ornament of the Irish Church. The Archbishop of Cincinnati, whose name must ever be to us “a glorious and venerable name,” in spite of the unmerited misfortunes which darkened the close of his long life, will be the first to speak words of fitting filial affection from the churches of the United States to the parent-church of Ireland, in the person of her most illustrious archbishop.

“CINCINNATI, May 17th, 1875.

“HONORED AND DEAR ARCHBISHOP:—Amid the rejoicings of your Golden Anniversary of Episcopate, permit to be modestly heard the voice of a brother in the seventy-sixth year of his age, the forty-ninth of his priesthood, and forty-first of his episcopacy, to reach you from the banks of the Ohio.

“No voice can proceed from a heart that venerates, admires, and loves you more sincerely.

“Bishops Wood, McQuaid, Dwenger, and Toebe have been and are still here, attending a grand reunion of all the German Benevolent Societies in the United States, making our city, gaily adorned yesterday with triumphal arches, flags, etc., look all Catholic.

“The bishops, some of whom will write to you, unite with me in wishing you the years, as you have long shared the

merits, of PLO NENO. I hope to say Mass for you on the 8th of June. Say a 'Hail Mary' for your devoted brother in Christ.

"J. B. PURCELL, ARCHBISHOP OF CINCINNATI.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HAILE, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

Bishop McQuaid of Rochester, New York, did not fail, on returning to his see, to do as Dr. Purcell had promised. The Bishop of Rochester, all through life, has been too zealous an advocate of a purely Catholic education for the children of his own faith, not to profess himself a disciple and follower of John of Tuam. He still lives to teach his people in all godliness of life, while inculcating by word and example a deep love of country.

"ROCHESTER, N. Y., May 26, 1875.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—I come with countless others to offer my sincere congratulations to your Grace on the happy occasion of the Golden Jubilee of your Episcopate.

"Seldom are so many years granted to any one; more seldom are such years, from the first to the last, filled up and adorned with works of service, honor, and glory for God's Church and the temporal welfare of a devoted and virtuous people.

"The Church honors her faithful servant; and the hearts of the whole Irish people overflow with joy because the Bishop whom they gratefully regard for his labors in their behalf lives to be crowned with testimonies of their love and reverence.

"At a meeting of the priests of this diocese a short time ago, they asked to be joined with me in sending you words of greeting and an expression of their feelings of love and veneration.

"We pray that your Grace may be spared many more years to raise your voice in the cause of religion and of the Irish people; to labor in vigor in the vineyard of the Lord; and to hold up to view the beautiful example of 'a sound mind in a sound body' in one whose entire life has

been consecrated to the divine service, whose days have known no rest, whose mental and physical labors would have broken down most other men.

“ Begging you to believe that you have as warm friends in America as in Ireland, I remain, very truly,

“ Your Grace’s friend and brother in Christ,

“ B. J. MAC QU Aid, *Bishop of Rochester.*

Here is another from an American prelate, himself beloved and revered by all who knew him, and who has passed away all too soon from the great western city where he was the soul of every good work, and from the flock who had only time to know and worship him when death snatched him away.

“ CHICAGO, June 6th, 1875.

“ MOST REVEREND AND DEAR ARCHBISHOP:—Your Grace can hardly remember the chaplain who accompanied his Grace, the former Archbishop of Baltimore, to the definition of the Immaculate Conception, in 1854. Well, I am the person: and I received so many remarks of kindness and courtesy from you in those times, that I gratefully ask permission to join the innumerable host of your friends, inside and outside of Ireland, in offering you my congratulations on the occasion of your glorious Jubilee.

“ May God add many more years to your most useful life, and crown you with His chiefest graces at its close!

“ For your entertainment I enclose you a slip from our morning paper to show you how you are remembered by your friends even in this remote city.

“ Most faithfully yours in SS. *Corde,*

“ †THOMAS FOLEY, *Bishop Adm. Chicago.*”

Here is another from the then youthful Bishop of Little Rock, in Arkansas, the successor of the lamented Bishop Byrne,—this latter a noble son of Royal Meath, who would, had he lived to see the day, poured out his soul in praise and thanksgiving at the feet of the man whom he worshipped all his life.

“CLEVELAND, OHIO, U. S., May 29th, 1875.

“YOUR GRACE:—I wish to join with the thousands of our race and creed who, from all parts of the habitable globe, are sending greetings to you on the coming Fiftieth Anniversary of your illustrious episcopate.

“Your name was a household word with us in my boyhood; later, I had the honor of meeting you at the Vatican Council, and of renewing the faith of my earlier days. My heartfelt prayer now is that you may be spared for many recurring anniversaries yet, to be a blessing to your country, and a shepherd to your flock; and that, when Christ, the Great Shepherd, appears, you may receive the unfading crown of glory.

“Your Grace's most obedient servant,

“EDWARD FITZGERALD, *Bishop of Little Rock.*

From the religious orders of men in Ireland,—from those especially which had filled the country with the monuments of their zeal, their piety, and their learning long ages before the Reformation,—Augustinians, Carmelites, Franciscans, and others,—no congratulatory letters are found among the Archbishop's manuscripts. Were they, too, under the influence of the prevailing ‘reign of terror’, or swayed by the weak motives of human respect and self-interest? . . . We have read Father Tom Burke's hearty letter, and shall take it as expressing the sentiments of the Irish Dominicans.

Now we shall hear the saintly Father Harbison speaking for his Redemptorists:—

“MOUNT ST. FRANCIS, LIMERICK, June 8th, 1875.

“MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—Permit me to offer to your Grace, even through the Post Office, the humble homage and most sincere felicitations of the Redemptorist Fathers of Limerick on the auspicious occasion of your Grace's well-merited Golden Jubilee. If unable, by our avocations and our holy rule, to take part with the thousands who will come on the morrow, from the East and

West, and the North and the South, to *present their spontaneous and unpurchasable homage to Ireland's oldest, truest, most characteristic, and most popular prelate*,—at least we will not fail to be present in spirit.

“And to-morrow morning, which is with us the Feast of Our Lady of Grace, we shall offer up the Holy Sacrifice, and pray, with all the sincerity of our hearts, that God may prolong your days beyond those of our Father, St. Alphonsus, and, when death comes at last, that you may deprive him of the honor he has enjoyed for many years, of being the *last* canonized bishop of Holy Church.

“In the midst of some County Limerick priests here in our House in retreat, who will join in praying for your Grace to-morrow, and kissing in spirit your Grace's honored ring, I am, my dear Lord Archbishop,

“Your ever dutiful and obedient servant in Christ,

“H. HARBISON, C. SS. R.

“THE MOST REVEREND LORD ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.”

“RUGBY, June 6th, 1875.

“MY LORD:—Having been favored in years past with your Grace's acquaintance, and not being able to be personally present on the most auspicious occasion of the celebration of your episcopal jubilee, your Grace will, I hope, excuse the liberty I presume to take of intruding upon your time to express, at least by a few lines, the delight I experience in union with my *confrères* on your Grace's having been spared so many years over your flock.

“You may indeed look back with a holy consolation upon these many years of most admirable usefulness in the Church of God, which have never been granted but to the very few in the episcopal body, and feel highly and justly gratified by the testimony of veneration, gratitude, and admiration laid at your feet by hundreds of thousands in almost every part of the world where the name of the great Archbishop of Tuam has reached.

“Allow me, my Lord, to join those warm-hearted thousands, who on this glorious occasion, with their congratula-

tions to your Grace, address their fervent prayers to God that you may be spared yet many years for the good of Holy Church in these evil days.

“Earnestly imploring your blessing for myself and mine, I have the honor to remain

“Your Grace’s most obedient, humble servant,

“A. M. RINOLFI, *Prov. Ord. Charity.*”

Father Rinolfi, in his apostolic labors in Great Britain and Ireland, had mixed too long and too intimately with the clergy and people of both countries, not to know that the love and veneration felt by all classes for him whom he calls “the Great Archbishop of Tuam” were sentiments quite above the low and shifting level of popular fancy or political opinion. They were the tribute given by the hearts and voices of the millions to the faithful shepherd who had so long devoted his life to the welfare of the flock.

Individual priests from England, men of Saxon lineage, and personally unknown to the Archbishop, are carried away by this popular current of opinion, and impelled to send their greeting to Tuam. Here are one or two from among the number:—

ST. LAWRENCE’S, BIRKENHEAD, June, 1875.

“MOST REVEREND AND DEAR FATHER IN CHRIST:—Will you allow me, although so far off and so little known to your Grace, to offer you my most earnest and heartfelt congratulations on this most solemn and magnificent occasion, the Episcopal Jubilee of your Grace?

“My dearest father, who died three years ago, once received two beautiful letters from you, at the time of the “Irish Famine,” and which my dear mother treasures among her household relics. They are letters of thanks for some contributions which he had gathered together, when in the youthful fervor of his conversion from Protestantism.

“I believe he sent your Grace my likeness a short time before he died. I have been a priest for now two years. May I beg your Grace to pray God to give me the apos-

tolic spirit and fervor in that ministry of which your Grace is the most glorious and the brightest ornament in these realms?

"How I envy the rich harvest of souls you have been gathering throughout *your long and wonderful life!* When the Great Master will call you to Him, what a happy meeting it must be for you! What a glory for St. Patrick to put you in heaven among the other favored saints of Erin's chaste and dear island! I mean each word here, and was entranced last year with my first visit to your dear land—a lovely country and a fine race of people, so different to. . .

"Will your Grace kindly bless me, my dearest mother, and my brothers and sisters?

"With the greatest respect and esteem,

"Your Grace's servant,

"WILFRID DALLOW."

"THE PRESBYTERY, PRUDHOE-ON-TYNE, June 8, 1875.

"MY LORD ARCHBISHOP:—Permit me, although a complete stranger to your Grace, to offer you my heartfelt congratulations upon this memorable and glorious anniversary of your episcopal jubilee. As an Englishman, I request permission; but as a Catholic, I claim the right of joining with the sons of St. Patrick in congratulating you upon this memorable occasion, and of returning thanks to God that He has spared your Grace to see this day. We ought to be grateful also that we are able to thank you for the noble example of fortitude, courage, and energy which you have given during a long life, to us of the youngest generation of the priesthood.

"I said Mass for the spiritual and temporal welfare of your Grace this morning, and in return begging your Grace's blessing, I have the honor to remain,

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"N. LESCHER, O. P."

Father Lescher's voice, like that of Father Tom Burke, speaks for the glorious Order of St. Dominic. Can we not take these heartfelt tributes coming from Birkenhead and

Prudhoe-on-Tyne as the first promise of the general awakening, in the great heart of England, which we at present behold, to the wrongs of Ireland, and to the claims upon the everlasting gratitude of all English Catholics of the men who, like John Mac Hale, never wearied in calling for JUSTICE, and with justice conciliation?

Nor were the patriotic priests of Ireland backward in their manifestations of gratitude and respect for the venerable prelate, whose name, in the eyes of the civilized world, shed such lustre on their own body. Take as one instance, among so many which we must omit, the following from an Ulster priest:—

“LIFFORD, CO. DONEGAL, June 7th, 1875.

“MY LORD ARCHBISHOP:—Permit me to join in congratulating you on your fiftieth anniversary in the episcopate. Nowhere in Ireland is your Grace's honored name more revered than in this county. I was born in 1820, and well I remember, when a boy, that my poor father made me read to him what appeared in print above that honored name.

“I had some American friends here last summer, and they went all the way to Tuam to have it to say, on their return, that they had seen your Grace in your own cathedral.

“May your years be long among us! is the prayer of
‘Yours most respectfully,

“HUGH McMENAMIN.”

Nor did Protestants,—even Irish Protestants of the most anti-Catholic type,—refuse their tribute of admiration to the man whom all Ireland was about to honor.

“16 LOWER FITZWILLIAM STREET, DUBLIN, June 10th, '75.

“MY LORD ARCHBISHOP:—Though a Conservative, an anti-Repealer, an anti-Home-Ruler, and a member of the Disestablished Church, I still must honor the distinguished Prelate who, through evil report and good report, stood by and to what he firmly believed to be right, and especial-

ly on the Education Question, when for years he was the LONE STAR among the hierarchy of Ireland. On that point, indeed, we differ materially; for England gives an education more liberal than any Roman Catholic Country....

"Accept, my Lord Archbishop, the good wishes of one who has admired you for your liberality and your love of our common country; and may your Grace live long to enjoy the friendship of your own body and the respect of those differing from you in creed and politics.

"I have the honor to be your Grace's obedient servant,

"WM. KENNAGHAN.

"HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM."

Another Irish Protestant, Mr. Mitchell Henry, then a Home Ruler, a Member of Parliament, and foremost among the men who most eloquently pleaded, inside and outside the House of Commons, the cause of their misgoverned country, had promised himself to be present in Tuam on the 8th of June. But on his arrival in Dublin the sudden death of a most dear friend, Mr. Armstrong, compelled him to forego his journey to Tuam.

"ST. ANDREW'S, TEMPLE ROAD, RATHMINES,

"DUBLIN, June 7th 1875.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—It is a great disappointment to me not to be able to go to Tuam, to which I had looked forward with so much pleasure. Father Burke will tell your Grace of the awful circumstances of yesterday. My friend was the purest and most noble-minded of human beings; and he and mine were united by no ordinary bonds of attachment.

"A space of eighteen months has taken away father and mother from this afflicted family, and, in many ways, not pecuniary however, helpless family. Some of them are [not?] yet of age, and some are at school in London; and we have sent for them.

"When I lost my beloved wife, it was with difficulty that my friend, Mr. Armstrong, was prevented coming straight out to Egypt to help us in our trouble. Such was

the tenderness of his nature and the goodness of his heart.

“Well, your Grace will receive to-morrow every variety of expression of respect and attachment; and I had hoped to add mine in person.

“One thing only I will say: *You must live* for your country. She *requires* your influence and example; and I pray God that He may long spare your great intellect and disinterested love for what is right and just to Ireland.

“Believe me, my dear Lord, with great respect and esteem,

“Your Grace’s faithfully and truly,

“MITCHELL HENRY.

“THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE.”

CHAPTER XX.

EPISCOPAL JUBILEE.

The Celebration, 8th, 9th, and 10th June, 1875.

“ Ah, men will come and pass away
Like rain-drops in the sea,
And thrones will crumble to decay,
And kings forgotten be ;
But through all time, in every clime,
The children of the Gael
Will guard the fame and praise the name
Of glorious JOHN MAC HALE.”

T. D. SULLIVAN.

HERE is, we believe, no record in the Irish Church since the Reformation of a bishop celebrating amid his flock the fiftieth anniversary of his episcopal consecration. The event commemorated in Tuam on June the 8th, 1875, and the following days, was quite unprecedented. Certainly it was unprecedented and unparalleled, in the enthusiastic manifestations of love and veneration which came from the heart of the nation, and which, as the letters quoted above amply show, were shared by the Irish race in every land.

When the immediate preparations for the Golden Jubilee first began, and men all over Ireland talked of how they should best express to the “ Patriarch of the West ” the sentiments which moved the nation’s soul, some mentioned a money-offering in which rich and poor could alike join. But the Archbishop at once declared that no money-offering would be acceptable.

On the contrary, he resolved that all the festivities and hospitalities of the first day, June the 8th, should be at his own expense ; the clergy of the diocese took on themselves to entertain the numerous guests on Wednesday, the ninth ;

and on Thursday, the 10th, which was to be spent in visiting the noble institutions created by the Archbishop in his episcopal city, these were prepared to give their distinguished visitors a royal Irish welcome.

The London "Weekly Register" did not again fail in 1875 to apprise its readers of the approach of these joyous festivities. "It is in no way invidious to the other dignitaries of the Catholic hierarchy in the sister island," the editor wrote, "if we say at once here, in regard to Archbishop Mac Hale, that not one among them has more nobly or more conspicuously maintained the dignity of his sacred office.

"His name will always be remembered in the land of St. Patrick. He is a prelate as intensely Irish as ever wore mitre or held crozier. His genius is racy of the soil from which he has sprung, and where his memory will always be revered. He was the especial favorite, the beloved and honored prelate, of that Irishman among Irishmen, the Liberator. O'Connell was as fond of speaking of him as the 'Lion of the Fold,' as he was of calling Erin the 'first flower of the earth and first gem of the sea?'

"Through half a century of stormy and anxious times for the land they, both of them, loved so dearly, John, Archbishop of Tuam, has held his ground with the same benignant and undaunted front.

"His reputation is dear to the Catholics of England, as well as to his own compatriots. We are all proud of him, for he has held the banner of the Church aloft unfalteringly during many a troublesome season. Long yet may he be spared to his diocese and to Ireland! But, when his time for flitting comes, he has the solace of knowing that his fame will survive among the cherished memories of his countrymen, as green and fresh as a wreath of shamrock."

No less eloquent or less cordial was the Dublin "Freeman's Journal" in announcing this national solemnity, and stirring the fire of popular patriotism and gratitude, as the anniversary approached. Sir John Gray, who had ever found a true friend and wise counsellor in the Archbishop

of Tuam, had died early in the preceding month of April. But the great journal which he had devoted to Ireland remained faithful to Ireland's most tried patriot.

On Saturday, the 5th of June, the "Freeman" published a remarkable biographical sketch of the illustrious prelate.

"During more than fifty years of the century which is passing away, the history of the Archbishop of Tuam is, in great part, the history of Ireland. Many of the pages that tell of our country's struggles, its trials, its disasters, and also, but too seldom, its triumphs, are pages which he himself has contributed to it. During these more than fifty years trials, struggles, disasters have almost all of them been attendant on the efforts of our people,—on their passionate longing for national regeneration. And whenever the effort was to be made, whenever the longing was to find utterance in hot and earnest words, the people were always sure that JOHN OF TUAM would be ready for the work.

"Therefore it is that he has always held so cherished a place in the people's heart; and therefore it is that they rejoice with him so affectionately to-day.

"... One of the noblest features of his Grace's character is his more than Spartan independence of soul, and his abhorrence of anything like begging for public favor. Few of us can forget the incident of his appearance in the witness-box at Galway, to give evidence in reference to the famous Election Petition tried there a couple of years ago. It was a memorable display, and one of the most glorious incidents of his Grace's career. After so long a life,—a life that had exercised such an influence on public affairs,—it was a proud thing for the venerable man to be able to say, in reply to an insolent taunt, that during the entire of it he had never, either directly or indirectly, asked public favor, or the minutest portion of public patronage for himself or for any one, even the most remotely connected with him.

"Well might the man who could make such a boast be proudly consistent in his principles and his politics through every vicissitude.

"We feel how poorly we have accomplished our task. . . . Happily the interest which his countrymen have always had in him; the eagerness with which they have watched and followed his career; the fondness with which they cherish the memory of all he has done in their behalf, render it comparatively unnecessary that we should present them with a more elaborate biography.

"Whilst he is himself among them, they do not want it; and they cling with affection to the hope that, for many a day to come, his presence in their midst will save them from the sad need of a minuter retrospect."

The Archbishop, with his usual tact and wisdom, would not have the solemnities begin on Saturday, June 5th. Saturday is an awkward day for clergymen to be absent from their post of duty; Sunday is a day not to be thought of for a great gathering of the clergy. So, Tuesday, the 8th of June, was chosen and announced as the proper day for beginning the celebration, as the invited guests and all others would have the whole of Monday for traveling to Tuam.

The ancient town was resolved to do full justice to the occasion; and, sooth to say, the Protestant inhabitants were as keenly alive to the necessities of the approaching festival as their Catholic neighbors. Tuam had become all of a sudden the cynosure on which were fixed the eyes of the entire Irish race.

The 8th dawned propitiously. The heavens looked their brightest on the City of St. Jarlath, and added a new element of gladness to the universal joy. From early morning the roads leading to the town were alive with pedestrians and vehicles of every description. The railroad companies, with one exception, had made every preparation to accommodate the hundreds sent forth by every province in Ireland to bear to the feet of the Archbishop the homage of their admiring fellow-citizens.

Sickness prevented Father Tom Burke from delivering the discourse.

And so the forenoon of Tuesday was spent in public

thanksgiving to God for the graces bestowed on John of Tuam during the half-century just elapsed.

It was in the new College of St. Jarlath that the Archbishop gave hospitality to his guests. His nephew, Father Thomas Mac Hale, of the Irish College, Paris, was perforce detained in that city by his duties as professor. But the President of St. Jarlath's and his staff carried out in every possible way the generously hospitable wishes of their prelate. Every one was made happy.

The interval between lunch and the banquet in the evening was devoted by the Archbishop to receiving addresses and replying to them.

In the first place comes the address of the Irish Catholic Members of Parliament. This was presented by a deputation of nine members, consisting of Captain Nolan, George Browne, A. M. Sullivan, McCarthy Downing, the O'Connor Don, Charles J. Fay, O'Connor Power, P. Ronayne, and O'Clery.

"Although the Irish Church," the address stated, "has often been severely tried in the ordeal of persecution, yet God has been mercifully pleased to bestow upon her many blessings; and we cannot but regard it as an extraordinary mark of divine favor that your Grace's most valuable life has been so long spared to the service of our Church and our country.

"Your Grace's arduous labors in the behalf of the Irish people began early in the present century, while the Catholics of Ireland were still subject to grievous penal disabilities, and have been continued with unwavering perseverance down to the present day, in which you have the satisfaction to behold the masses of your countrymen invested with many of those constitutional privileges which your Grace was ever outspoken to advocate and courageous to defend.

"The highest efforts of imperial statesmanship in Ireland were anticipated in your Grace's writings nearly half a century before the truth you propounded came to be embodied in legislative enactments. And we who to-day

represent Catholic as well as national interests in the House of Commons are pledged to promote views respecting the great question of denominational education which your Grace was foremost to enunciate forty-four years ago, and to which you have with unbroken consistency ever since adhered.

“In the awful famine time you stood by the suffering poor, and labored in a thousand ways to mitigate their unspeakable afflictions. Throughout the whole of your illustrious career you have been in an especial manner THE FRIEND OF THE POOR; and from them the shield of your powerful protection has never for one moment been withdrawn.

“While guarding with sedulous vigilance the spiritual welfare of your own flock, and resisting every attempt made against the faith of Catholic Ireland, your Grace has always evinced the deepest interest in everything affecting the material prosperity of the country; and to movements aiming at the assertion of her national rights your sanction and support have been cheerfully extended.

“We earnestly pray that God may long preserve you in health and vigor, that you may live to see the realization of your most cherished hopes with regard to the Church of God and our beloved Ireland;—and that each day of your life may add to the glory of your eternal reward.

“We have the honor to be your Grace’s most obedient and faithful servants,

“THE CATHOLIC REPRESENTATIVES OF IRELAND.”¹

The following names are signed to this address:—

GEORGE BROWNE, JOHN O’CONNOR POWER, JOHN P. NOLAN, H. OWEN LEWIS, MYLES W. O’REILLY, KEYS O’CLERY, JOHN DUNBAR, GEORGE W. KIRKE, JOSEPH NEALE MCKENNA, DENIS M. O’CONNOR, PATRICK O’BRIEN, JOS. RONAYNE, EUGENE COLLINS, A. M. SULLIVAN, EDMUND DEASE, GEORGE ERRINGTON, WM. R. O’BYRNE, RICHARD O’SHAUGHNESSY, JOHN GEORGE MCCARTHY, N. D. MURPHY, MCCARTHY DOWNING, O’CONNOR DON, JOHN

¹ From the MAC HALE MSS.

BRADY, RICHARD POWER, PATRICK J. SMYTH, GEORGE BRYAN, KENELM DIGBY, PURCELL O'GORMAN, W. H. LEARY, GEORGE MORRIS, CHAS. H. MELDON, ROBERT MONTAGU, ARTHUR MOORE, W. H. O'SULLIVAN, CHARLES FRENCH, CHARLES JAMES FAY.

The Home Rule Deputation was even more remarkable than that of the Parliamentary representatives. It was headed by the Rev. Professor Galbraith, T. C. D., the honorable Judge Little, A. Webb, and Joseph Biggar, M. P.

The other gentlemen composing it, were: WM. BOLSTER, TULLABOY; GEORGE BROWNE, M. P.; A. O'CONNOR ECCLES, ROSCOMMON; M. HEARNE, BALLINROBE; REV. H. P. KELLY, CLARENDON ST., DUBLIN; T. L. STIRLING, TULLAMORE; A. M. SULLIVAN, M. P.; J. O'CONNOR POWER, M. P.; CAPTAIN NOLAN, M. P.; C. MELDON, M. P.; J. MAGRANE, ENNISKILLEN; REV. THOMAS O'SHEA, MOUNTRATH; THE O'CONNOR DON, M. P.

The address was read by Professor Galbraith,¹ and is as follows:—

“May it please your Grace:—Among the congratulations and manifestations of regard which your countrymen vie with each other in offering you to-day, we feel that your Grace will not refuse to accept the earnest and respectful tribute of esteem which we offer in the name of those who have associated themselves in the Home Rule League, to maintain that spirit of nationality which your Grace has done so much to cherish and promote.

“We remember with pride that your honored name stood first upon the published list of those who convened that National Conference, in which our association assumed its present form.

“We venture, therefore, to join the universal voice of the Irish nation in celebrating an anniversary which is more than a ‘golden’ one, because it brings to you tributes far more precious than gold, the affectionate veneration and attachment of your countrymen.

¹ Professor Galbraith still lives in 1890, consistent with himself in unchanging devotion to the cause of Ireland, honored and beloved by his countrymen.

"The history of your life records, indelibly printed in the hearts of the Irish people, the proofs of your devotion to our country. Even in the grand scholarship, by which, among all the claims upon your time, your Grace has created a rich and living literature of the old and too-much-forgotten language of our land, we trace the indications of that passionate love for Ireland which has associated your name with all that is pure and exalted in patriotism.

"We fervently unite in the prayer of the whole Irish nation, that you may for many more of these anniversaries, of which we now celebrate the fiftieth, receive the grateful homage which all your countrymen this day pay to patriotism, learning, and virtue."

This was but the truth,—how flattering soever it might sound,—and truth right nobly expressed,—as if the classical taste of the great Irish University had given it its form and finish.

Scarcely less interesting to us, at the present time, is the address from the School of Medicine of the Catholic University in Dublin. At the head of the Committee of Students stands the name of JOHN DILLON, one who inherited the intellectual gifts, the sterling patriotism, and the lofty virtues of his father, and who has known how to increase this inheritance by priceless services to Ireland, and by sufferings heroically endured in her cause.

"We avail ourselves of this opportunity," the young men say in the course of their address, "to express our highest admiration of that consistency which has always marked your political career,—a career in which you have made love of country second only to that of religion. On this occasion we cannot refrain from testifying our sincerest appreciation of your earnest efforts in the cause of true education in this country, as also of your brilliant labors in the cultivation of the Irish language,—a language which ought to be the pride of every Irishman, and the neglect of which would forcibly tend to extinguish all national pride among our people.

"And in this time, when the people of Ireland are to as-

semble around the grave of the illustrious O'Connell, may we not well be thankful that another patriot no less distinguished than he is still spared to us? And we trust that the day is not far distant when it will be our pleasing duty to congratulate your Grace on being enrolled among the princes of the Church, of which you are one of the brightest ornaments."

To John of Tuam the prospect of wearing the Roman Purple,—had such prospect been ever so near as it was under the circumstances unreal and impossible, would have no fascination. He well knew that the road along which he had chosen to travel in serving God and Country could never lead him to honor so much prized by the world. Their attainment had no place in his heart or in his thoughts. Only, as the unprejudiced reader will see for himself, the Archbishop of Tuam was, in the eyes of Christendom, a prince among princes in the honor and reverence paid to his merits. There are those whom the Roman Purple exalts and honors; there are others who honor and exalt the sacred dignity it confers. Not every prince of the Church is a Wiseman, a Newman, a Manning, or a Gibbons,—pure and glorious names shining evermore with their own native splendor.

The name of JOHN MAC HALE stands apart by itself, and needs no borrowed lustre to attract our gaze or excite our admiration.

The Christian Brothers of Dublin had sent, to brighten and enliven the festivities of the Golden Jubilee, the trained bands of youthful musicians from their far-famed Industrial School of Artane and from the Glasnevin School of St. Vincent,—as if the noble sons of Brother Rice, the true apostle of education in our Ireland of the nineteenth century, wished to shed over the graceful hospitalities of John of Tuam the exquisite harmonies inherited from ancient Erin, symbolical of the most blessed harmonies of brotherly love devoted to religion and to country. Well did the Archbishop love these heroic toilers in the cause of education, that glorious flower of devotedness and sanctity,

which, like the Irish Sisters of Charity, sprang up so soon after the long arctic night and frost of the Penal Laws, to gladden Ireland with its sweet perfume and its promise of perennial fertility.

So the boy-musicians filled the banqueting-hall with their most welcome and inspiring strains, and delighted the multitudes outside during these three days with the familiar melodies of the national muse. Inside the Cathedral the organist of the Galway Jesuits, with a select number of ladies and gentlemen, rendered the sublime choral services of the Catholic Church in a manner worthy of the sweet land of song, 'the land of the West.' With the deputation from Galway, bearing the address of the Mechanics' Institute, representing all classes in the city of the Tribes, also came a priest of the Jesuit Community and a Dominican Father, to speak what was in the hearts of the Galway clergy.

But among the thirty and more addresses presented to the Archbishop on this occasion, we have reserved for this place that of his own priests, "the very Reverend and Reverend the clergy of the Deanery of Tuam." They had been, since, 1834, the daily and hourly witnesses of their Archbishop's labors. Every habit and act of his public and private life was known to them. Let us hear what they have to say. Their address is an admirable and eloquent summary of the career we have, in these volumes, been endeavoring to describe faithfully.

"It is with no ordinary satisfaction," they say, "that we, your clergy, approach your Grace on this happy occasion. . . . This is a celebration rare, if not singular, in the history of the Irish episcopacy. We may, therefore, with little fear of flattery, indulge our desire in giving free and full expression to our sentiments, while we fail not on our own behalf, as well as on your Grace's, to give thanks to the 'Giver of every good gift,' who has vouchsafed to spare you so long to your clergy, to your people, and to your country.

"And, though already long-lived among men, standing like the 'pillar-tower,' a witness of the present and a me-

morial of the past, you bear so well and so vigorously the snows of eighty-four winters, that we are encouraged to hope, while we pray, that you may yet be long spared to us, to guide us by your wise counsels, to stand, far-seeing as ever, on the watch-tower of faith and fatherland, and to sound, clear and seasonable, the notes of warning, whenever danger threatens either the fold or the nation.

“To attempt to enumerate, within the narrow compass of this address, the deeds and sayings that distinguish your long and active life, would be a task far beyond our scope and opportunity. Born in the midst of ‘dark and evil days,’ you were made early to witness these dismal scenes of our chequered history that burn their deep and lasting impression into men’s souls and memories. Passing over your early triumphs in the halls of Maynooth, we find you soon afterward moving in the van of those distinguished and devoted sons of Ireland who so faithfully fought the battles of civil and religious liberty, and whose genius and devotion, if powerless to rescue the nation from disaster, never failed to illumine with a glory the darkest hour of its misfortunes.

“In a life so long and eventful as yours, as full of deeds as of days, it would be vain to particularize more than a few prominent features.

“In your Grace, then, we recognize with veneration the illustrious successor of the great St. Jarlath, and of that long line of distinguished prelates who have preceded you in the archiepiscopal see of Tuam. In you we recognize with admiration the accomplished scholar of deep and varied learning, the profound theologian, the keen and courteous controversialist, the impassioned orator, and the sweet-tongued poet, who clothed in the venerable costume of their country Moore’s immortal melodies, nor feared to essay the deeper swell of the epic, while touching with graceful hand the slender strings of the lyre.

“Further still do we recognize in you the undeviating and unwavering defender of Ireland’s faith and Ireland’s national rights. Whosoever slept while the enemy sought to

sow the tares of error above the pure faith of the Irish people, your Grace was ever on the alert, watchful and uncompromising.

“Of this fact the famous letters written over the signatures of ‘Hierophilos’ or of ‘John, Archbishop of Tuam,’ afford ample evidence. It mattered not who was the open foe or the stealthy thief, a bible society or a minister of state, you were equally prompt to come to the rescue against every aggressor and heedless of all odds. In this respect your life upon earth has been, literally, a warfare.

“But memorable among all the signal services which you have rendered to religion and morality, was your stern and steadfast opposition to the ‘Godless Colleges’ and to those kindred institutions misnamed the ‘National Schools.’ The hidden snares and dangers there so cunningly concealed under the fair show of justice and liberality, you were the first to detect and the boldest to denounce.

“In your attitude of hostility to these pernicious systems of education you remind us of the old Roman and his *de-lenda Carthago*; standing for a long time almost alone in that bold attitude, you ceased not the less to denounce a system which few then believed to be so fraught with evil as experience has since demonstrated.”¹

The remainder of this eloquent address only repeats, in other words, what will presently be said by A. M. Sullivan in his memorable oration at the unveiling of the statue raised to the Archbishop as a lasting memorial of this Jubilee.

Of the banquet in the evening of Tuesday, the 8th June, we shall say but little, reserving our space for the banquet of the 9th, and the imposing ceremonies which filled the morning and evening of that day.

The Archbishop himself, being the host on Tuesday, presided at the dinner, having on his right hand the Bishop of Meath and on his left the Lord Mayor of Dublin. Before the end of the repast, the massive silver cup presented to his Grace by the Theology Class of Maynooth, on the very day of his consecration, June 5th, 1825, went round the

¹ MAC HAILE MSS.

table at St. Jarlath's, as a "loving cup," on the fiftieth anniversary of that day.

The Archbishop was anxious that this first banquet in St. Jarlath's should resemble as nearly as possible a great family reunion, with as little as could be of formal ceremonial or speech-making, and as much real enjoyment as true hospitality could bestow on such a gathering on so unique an occasion.

And those who shared in the feast ever afterward spoke of it with unfeigned satisfaction and delight. Nor was the hospitality dispensed everywhere in the town of a less cordial and bountiful character. Every head of a family believed himself bound to open his house to all acquaintances as well as to the strangers who had come from afar to do honor to the common pastor and benefactor of them all. "There was," says the special correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal*, a pleasant sound of revelry by night in most dwellings of the town; for the substantial celebration of the festival was quite on a par with its sentimental observance. Even the proverbial British belief in these matters would have been gratified with the extent to which the good things of life were used in giving expression to the feelings awakened by the occasion. Somebody says that the most cordial honors are those rendered in the feast; and the universal merry-making was not the least agreeable feature of the hearty tribute paid by the good people of Tuam to him whom they delighted to honor."¹

The streets were lavishly and tastefully decorated and festooned. Every house front was half concealed with green garlands, and hung with flags, banners, and scrolls in honor of the great Archbishop. In the evening there was a general illumination, with bonfires and fireworks.

"It will be a memorable history," the same correspondent writes "when the 'oldest inhabitant' of this generation recounts to his grandchildren the incidents which marked the crowning episode in the 'golden time, the golden prime' of the great Archbishop. The populace remained abroad

¹ *Freeman's Journal*, June 10, 1875.

till long past midnight, enjoying the novel brilliancy of their quiet habitat. It was a notable innovation in the customs of a town where the community is in bed soon after curfew." ¹

And with all this enjoyment and universal merry-making there was not one disorderly or untoward occurrence. The poor, who were still, as they had ever been, the favorites of the Archbishop, fared right royally during these three days. Still, they loved their benefactor and protector too much not to abstain from obtruding themselves on the crowds of visitors, or making themselves offensive by their importunity. They were quietly taken care of by the religious communities of the town.

The Wednesday,—the Clergy's Day,—dawned on Tuam with threatening skies, and the rain soon came down and threatened to damp and chill the ardor kindled to its highest pitch by the triumphant proceedings of the day before. As the morning advanced, however, the clouds began to lift, and at noon the bright, warm sun looked down on Tuam and the multitudes who kept pouring into its streets.

In the Cathedral Mass was celebrated at 11 o'clock, and the people were dismissed with the solemn benediction, to join in the grand ceremonies about to take place outside.

But the Archbishop, and his devoted friend, the Bishop of Meath, had been early called upon to satisfy the yearning of the Presentation Nuns and their pupils. They could not be overlooked too long amid the universal enthusiasm. Mr. Biggar, M. P., and Professor Galbraith were privileged to accompany the two prelates in their visit to the Convent.

More precious far than gold and gems were the wonderful specimens of the school-children's handicraft: laces worthy of the best manufactories of Belgium; exquisite embroideries; beautifully carved wood-work, among which was a magnificent crucifix three feet in height, carved in one of the Presentation convents of the United States, the offspring of the Tuam institution.

The children of the schools sang for their delighted visitors selections from Moore's Melodies, both in the original

¹ *Freeman's Journal*, June 10, 1875.

English and in the sweet Irish metre into which their archbishop had translated them. And how these Irish children can sing on occasions like that of a golden jubilee! And how the Archbishop's soul was moved by the strains of his loved national music wedded to his own verse, and interpreted by these youthful, angelic voices! . . . Mr. Biggar, then a Protestant, could not conceal his emotion. His name is now historic, and death has thrown its halo around a life of disinterested devotedness to Ireland. His friends know well what a kindly and tender heart throbbed beneath the rugged and apparently stolid exterior. This was his first visit to a convent school, the first time he had enjoyed the spectacle of a Catholic people, with their priests and prelates, giving up their whole hearts to a great religious and family festival. . . . It is said that Mr. Biggar went back to Cavan a changed man.

There was also a short dramatic entertainment, which was in harmony with the great festival they were celebrating, and in which the young actresses acquitted themselves with wonderful success. And, of course, there were brief addresses, both in English and the native Gælic, to their worshipped Father.

"Young as we are," they said, "we know the reason your Grace has poured out all the love of your great heart on our own Ireland; and though we have many faults, we are seldom ungrateful to those who show us affection. You have used all the powers of your great mind for the religious and social advantage of our race, and our people are proud, with a holy pride, of the work your Grace has done for old Ireland. . . . To you, my Lord, we owe the teaching we received from our dear nuns, who live only for God and His poor; to you we owe that this teaching is all for Heaven."

We have mentioned the beautiful crucifix sent from America by old pupils of this Tuam school, now become themselves in America apostles of Christian education. But with the crucifix had come also an address most beautifully illuminated. Its sentiments sank deep into the heart of the venerable man.

"While all the Catholic world," it said, "is engaged in offering your Grace its homage of love and respect, we, your children in exile, whom in early age you so tenderly cherished, cannot remain silent. We do not and cannot forget that it was your hand that anointed our foreheads with the chrism of salvation; that it was from your lips we learned those divine truths, compared to which all other sciences are vain. . . . Although the wide Atlantic pours its tide between us, we rejoice that there is one way by which we may prove the sincerity of our love and reverence for the most devoted of pastors. We shall endeavor to be in the future all that you wished us to be in the past. We shall recall your wise and holy teachings, and strive to model on them our future lives."

This address bears the signatures of ten Sisters. But there were, scattered throughout the great republic of the West, many other devoted nuns and teachers, who had issued from the schools of Tuam and were doing Godlike work in America. Touching letters of congratulation are here before us as we write.

Verses sent from far-distant San Francisco by the daughter of an Irish mother well express the sentiments of all born in Ireland or of their descendants :—

"O Prelate loved! O Prince revered
 Where'er the Church of God
 Hath reared the Cross and built the Shrine
 On earth's far-reaching sod,—
 All hearts entwined by bond of Faith,
 Thy treasured children are,—
 E'en though their native clime may be
 From Sacred Erin far;
 And I, an Irish matron's child,
 Within whose favored veins
 The Celtic life-blood fondly throbs
 In bright, unnumbered chains,
 Albeit my footsteps never trod
 Thine Island's holy strand,
 Thus claim, by right of blest descent,
 My place amid thy band.¹

The Archbishop had sweet, fatherly words of thanks,

¹ MAC HALE MSS.—The verses are signed, H. M. Sikdmore.

praise, and encouragement for these children and their devoted teachers, all as dear to him as the apple of his eye. Dr. Nulty also expressed his admiration for what he had heard and seen. He could not help remarking how little he had expected to find in this sorely-tryed, depopulated, and rack-rented district such a cluster of magnificent buildings as were grouped around the stately Cathedral. What had touched and charmed him more than all was the Irish tongue spoken in all its purity and sweetness by old and young in street and school. It had been, the good bishop said, the tongue spoken by him in childhood, that in which he murmured his daily prayers between father and mother. But it had, he now regretted, been neglected when childhood had passed away.

In the afternoon came what may be considered to be the central incident in this protracted and most enthusiastic celebration,—namely, the unveiling of the marble statue erected to the Archbishop in front of the Cathedral, the love-offering of the clergy of the diocese of Tuam, of all Connaught in fact, to the Prelate who was their pride and the glory of their country. This lasting and most beautiful work of art was the result of the testimonial-fund first begun to be collected in 1864–65. Unwilling as the Archbishop was and ever had been to have his name connected with any pecuniary offering, the Tuam clergy could not brook the thought of having such an extraordinary event as this episcopal jubilee come and go without leaving behind some lasting monument of their esteem for one whose name was connected with theirs in undying honor.

About noon the worshippers in the Cathedral poured forth in a living tide and joined the thousands assembled around the veiled statue and the platform near at hand erected to accommodate the prelates, dignitaries, members of Parliament, and deputations from far and near. The youthful musicians of the Artane Industrial School had taken their place near the platform, and were filling the air with their sweetest sounds. They were for the popular masses objects of extraordinary and most loving interest. Were they not

types of what the Celtic youth of the laboring classes could be made by proper culture,—if only Ireland could be restored to herself, and her sons allowed to gratify their hunger and thirst for intellectual and artistic culture? if the teaching orders of men and women were,—I do not say patronized by the Government,—but given full liberty to do the divine work of education as they alone can do it?

It was one o'clock, and the platform was filled, and the expectant crowd, half-charmed as they were by the loved melodies which floated around them like strains from Paradise, were fascinated by the veiled figure which dominated the assembled thousands.¹

At length the Bishop of Meath, who presided on this solemn occasion, arose, amidst the most profound stillness, and approaching the statue, unveiled, in the broad light of the noonday sun, and to the enraptured gaze of the multitude, the features of one whom they worshipped with the love and reverence of children for the best of parents. As the covering fell away, and the majestic figure stood forth with the right hand raised as if to bless, the instinct of some good souls led them to kneel and sign themselves. The rapture of the crowd burst forth in a shout so loud, so long kept up, and repeated again and again, that it was heard far beyond Tuam. It was like a mighty dam overfilled with the inundating waters, which suddenly bursts through every barrier and pours forth its long restrained tide, in volumes and with a force that bear down all resistance.

Ah, JOHN OF TUAM, few men, if any, living in the year of Grace 1875, were given to have such words of love and blessing, such prayers bursting spontaneously from the hearts of a great multitude, as were uttered for thee in that loud acclaim, that canonization granted thee by the conscience and the heart of Ireland.

Ay, truly, they knew not how to calm the delirium of holy joy which possessed them. Men waved their hats and shouted, women wept and blessed and prayed; and

¹ It is needless to say that the Archbishop was not present.

manly cheeks which seldom knew a tear were wet with uncontrolled emotion.

At length, when this tempest of hallowed passion had spent itself, when stillness began once more to fall upon the multitude, and when he could control his own voice and emotion, the Bishop of Meath spoke to them.

"I shall detain you only for a moment," he began, "because I know you are all anxious to hear the member for Louth, Mr. Alexander M. Sullivan,—the most eloquent of living Irishmen." Here there arose another storm of applause in honor of one whose spotless life and transcendent merits were above all praise, and whose incorruptible integrity was well known to Irishmen. "I have only this to say," went on the Bishop, "that, while it is unspeakably gratifying to me to unveil the statue of your great Archbishop, I cannot but feel sad at the thought that this statue reminds us that we must some day lose him, great and illustrious as he is. . . . He appears among us like a vision from heaven that must soon fade from our sight. You have done your best to preserve his image, unfading and immortal, in yonder marble. It will long bring back to you his noble face and form. It will make you remember one who was the pride and glory of the Irish Church,—the man who was the embodiment of all the best priestly qualities, one of the greatest Irishmen who ever walked our native land." Every word sank deep into the souls of the listeners, and their frequent and long plaudits warned the speaker to be brief as he had promised.

The appearance of Mr. Sullivan was greeted by another outburst of cheering. How proud the people were of this glorious son of the people, and of his brother, whose songs had long been sung in every cabin and popular assemblage in Ireland!

"It is not merely the men of Mayo and Galway I have here before me," he said. "There are men here from all Ireland. This is not a local, but a national, celebration. Priests and laymen, many of them representative men, have come hither from the remotest parts of Ireland to do homage

to the grandest name in Irish history during this nineteenth century. I felt a deep and almost painful responsibility in consenting to address you on the occasion of unveiling this statue of the great Archbishop of the West. I cannot lay claim to any prominence in that parliamentary band, in which I am but a full private, and which, in a foreign assembly, is doing battle for the liberties of your country. There are on this platform men who have traveled 900 miles to be present on this auspicious occasion. They came from the mountains of distant Kerry, priests the boundary of whose parishes was the mighty Atlantic; and there were others from the equally distant North.

"The story of our great Archbishop's life is the chronicle of Ireland for the last four-and-eighty years. In 1791 a child was born in Ireland who was destined to be a pride and a joy to the whole of our nation; a child who, like another Moses, was to guide a people wandering through a desert, suffering persecution and wrong, until he led them to the promised land of prosperity and peace."

The eloquent speaker then sketched the condition of the Irish Catholics at the birth of John Mac Hale; the disabilities which still weighed on the mass of the nation after the Union; the struggle for emancipation in which John Mac Hale was "the right arm" of Daniel O'Connell. Then came the battle for Christian Education. "Many men thought," as the resistance to the National Schools and the Godless Colleges was carried on under the leadership of the Archbishop of Tuam, "that he was cynical and over-suspicious; but time has vindicated the judgment of John of Tuam. For, before twenty-five years had elapsed, it was admitted that the teaching in these systems was fraught with proselytism. He was faithful among the faithless then. But we saw him under another aspect when famine was mowing down the people of Ireland. There are at this day present in the homes in the West old men and women who could tell a tale, otherwise unheard by human ear, or unseen by human eye, of the great Archbishop's labors during these dreadful years. If he had no other title

to our love, it would be found in his heroism and devotion during the famine time."

Out of the famine grew the landlord and tenant question, in which, as in all other movements regarding the prosperity of Ireland and the just rights of her people, the Archbishop of Tuam had ever taken a most active and foremost part.

The very presence in Tuam of Protestant members of Parliament, and a Protestant professor of Trinity College, all uniting in paying tribute to the unfaltering patriotism and sterling services of the Archbishop to the nation and the people, evidenced the place he held in the respect of all Irishmen.

"I have traced these events for you," Mr. Sullivan said in conclusion; "I have gone over the record of this life, so intertwined with all that is great and heroic in Irish history for more than half a century, for the purpose of demonstrating by the authority of recorded facts that there is no public man at present living who can so fearlessly look into the past, who can so confidently seek there his triumphant vindication, as the illustrious man beside whose statue I am now standing. As the eagle may gaze on the sun, so may the eye of John of Tuam look into the whole of his past life, and find no inconsistency there to dazzle or dim his vision, no public act that he can regret or wish blotted out.

"To few public men is it given to review their public career. To few is it granted to reach to his great age; to have lived through such a period of vicissitude and storm, and yet to have preserved unstained their purity of soul and the fresh vigor displayed in the service of his native land.

"It is not given to every man to be surrounded, as he is to-day, by such demonstrations of affection from those of his own fold, and of respect and esteem from all that are virtuous and honest outside of it.

"Yes, this life of his, this career which I have sketched, is a mirror for Irishmen through all time. And so, here to-day we have set up this statue on high, that in imperishable marble his features may be perpetuated, those features

upon which so many of us have looked so fondly ; and that future generations may be made familiar with the figure and form of that Grand Old Man¹ whose jubilee we celebrate to-day.

“ And here will come in future years, to find new strength and hope, whosoever, battling in the cause of public right and justice, faints or grows weary, or desponds in the face of dreadful odds. Here, before this effigy, in the record of this life, he will take heart of new hope and courage ; and long, long after the grass has grown green upon the grave of John of Tuam, Irish parents will come around this pedestal and bring their little ones, teaching them to pray with clasped hands in that Gaelic tongue, which he loved so well, to pray that Almighty God Who rules on high, that He may give a place in the mansions of bliss, among the Saints who surround His throne, to the good and virtuous Archbishop whose jubilee this day we celebrate.”

Again, in the evening, there was a banquet in the great hall of the new St. Jarlath's College. The Connaught clergy, as was to be expected, were there fully represented. All who could at all absent themselves from their parishes had come to strengthen their souls at this feast of true brotherly love, filial piety, and patriotic joy. The Bishop of Galway had chosen the very days of this most touching solemnity to make the secular clergy of his diocese go through the exercises of an annual retreat. . . . But the regular priests of Galway were well represented by Rev. Father Carton, S. J., and by Rev. Father O'Dwyer, O. P. The other dioceses of the West had sent each a numerous contingent ; indeed, every diocese of Ireland, East, North, and South, was represented in the banqueting hall.

As the clergy of Tuam were the hosts, the Very Rev. Dean Mac Manus filled the chair, having at his right the Archbishop, with Lord Mayor McSweeney of Dublin, and at his left the Bishop of Meath. The Parliamentary and

¹ It is singular that the name by which Mr. Gladstone is now popularly designated should have been in 1875 given to Archbishop Mac Hale by A. M. Sullivan.

Home Rule deputations were also there, forming, with the clergy and as many distinguished laymen as the capacious hall could accommodate, such a numerous and joyous company as Connaught had never before beheld.

The young pupils of the Dublin Christian Brothers contributed their exquisite strains of harmony to the entertainment. And more than once, as the evening sped on in friendly converse, with toast and speech, and music that seemed to come from the skies; as men spoke of the past and the present, and expressed high hopes of their people and fatherland, the sentiment of the Psalmist forced itself upon the memory of the assembled priests, and was expressed to next neighbors, "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brothers to dwell together in unity!"

The health of the Pope having been proposed by the Very Rev. Chairman in fitting terms of eulogy and respect, and drunk with hearty warmth by the company, Dean McManus proposed the health of the Archbishop. It is hard to praise a man to his face; and the chairman, who well knew how supremely distasteful flattery or even eulogy of any kind was to their venerated guest, expressed his unfeigned embarrassment. "The name of John of Tuam," he said, "was an epitome of everything that was good and great. He was a high-souled patriot, a pious and saintly prelate. We have known him for a long series of years; we have seen him in private and in public, on the seaboard and on the sea, and under whatever circumstances we have observed him, he has been at all times eminently distinguished for patriotism, for justice, for his love of the brotherhood, and his unfailing charity.

"The name of John Mac Hale must live in the fond affection of the Irish people throughout all time.

"What has he not done in this diocese in one department alone of episcopal labor? When he came among us in 1834 we had the prospect and promise of one convent; nothing else. He has added to this one six others. We have now eleven monasteries established among us, as the result of his Grace's labors; so there are seven convents and eleven

monasteries to help provide for the instruction of the young and the various needs of charity. 10,000 children are daily educated in these institutions; and in the district of Rusheen there is another school attended by 293 little girls. In round numbers we have under the religious orders alone eleven thousand children daily trained in secular knowledge and the practice of Christian life, thanks to the indefatigable zeal of the great Archbishop of the West. May these little ones of the flock, as well as his priests, long enjoy his presence among them and the blessings of his fatherly and gentle rule!"

As the Archbishop rose to respond, the storm of enthusiasm with which his health had been drunk, broke out with increased force. As he stood with bowed head before the crowded hall, as if deprecating by his looks and attitude their demonstrations of love, they could not help, in looking at the venerable figure, to cheer and shout and give vent to the sentiments of their overflowing hearts in spontaneous expressions of veneration and love. The ladies, who had been admitted to the hall just before the toasts began, now joined in these loud acclamations, waving their handkerchiefs and uttering their benedictions. It seemed as if this scene of improvised enthusiasm would never end.

Outside of the hall the crowd of townspeople and visitors had assembled to listen to the music of the band and to hear what they could of the speeches, the genial June weather permitting the windows to remain open. So the cheers from within were taken up outside. It was as if the population of town and country shouted with one acclaim the dear name of the man whom they worshipped as bishop, father, benefactor, and protector in every true sense of these words.

At length the tempest subsided, and the Archbishop could be heard. "I remember," he said, "reading an account of one of our great Curran's forensic triumphs which is both amusing and characteristic of the man. His client had been indicted for a crime of which he strenuously protested he was not guilty, having no recollection of ever

committing it. But this could avail him but little before the immaculate judges of that day, and their mode of administering justice.

“Curran, however, pleaded the case so successfully, and drew such a picture of the man and his sufferings, that the supposed culprit could not acknowledge his own identity. ‘I knew I had been badly treated,’ he afterwards said; ‘I endured a great deal at the hands of my persecutors. But hang me, if I ever bore a hundredth part of what Mr. Curran said I had to suffer.’

“Well, now I have all my life been only fulfilling the ordinary duties of my office,—as well as I could, to be sure; but you must not give me credit for doing more. It is true that it has pleased the Almighty to lengthen my life beyond the usual span; and to this fortuitous circumstance I am indebted for the generous manifestations which we have just witnessed in this hall.

“I know that mine is a remarkable instance of longevity. I have gone far beyond the limits of *three score and ten*. And you must allow me to believe that it is to this I must ascribe the great honor and favor you have done me. I do not deny that mine is a deep love of religion and a strong love of country. I have no doubt in the world, and you will agree with me, that in what I have done I did my best. Yes, I have done my best to advance the interests of our country. But, after all, what have I accomplished? I have only done toward forwarding a great purpose, what all of you have done, nothing but what I ought to have done.

“In the fulfilment of the highest duties, when we all have done our very best, what are we but useless servants? In saying this, I must not be understood as undervaluing the public homage, the testimonies of respect and esteem, which you have been kind enough to pay to me.

“That I have had a long life is no merit of mine. This is God’s gratuitous gift, for which I humbly thank Him. And for the little I have been enabled to do to advance His cause or to promote His glory, it was only the fulfilment

of my sacred duty ; and I must ever be grateful for the opportunity thus given me. In that little but golden book, 'the Imitation of Christ,' it is said : 'What benefit is it to live long when we advance so little ?' I dare not forget that the longer my life, the more rigorous shall be my final account.

"You have praised me for establishing convents and monasteries. I must not take to myself the credit for this. Convents and monasteries owe their existence to the generosity of our dear people, and to the zeal of my clergy. Why arrogate to myself what is due to them ? The diocese of Tuam can now compare favorably with any diocese in Ireland in the matter of parochial schools, convents, and monasteries. For the proud position of the Church of Tuam in this respect, I am most grateful for the coöperation given me by both clergy and laity.

"I have received congratulatory letters from several clergymen who were, I cannot say, my fellow-students, but my disciples and pupils in years long gone by. Of all the students of Maynooth who contributed toward presenting me with that Cordial Cup that has just passed round, only one, I believe, is now living. I could not think of a more appropriate occasion for bringing forth and exhibiting to you this memorial of the affectionate feelings of the dear companions of my youth.

"As to you, all of you here present, how can I feel otherwise than grateful for the compliment paid me this evening ? Grateful, most grateful am I for the honor done me this day ; and now that gratitude is raised to the highest pitch on seeing the distinguished guests who are gathered around these tables, You come not from my own diocese alone, but from all parts of dear old Ireland. Such a reunion is a happy omen for the future.

"I am glad to see that divisions are being healed ; that henceforth diocese shall not be set against diocese, nor province against province. It is my hope that we shall have Home Rule in Church and State."

¹ Of course, just as the Archbishop by "Home Rule in State," does not mean total independence of and separation from Great Britain, so, and even more so,

"In the addresses which I have had the honor of receiving, it is often mentioned that I am 'a watchman on the tower,' or something to that effect. Well, perhaps there is some truth in this. I have sometimes sounded a note of warning. There had been times of danger in the past, and there is danger still.

"I once paid a visit to a Pope now no more, Gregory XVI. I may mention that, as I was 'roaming' through the Eternal City,—I was a coadjutor-bishop then,—no one thought of stopping me and asking me who I was. I had a conversation with the Holy Father, and he did not say, 'I hope things are going on pretty well in Killala.' Gregory XVI. had been prefect of the Propaganda, and he assured me that Galway gave him more trouble than all Ireland put together. But that was Galway while under the spiritual direction of a Warden. Then, not only the clergy had a voice in ecclesiastical elections, but the lay gentlemen, ay, even the ladies of Galway. The Bodkins and the Burkes, the Blakes and the Lynches had their favorite candidates, and hence the trouble which the Prefect of Propaganda had with Galway in past times.

"Now theirs is a united Church; and wherever there is a man of the Twelve Tribes,—the Bodkins, Burkes, Blakes, Lynches, and the rest,—there is a guarantee for charity not only from the men, but from the women, too.

"There are other extremes just now. And as the people are united, it is fair that the legitimate home influences and the constitutional rights of the clergy in religion as well as in politics should not be ignored as they have been, or that all power, ecclesiastical or civil, should be centralized.

"Again from my heart I thank you."

Other speeches, from the Bishop of Meath, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and Mr. A. M. Sullivan, followed that of the Archbishop. Mr. Sullivan's most eloquent discourse does he mean by "Home Rule in the Church (of Ireland)," not independence of the Holy See or separation from the centre of Catholic Unity, but the ancient and legitimate exercise of episcopal authority in local ecclesiastical affairs, as differing from the "one man power" introduced by Cardinal Cullen.

on the Home Rule party and the movement of the day, coupled with another touching eulogy of the Archbishop of Tuam, crowned the festivities of this second day.

The town was illuminated as on the preceding night, and Irish hospitality and innocent Irish mirth reigned till the gray dawn of Thursday warned all of the need of repose.

The third and last day of the Jubilee was devoted by the Archbishop and his visitors to visiting the noble Cathedral with which he had endowed the Metropolis of Connaught. It was rest for mind and heart and body after the excitement and unceasing activity of the preceding days. And then, heart-satisfied, and stimulated by the examples of a long and self-sacrificing life, all priests and laymen bade farewell to Tuam, more determined than ever before to give to the cause of God and country the best efforts of the years before them.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM ASKS FOR A COADJUTOR.

SOON after the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of his episcopate, the Archbishop of Tuam bethought him of the need of having by his side a coadjutor-bishop, one who might share with him the burden of labor and care which the weight of years now made doubly hard to bear.

It is the spirit of the Church, in giving such assistance to a bishop, that the person thus selected be in every sense a helpmate to his senior and superior. Both must be, or ought to be, of one mind and one heart in working for the salvation and sanctification of the souls confided to them and in promoting their temporal and spiritual interests. It is but just and proper, therefore, in selecting a proper person to help bear the burden of episcopal responsibility, that the coadjutor thus chosen should be a *persona grata* to his principal, one likely in every way to work in perfect subordination and harmony.

To a prelate in his eighty-fifth year, as was in 1875 the Archbishop of Tuam, and who had filled in the eyes of his countrymen, of all Christendom, indeed, the place "John of Tuam" held both in religion and in politics, it would be worse than unwise to give as an assistant and help-mate a man known to be of a quite different disposition, differing widely in his views of political, religious, and mixed questions, one who would from the outset put himself in open opposition to the prelate with whom he was bound to act in concert.

The Archbishop of Tuam resolved to ask the Holy See to grant him as his coadjutor his own nephew, with whom the reader is already acquainted, the Very Reverend

Thomas Mac Hale, D.D., of the Irish College, Paris. This gentleman had received a most careful training. He had been sent to Rome in his early youth, where, in the Irish College and under the immediate care of Drs. Cullen and Kirby, he completed his philosophical, theological, and scientific studies with marked success, winning the highest honors in his classes, with the degrees of Doctor in Philosophy and Doctor in Divinity.¹ Soon after his return to Ireland he was appointed by the Board of Irish Prelates, governing the Irish College in Paris, professor of Scripture, Hebrew, and Canon-Law in the institution. At one time he was offered the vice-rectorship of the Catholic University of Ireland; this, however, he declined.

A man not only of unblemished character, but remarkable for the austerity of his virtues, he was a most desirable candidate for the episcopal office, not only on account of his superior and varied learning, but of his shining example as a priest. He had been entrusted by the Archbishop of Tuam with a very important share in the administration of the diocese, and with missions to Rome on the most important and delicate subjects. In the management of all these weighty and difficult affairs Dr. Mac Hale had given proof of great practical wisdom and ability. Moreover, and what was of greater promise to the diocese of Tuam than intellectual superiority and administrative talent, he entertained on all the great national and religious questions which moved the hearts of his countrymen the same views as his illustrious uncle.

It was thus certain, that, were he appointed by the Holy See as coadjutor with the right of succession to his venerable relative, there would be between them perfect concord

¹ Regarding Dr. Thomas Mac Hale, Dr. Cullen writes to the Archbishop of Tuam on September 11, 1844:—"Our students are just gone to Tivoli, and I am about to rejoin them. They were very successful in their *Concursus* at the Roman College this year. They got nearly all the prizes. Thomas Mac Hale got the first premium in Dogmatic Theology and the first in Hebrew. I had promised a copy of the works of Bellarmine to whosoever should get two prizes in Theology; so the reward fell to him. I expect he will get on still better next year, as it was this year he commenced his Theology."—MAC HALE MSS.

in sentiment and action. The nephew would have continued in the Metropolitan See of Connaught the traditions of learning and patriotism which for more than a half-century of episcopate had shed such lustre on the Chair of St. Jarlath, even though the successor of John of Tuam might never attain in the minds and hearts of his countrymen the proud position of the man whom he worshipped as a model.

The knowledge which the Archbishop had of his nephew's eminent qualities, and the certainty that he should have in him one who would be in perfect harmony with his own ideas and purposes, were some of the chief reasons which induced the aged prelate to beg of the Holy See to grant him such a helper in his laborious office.

A first application to Pius IX., made in 1875, soon after the celebration of the Episcopal Jubilee, and just as Cardinal Cullen had left Rome, was met by a refusal, on the ground that the Archbishop was in vigorous health.

The Archbishop was not discouraged by this refusal, and wrote again to the Pope. His letter was submitted to the members of the Congregation of Propaganda, at their general meeting in December 1875, and it was once more decided that no coadjutor should be then granted.¹

The Archbishop submitted with his wonted humility to the will of Christ's Vicar. But, when springtide came round, and the usual laborious visitation of his large and populous diocese demanded his care, the old man of upwards of eighty-five wrote, ere he set out on his errand, to Cardinal Franchi, renewing his petition, and beseeching His Eminence "to have this business settled as soon as possible; or, if the clergyman whom I have asked for be deemed unworthy, then let your Eminence be kind enough to tell me so, in order that I may set about finding another."

The answer to this letter,—at least the only answer we find among the Archbishop's papers,—is as follows:—

"Our Most Holy Father, Pius IX., in an audience given on the 11th of this month, has granted that, in accordance with the rule laid down by this Sacred Congregation, three

¹ Letter of Cardinal Franchi of Jan. 27, 1876.—MAC HALE MSS.

names be submitted to the Holy See, in order to have a coadjutor-bishop chosen and assigned to your Grace in conformity to the petition addressed by you to His Holiness."

The election by the clergy of three candidates was the very thing which the Archbishop did not want; and it was the very thing which his opponents did want. It appears that he delayed somewhat in complying with the wishes of the Holy Father, for, on July the 19th, 1876, Cardinal Franchi writes:—

"I must earnestly press you to conform yourself perfectly to the will of His Holiness lately made known to you. . . . and, therefore, that you make it your care to take, *as soon as possible*, the necessary steps for that purpose."

John of Tuam was not the man to hesitate one instant in yielding prompt obedience to such an intimation from the head of the Church, no matter what personal feelings might stand in the way of prompt obedience. No sooner, therefore, had he received the Pope's command, than he at once wrote a letter of convocation to his clergy.

"To show you clearly, he says, with what right-minded views I desire to see you all animated, I shall not cease to offer my fervent prayers to God, the Author of all good and the Director of all, and His sweet Mother, the Blessed Virgin Mary conceived without sin, that the heart of each of you may be strengthened by the fruitful sprinkling of the dew of the Holy Ghost; and that, leaving all human considerations aside, and acting from a motive of charity and concord,—you may select those priests who will have nothing more at heart, or who will deem no obligation more solemn, than to defend on every public occasion the cause of our Holy Church, but, above all, her cause in educating and training properly the Catholic youth; and, as far as in them lies, and as far as it accords with the position of a bishop,—to defend the liberty and the civil rights of our dear country."

We can pause a few moments between the convocation

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

of the Tuam clergy and the meeting destined to have such results for the venerable Archbishop. The brief correspondence which we here give between Cardinal Cullen and the Archbishop of Tuam will throw no little light on the situation we are here describing, while showing the reader how little, even on matters which most nearly concerned his holiest affections or most cherished preferences, Dr. Mac Hale ever allowed himself to write or speak a word that could detract from his habitual dignity of character.

The invitation to which the following letter is an answer may have had reference to the religious part of the celebration, in Dublin, of O'Connell's Centenary.

" TUAM, July 23, 1875.

" MY LORD CARDINAL :—Having for some time previously fixed confirmation stations up to the Centenary celebration, I had doubts whether I could conveniently assist at the High Mass to which your Eminence refers. However, I shall make every effort to be in sufficient time to assist on the auspicious occasion.

" Your Eminence may be aware that I have petitioned the Holy Father to lighten my labors, which cannot surprise any one after fifty years of unremitting toil in the episcopacy, at the same time praying His Holiness to grant me the assistance of Dr. Thomas Mac Hale as coadjutor-bishop.

" From your Eminence's position, as well as from your early college relations with him, you will be naturally consulted on the important business, and I have every reason to think that I do not miscalculate in assuming that those relations were so satisfactory as to encourage the hope of his having your Eminence's valuable support in a matter so connected with the interests of religion.

" Your Eminence's most respectful servant,

" + JOHN MAC HALE.

" TO HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL CULLEN."

To this letter, it would seem, there was no written answer. Were any solicitations or promises exchanged in Dublin at the Centenary celebration, between the two prelates? . . . At any rate, we anticipate a few days on the result of the above meeting of the clergy in Tuam, to glance at the three following letters:—

“TUAM, August 22d, 1876.

“MY LORD CARDINAL:—I am in receipt of your Eminence's kind invitation to the dedication of the Church of Clonliffe, and to dinner on the occasion, for which I beg you to accept my best thanks. Whether I shall be able to avail myself of the proffered kindness must in a great measure depend on your Eminence.

“I am preparing to proceed to Rome humbly to petition His Holiness to grant me as coadjutor Dr. Thomas Mac Hale, who obtained a high place among those in whose favor the clergy gave, on the 17th, their respective suffrages. The only one who had with him a considerable number of votes was the Bishop of Galway, whom for well known reasons I never can consent to accept as my coadjutor.

“Your Eminence is intimately acquainted with the character and college career of Dr. Mac Hale. If you deem him worthy of the important trust of being my coadjutor, the expression of that opinion, respectfully asked, would be quite sufficient, and would spare me the fatigue and trouble of such a journey, which, without your Eminence's kind interposition, cannot be delayed.

“Your Eminence's most faithful servant,

“† JOHN MAC HALE.

“HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL CULLEN.”

“TUAM, August 25, 1876.

“MY LORD CARDINAL:—I had been anxiously looking forward to an answer,—a favorable one from your Eminence, I must add, to my last important communication. I had hoped that a friendly view of the case would re-open relations for some time interrupted, which could not but be

productive of good for religion and the Church in Ireland,

"It may be that there are personal objections to Dr. Mac Hale, of the existence of which I am totally ignorant. I know that no person clings with a more sincere attachment to the principles and relations of his early classical training than he does. Still, there may be objections; and if there be, your Eminence will confer a favor on me by mentioning the matter in all confidence.

"I have the honor to be, etc.,

"† JOHN MAC HALE."

"DUBLIN, 26 ECCLES STREET, Aug. 26, 1876.

"MY DEAR LORD:—Having been busily engaged on visitation in country parishes during the last weeks, I could not answer your Grace's esteemed letter immediately. Allow me now to state that, as the election of your coadjutor is in the hands of the Propadanda, it would not be proper for me to interfere, unless they think fit to consult me.

"As your Grace has been so kind as to write to me on this important matter, I am sure you will pardon me if I state that probably what you mentioned in your letter con-voking the clergy, regarding one of the candidates, viz., that he had been excluded two or three times, will be very prejudicial to him, and if I add that what you stated in your address to the clergy, published in the *Freeman* of August 17th, regarding the exclusion of bishops from any chance of promotion, will perhaps be looked on as interfering with the liberty granted to the clergy and the duty imposed on them to give their votes to the most worthy. Of course, these are mere conjectures, which I mention without any authority, and with which I hope you will not be displeased.

"Wishing you every happiness, and praying that the Spirit of God may guide the Sacred Congregation in the present case, I remain,

"Your Grace's faithful servant,

"† PAUL CARD. CULLEN.

"MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE, ABP. OF TUAM."

The Archbishop lost no time in replying to this most disappointing letter. The copy is without date.

“MY LORD CARDINAL:—The two points to which your Eminence refers in your letter received this morning, require explanation.

“In the first place, it was thought that the exclusion of Dr. Mac Hale on two or three occasions was in itself a sufficient manifestation of the Divine Will in his regard, particularly when considered as harmonizing with his own sentiments in this respect. And on that account it was thought that he should not be looked upon as a candidate.

“This view was, believe me, sincerely entertained, without any ulterior object. Many clergymen abstained from voting for him on this ground. Others, who voted in his favor freely and without any influence exercised in his favor, took a different view of the matter. Under these circumstances, I think that I ought to urge his claims respectfully on the Congregation of Propaganda.

“In the next place, my observations with respect to bishops had reference only to the promotion of a bishop to be my coadjutor. Your Eminence will allow, I trust, that a bishop who had taken care to manifest his hostility to me in such a way as to draw on him severe criticism from the public press should not be thought of when there was question of a coadjutor-bishop for me. Still, he was thought of, and his claims were pushed forward with a spirit certainly not in accordance with the spirit of the Church.

“Things being so, I thought it my duty to instruct the clergy respecting the rules which guide the Church in the selection and appointment of coadjutor-bishops. There was no desire to dictate to the clergy; and I may add that their perfect freedom on the occasion is demonstrated by the manner in which all recorded their votes.

“I am still uncertain as to my journey to Rome. I should willingly go thither, either to secure Dr. Mac Hale's election or to exclude the Bishop of Galway.

“If I could persuade myself that my going to Rome is

unnecessary as regards the Bishop of Galway, or useless as regards Dr. Mac Hale, I should remain at home,—as a choice between the other candidates can be made by letter.

“By kindly offering a suggestion on this subject, you will much oblige,

“Your Eminence’s faithful servant,

“†JOHN MAC HALE.

“HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL CULLEN.”

There is no record of any answer to this appeal among the papers of the Archbishop of Tuam.

We now come back to the meeting of the clergy of the archdiocese, and to the election of these candidates for the office of coadjutor. On the 16th of August, the day preceding that appointed for the balloting, the canons and priests had already assembled in Tuam, and the Archbishop deemed it his duty, under the very peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, to make the following address, adverted to by Cardinal Cullen as likely to prejudice unfavorably the case of the Archbishop in the minds both of the Cardinals of Propaganda and of the Pope himself;

“Accustomed,” the Archbishop says, “to address the clergy of the diocese familiarly on such subjects as would appear to require mutual communication, I have thought proper to depart from this mode in some degree by committing to writing my few observations, with a view to their full and immediate publication. . . .

“In the first place, I think it right to refer to your own testimony that, neither directly nor indirectly, have I sought to influence your choice in a matter of such paramount interest to religion and to myself personally. I regret to say that the same forbearance has not been universally observed. For a systematic canvass has been going on for some time past for the purpose of influencing votes in favor of certain bishops, who, no doubt, were totally ignorant of the matter, or who, if they were aware of it, must have condemned it as forcibly as I deem it my duty to do. The

usual argument of these officious canvassers is, 'Such a person is sure to be appointed. What use, therefore, can there be in opposing him? The course for every prudent man to adopt is to conciliate him by voting in his favor.'¹

The Archbishop then proceeds to lay down the prudential rules which have ever guided the Supreme Authority in the Church both in transferring bishops from one see to another, or in selecting either bishops or priests for the office of coadjutor to an aged or infirm prelate. As the address of the Archbishop of Tuam on this occasion was judged by Cardinal Cullen to be taken in Rome, if not by the public in Ireland, not only as aiming at the exclusion of any person holding the episcopal office, but as thereby seriously interfering with the liberty of the electors,—it will be well to quote the very words of the address.

"Bishops," it goes on to say, "have been frequently transferred from one see to another, and oftener still from a suffragan see to a vacant metropolitan church, with a great benefit to religion. When there is question of appointing a coadjutor to an aged prelate, the thing assumes a new aspect. As a rule, observed by the Sovereign Pontiff, no coadjutor, whether bishop or priest, is appointed to an aged or infirm prelate without his good will and consent.

"The reason of this is obvious. The Church is particularly desirous that peace and charity should reign among all its members. Now, such a blessing can scarcely be hoped for when an assistant-bishop is appointed in opposition to the wishes of the prelate to be assisted. This reason becomes stronger still, when there is question of appointing a bishop already accustomed, in a diocese of his own, to the exercise of unrestrained power, to become coadjutor to an aged prelate. The objection to such an appointment is founded on the principle, that two independent persons,—one by position, and the other from long habit,—can scarcely be hoped to live harmoniously together.

"But more dangerous still to peace and harmony would be the result, in case that the alienated feelings of the

¹ From the original manuscript among THE MAC HALE MSS.

coadjutor had become a matter of public notoriety. I am far from supposing a person so alienated to be swayed by un-Christian or unclerical feelings. I am not unwilling to interpret these as manifestations of laudable views regarding the interest of religion, the good of the Church, and the welfare of our country, entirely different from mine; views which sometimes have placed in opposite ranks some of the most zealous and devoted Catholics.¹ Such opposite and discordant views might be harmless in separate churches, each of which would be ruled by the counsels and authority of a single prelate; but they might become a source of discord and disedification in a diocese subject to the conflicting administration of two prelates taking different practical views of such important questions.

“No doubt titular prelates have been appointed occasionally coadjutor-bishops; but this only happened when they were solicited by the aged prelate concerned. Even in those cases the determining motive of the choice was ancient friendship and well-known mutual confidence.

“But even when such motives govern the choice of a bishop for coadjutor, the proceeding is not without grave dangers. Apart from the lessons of long experience, we have a warning example in what, not many years ago, took place in a neighboring island. An eminent prelate wished to be given for his coadjutor one of his suffragan bishops. To this desire the Holy See acceded. A few years only elapsed when this connection between the two prelates had to be severed. . . . Of the inconvenience of such unions the coadjutor-bishop in question is still a living example.²

“These are the general reasons which militate against the election of a bishop on the present occasion. If, notwithstanding these reasons, there should be any among you who may wish to give their support to any prelate, a thing which they are perfectly free to do, let them bear in mind that, in addition to these general reasons, there exist special

¹ This is characteristic of the broad and liberal spirit of the Archbishop, and of that habitual charity, which never presumed to sit in judgment on the secret motives or conscience of his bitterest opponents.

² This was Dr. Errington, for some time coadjutor to Cardinal Wiseman.

ones for the exclusion of such prelates, which, if necessary, I shall not fail to place before the Sovereign Pontiff and the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, with the conviction on my mind, borne out by long experience, that a union shall never be celebrated disastrous to peace and charity, and injurious to the best interests of religion in this diocese.

"There are many among you, clergymen of a high order of talent and sacerdotal virtue. Turn your attention, while there is yet time, to those worthy priests. Make your selection from among them; and let me assure you that I shall not be found backward in giving my cordial consent to the appointment as coadjutor to one or other of the objects of your choice. In those circumstances, we have every reason to suppose that the Sovereign Pontiff, who so ardently desires peace and concord among his children, will gladly listen to our prayers, forwarded in accordance with the mode specially recommended by himself."¹

In spite of the public declaration of the Archbishop that Very Rev. Dr. Mac Hale was not a candidate for the coadjutorship, the clergy gave him twelve votes, whereas the Bishop of Galway only received sixteen. This majority of four votes, however, was, in the circumstances, more than sufficient to secure in Rome the appointment of Dr. Mac Evilly, supported as he was by the unanimous vote of the provincial bishops and by the approval of the Delegate Apostolic.

The Archbishop of Tuam solemnly and energetically protested, in his letter to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, against the appointment by the Holy See of a person openly hostile toward himself, while most willing to receive either Dr. Carr, Professor of Theology at Maynooth,² or any other of the Tuam priests who had received the suffrages of the clergy.

It was unfortunate that the Archbishop did not himself, in spite of his advanced age, go to Rome to plead his cause in person with the Propaganda and Pius IX. The impres-

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

² Afterward Bishop of Galway, and at this moment Archbishop of Melbourne, Australia.

sion everywhere produced by his venerable aspect, his lofty character, his varied learning, his unblemished life, and the countless services rendered to religion during his illustrious career, must have touched the heart of Pius IX., himself an octogenarian and bowed down by the weight of years.

And, after all, the Archbishop of Tuam was only asking for what it was the customary rule to grant to aged prelates, a *persona grata*, a coadjutor-bishop friendly and acceptable to himself, and likely in every way to work harmoniously with his superior for the good of souls and the edification of the flock.

Instead of supporting such a just and reasonable demand, one seldom, if ever, denied by the Holy See, the Irish bishops persisted in forcing upon the Archbishop of the West what seemed the nominee of a faction.

In 1876 Cardinal Franchi visited Ireland, at the invitation, it is thought, of Cardinal Cullen, and most probably also with a view to ascertain the judgment of the Irish hierarchy on the merits of the Tuam coadjutorship.

Dr. Mac Hale went on this occasion to Dublin, saw the Cardinal Prefect, and placed in his hands a letter in which he said :—

“ Before your Eminence leaves Dublin, I deem it proper to remind you of our late conversation, and to repeat, which I do with the greatest respect, that I never can consent to have the Bishop of Galway assigned to me as my coadjutor.

“ This is not a new resolution. On the contrary, in every meeting of the clergy lately held by me in reference to this matter, I did not hesitate to declare distinctly and emphatically that I would never consent to his having any part with me in the administration of my diocese.

“ This sincere and conscientious determination of mine is sufficient, I trust, to remove every fear of an event which could only procure the most deplorable effect both on my own peace of mind and my bodily health, as well as on the edification of the faithful and the good of the Catholic religion.” ¹

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

Meanwhile the Archbishop had sent as his deputy to Rome his nephew, Dr. Thomas Mac Hale.¹ The latter having openly renounced all pretensions as a candidate to the episcopal dignity, bent all his efforts, while in Rome, toward obtaining for the coadjutorship of Tuam either Dr. Carr or Canon Ronayne. On his arrival in the Eternal City, he was warmly welcomed at the Propaganda, one of the highest officials, Mgr. Agnozzi, there expressing himself in apologetic terms at the way he, Dr. Mac Hale, had been dealt with on the various occasions when his name had been put forward prominently as a candidate for promotion.

We here give, in Dr. Mac Hale's own words, a statement of the subsequent proceedings in Rome:—

“Dr. Mac Hale having exposed to him (Mgr. Agnozzi) the circumstances of the case, Mgr. remarked that a coadjutor should be appointed, but that he could not be Dr. Mc E——. This was encouraging. The Prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Franchi, happened to be then in Dublin, where he met the Archbishop. On his return to Rome, I called on him, and after I had stated my case he remarked that the Archbishop was “a man of iron constitution, *è un uomo di ferro*; that he would consult the Pope as to whether the question of a coadjutor should be deferred for some time. . . . The Pope must have decided in favor of proceeding at once with it. . . .

“After the lapse of some time I was officially informed by the head *Minutante* that it was agreed to adopt a *mezzo termine* (‘a middle course’), that is, to appoint an assistant-bishop without right of succession. . . . I would be chosen for that office. He desired me to write to the Archbishop to that effect, and get his consent. I wrote. The Archbishop gave his consent. But when I presented

¹ Before there had been any question of electing and appointing a coadjutor to Tuam, the name of Dr. Thomas Mac Hale was twice given the first place on the list of three candidates for the episcopal office elected by the clergy: this happened in the diocese of Killala, Dr. Mac Hale's native diocese, and in the diocese of Galway, where the name of Dr. McEvilly was only second on the list, although he was subsequently appointed by the Propaganda and the Pope.

the letter expressing that consent, I discovered that the *mezzo termine* had been manifestly abandoned. . . .

"On one occasion, when speaking to Cardinal De Luca on the subject of a coadjutor, he asked me a question which gave the key to the whole difficulty: '*Are Cardinal Cullen and the Archbishop good friends?*'"

"Finally the matter was submitted to a full meeting of the Congregation of Propaganda, and it was decided, doubtless not unanimously, but by a majority, that Dr. McE—— should be appointed coadjutor, but that his appointment should not be made known or published during the lifetime of the Archbishop; that, thus, matters should be allowed to remain as they were in so far as the public were concerned. This decision was ratified by the Pope, as I was told by the Secretary.

"Cardinal Franchi also declared to me, that nothing (practically, of course) had been done; and that a coadjutor would not be appointed for the Archbishop during his lifetime.¹

"This decision greatly disappointed the enemies of the Archbishop. Soon after this an effort was made to push matters in such a way as to defeat the decision arrived at. Three bishops from the province of Connaught,—Mgr. Gillooly from Elphin, Mgr. McEvilly from Galway, and Mgr. Mac Cormack from Achonry, repaired to Rome. This was early in the spring of 1877. The Archbishop of Tuam well understood the meaning of this visit, and resolved to follow them to Rome. He went as far as Dublin on his way thither, and wrote to me to prepare to accompany him. However, either finding his strength unequal to the journey, or from some other motive, he relinquished his purpose and returned to Tuam.

"Sometime after this a letter from the Propaganda reached the Archbishop, containing four weighty charges against him, in the matter of the administration of his diocese. The first was directed against the conduct of the

¹ Note of Dr. Thomas Mac Hale: "Words of Cardinal Franchi on Sunday, Feb. 18th, as he was going up the stairs of the Propaganda. *On peut regarder l'affaire comme non-avenue. . . . Rien de décidé. . . . Plus tard, peut-être. . . . Jamais on ne nommera une personne défavorable à l'Archevêque.*"

clergy ; the second was the oft-reiterated charge of triumphant proselytism in the diocese,—a charge each time triumphantly refuted ; the third asserted that the Tuam priests were in the habit of writing against each other in the public journals ; and the fourth, that the diocesan clergy were insufficient for the spiritual needs of the flock.

“ From whatever source proceeding, the purpose and *animus* of these charges, under the circumstances, were obvious enough. . . .”¹

These cruel accusations,—as cruel as they were unfounded,—the Archbishop of Tuam met at once with a peremptory refutation. Beginning with the charge of “ Proselytyzing Schools in the Diocese,”—he says once more, with an indignation which glows through the Latin words : “ In my whole diocese there is only one parish, or rather one district, in which such schools are found. For a long period of years the Protestants have carried on in this district a most bitter warfare against the faith of the famishing inhabitants, using every means to win them over to Protestantism. The result has been that a few, and a few only among the most wretched country folk, despite the unwearied efforts of bishop and clergy, have been prevailed on to send their children to these schools, driven by the want of food and clothing.

“ Now, there is not a diocese in all Ireland in which such schools do not exist. . . . And besides, the war thus made on Catholics is daily abating in violence, and the stray ones are returning to the fold.

“ Notwithstanding this particularity, there is not at this day in all Ireland a diocese,—with two exceptions,—in which the Catholic population is, relatively, more numerous than in the diocese of Tuam. In 1875 a mission was given in the district mentioned above by the Fathers of St. Vincent of Paul, which was attended by great success.”

With regard to the accusation against his clergy, the Archbishop indignantly replies : “ No priest exercising in

¹ Manuscript notes of Very Rev. Thos. Mac Hale, D.D., among the MAC HALE MSS.

my diocese the functions of the sacred ministry is liable to such a charge, if I except one or two; and to these good priests have been sent as assistants in the performance of their office. Where is there a diocese in which one or two clergymen might not be found open to such accusations?

"It is said that discipline is lax; and to prove it, it is charged that parishioners are denounced from the altar, and that two parish-priests have had a personal controversy in the public papers.

"As to denouncing people from the altar, a distinction must be made between denouncing thus publicly the public and notorious crimes of parishioners, and denunciations made without due cause. There is no instance of denunciations of this latter kind. As to the former, denunciations are sometimes made, with certain precautions, however, in the case of men in power who trample upon the rights of the Church and insidiously violate the liberties of our people.

"With regard to the two parish-priests who are said to have brought their personal quarrels into the public journals, I have never before heard a word about such a scandal.¹ If you will only name the delinquents, I shall investigate the charge, and give a sentence in conformity with the facts, which shall be duly communicated to you.

"My priests do not give way to such recriminations, at least in public, and should they do so, they would not fail to be chastised for it.

"Again, it is said that the number of my priests is inadequate to the spiritual needs of the people, who are thereby deprived of the comfort of hearing Mass even on Sundays and Feast Days,

"There is not one church in all my diocese in which Mass is not celebrated on Sundays and Feasts of Obligation. The number of my priests at the present time differs but

¹ "It is true that some fifteen or twenty years before 1877 letters were published by the parish priests at Westport and Claremorris, containing such recriminations. How strange that after fifteen or twenty years this matter should be brought up as a charge against the administration of Dr. Mac Hale!"—*Note of Very Rev. Thos. Mac Hale.*

little from their number in our happiest times. This very year I have eleven seminarians pursuing their third year of Theology, and six their second year, in the National College at Maynooth, so that I shall have to send some of these to serve on the foreign missions.

"It must be said that during the last few Sundays one of our parish churches was without Mass, owing to the rector's being seriously ill, and there was no priest to be found to fill his place. Since, the rector has departed this life, and a successor has just been given to him.

"Such being the state of things, the Holy See in its usual prudence will not advise me to accept a coadjutor who is notoriously and publicly most hostile towards me.

"As soon as I shall deem myself incapable of governing my diocese in a salutary manner, let there be given to me a coadjutor or at least an assistant bishop, grateful and acceptable to me, or let me simply resign my charge.

"Your Eminence, taught by long experience, well knows how small defects assume mountain-like proportions in the case of charges brought against a prelate somewhat unpopular in the estimation of the world and of worldly-minded men. I have filled a long career, combating for the Church committed to my care, and for my faithful people. I know I have made myself many enemies. But it is for justice I contend, and shall continue to contend to the last.¹

"Where is there a bishop whose imperfections may not be easily exaggerated by his enemy into accusations such as those recited above? I willingly confess that I have been wanting in many things. But the charges here laid at my door may be, without hesitation, pronounced by your Eminence to have been highly colored and exaggerated.

"If it be necessary, in order to refute the above slanders at greater length and more effectively, I shall take care to send a priest to Rome for that purpose."²

Assuredly, the Roman authorities are not accountable for

¹ *Pro justitia certo, et ad finem usque certabo.*—The words in the original before us.

² From the Latin c. py, MAC HALE MSS.

the charges thus trumped up against the venerable John of Tuam, and to which he replies with such dignity and force. It is to the discredit of a certain class of Irishmen themselves that such vile intrigues could have been set on foot, and such slanderous accusations brought against one of the greatest prelates of the nineteenth century. But that nothing worse could be alleged against him at the end of fifty-three years of episcopal labor and responsibility proves how blameless before God and men that long life had been. ¹

The indictment drawn up against his administration is only a preliminary in the Cardinal Prefect's letter to the declaration which follows regarding the practical resolution to which the Holy See had come on the matter of the co-adjutorship. It is dated December, 1877.

"The Sacred Congregation," Cardinal Franchi adds, "does not intend to impute these facts to you as if the result of guilty neglect. Your advanced age makes your strength unequal to the great labors you have to undergo, which you have gone through for so many years, and which must be accomplished, if the needs of the diocese, under present circumstances, are to be fully provided for.

"Wherefore our Most Holy Father Pius IX., in the care which he is bound to have of all the churches, has determined to apply an efficacious remedy to these evils, by

¹ It is not a little singular that, some ten years after the above charges had been made against Archbishop Mac Hale, his successor in the see of Tuam should have most solemnly refuted the gravest of them, and in the very district where, it was alleged, the proselytizers had made so many perverts. In the "Freeman's Journal" of August 5, 1887, there is an account of a visit paid by the present archbishop of Tuam to Clifden, Connemara. Speaking in the neighborhood of this place, the very centre of proselytism, his Grace is reported to have said in reference to the people of that district, so long and bitterly tried during the famine years and since: "He congratulated them on the *successful struggle* which they and their fathers had sustained against the enemies of the faith a struggle more severe, more prolonged, and more momentous in its issue than the bloody combat of Clontarf."

Mgr. McEvilly was accompanied on that occasion by Mgr. McCormack, now Bishop of Galway. If the Catholic Celts of Connemara had come out of the unequal strife victorious to whom, under Providence, was the victory due but to their great leader, *John Mac Hale*?

giving you a coadjutor-bishop, as you have yourself solicited. And, inasmuch as deliberate action was taken on this subject, as you are aware, in the month of January last past, the name of the person appointed to assist you kept secret (lest any offence should be given to your Grace) so long as the salvation of souls, the supreme law in the Church, would permit its being so kept,—His Holiness, especially in view of the circumstances lately laid before him, has deemed that he ought no longer to defer making known the name of the coadjutor for Tuam.

“ Before, however, this election be made public, His Holiness has commissioned a discreet and prudent Religious, ¹ who is to hand your Grace this letter, to represent to you that by giving your consent to this election you will, besides the good done to your Church, acquire no small merit before God.

“ The person selected is the Bishop of Galway, whom you could not accept last year, but who is a man held to be most worthy of the archiepiscopal title and dignity not only by the bishops of your province, but by the Apostolic See, a man animated with such zeal for the salvation of souls, and adorned with such piety and doctrine, as your Grace well knows, that you may intrust to him safely, either in whole or in part, the administration of the diocese, as your Grace's health may require. It will be, moreover, a satisfaction to the Sacred Congregation to learn that you will thus get some relief from your cares and labors in governing your diocese, so as to devote yourself more freely to the eternal salvation of your own soul, and thereby obtain more surely the everlasting crown prepared for well-deserving pastors.” ²

Still, as the Archbishop of Tuam stood on what he conceived to be his own right in refusing one openly hostile to himself, and on the firm ground that the helpmate thus forced upon him would only, as the Archbishop put it, “ help to pull down and destroy instead of building up,”

¹ Very Rev. Thomas Burke, O. P.

² From the original Latin letter among the MAC HALE MSS.

he remained firm in his determination to resist an obtrusion brought about by what he considered a conspiracy.

Father Thomas Burke, O. P., the warm friend of the Archbishop of Tuam, was, as Cardinal Franchi's letter indicates, and as is more plainly stated in the letter we are about to quote from, deputed by the Pope to convey to Tuam the above letter and to use his good offices with the Archbishop, by inducing him to comply with the Pontifical decision.

But the Archbishop still remained unchanged in his conviction that the best interests of religion in the diocese of Tuam, and the sacred cause of the oppressed poor of Ireland and of the nation in general,—would only be seriously injured by yielding to the pressure brought to bear upon him by his opponents. As we shall see presently, he only saw calamity, discord, scandal, and disaster as the inevitable result of the dual administration counselled by the Propaganda; and, if the Pope persisted in forcing an unacceptable assistant on him, his only alternative, consistent with his conscience and his duty to the head of the Church, was to resign his see.

On January 3d, 1878, a few weeks before the death of Pius IX., Cardinal Franchi sent the following brief rejoinder to the Archbishop's reply to the December letter:—

“I have received your letter, in which you earnestly insist that the Bishop of Galway, whom our Most Holy Father Pius IX. had appointed to be your coadjutor with right of succession, and about whom I wrote to you in December last, should be dispensed from the office thus assigned him. I do indeed wish that some future opportunity be given me of doing what is grateful to you. But in the present matter it is not in my power to accede to your request. The Bishop of Galway has been proclaimed coadjutor of Tuam by Apostolic authority.

“What your Grace declared to Very Rev. Father Thomas Burke, while the latter was fulfilling the commission entrusted to him by the Sacred Congregation, shows clearly the admirable sentiments with which you are ani-

mated towards this Holy See. It is, therefore, to be hoped that you will be willing to accept the coadjutor assigned to you by the Sovereign Pontiff.

“Still, the Right Rev. Dr. McEvilly is not for the present separated from the Diocese of Galway, nor will he give up the administration of the Dioceses of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora, unless you desire to employ his services in the future, thereby rendering it necessary that he should be relieved from the government of those churches.”¹

Thus stood the question of the coadjutorship, when Leo XIII. was raised to the Chair of Peter. Cardinal Franchi became Secretary of State, and Cardinal Simeoni succeeded him at the Propaganda. Of course, the reports which reached Rome from Ireland and were laid before the new Pope only confirmed the opinion already existing in the Propaganda.

In May, 1878, the Archbishop received a pressing injunction from the Pope through the Cardinal Prefect to invite the Bishop of Galway to begin his functions as coadjutor-bishop of Tuam. But the Archbishop still firmly, though most respectfully, maintained his ground, that by consenting to do so he would be only contributing to the ruin of religion in his diocese. The remonstrance made such an impression on Leo XIII., perplexed as he was between the unanswerable reasons alleged by the Archbishop, and the reports sent him of the latter's incapacity, that he caused a letter to be sent to Dr. McGettigan, Archbishop of Armagh, instructing the latter to proceed to Tuam, and persuade Dr. Mac Hale to yield to the wish of the Pope. The Primate was also to examine into the spiritual condition of the diocese of Tuam, and report thereon to the Holy See.

Dr. McGettigan at once proceeded to fulfil his delicate mission, as we see by the following letters:—

“ARMAGH, August 31st, 1878.

“MY DEAR LORD:—If your Grace be at home or at any place near Tuam next week, I would venture to go and see you.

¹ From the original letter, MAC HALE MSS.

"I can conceal nothing from you that touches your happiness, your dignity, or your position. The business that brings me concerns your welfare. It is idle to add that it has reference to the question of your coadjutor.

"The Holy See has expressed a wish that I should visit your Grace. Without the request of the Holy Father, it would be an intrusion on my part to ask for a personal interview relative to that business.

"I may venture to promise your Grace that I will not occupy your time many minutes, and that my visit will not diminish the sincere respect and esteem which I have ever had and will continue to have for the Archbishop of Tuam.

"I have the honor to remain, my dear Lord,

"Your Grace's faithful servant,

"DANIEL McGETTIGAN.

"HIS GRACE THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM." ¹

The Primate accordingly visited Tuam, inquired on the spot into the state of the diocese, and on his return to Armagh reported to the Holy See. But good care was taken by the adverse party to send in such reports as would counteract whatever might be unfavorable to them in the testimony of the Primate of all Ireland.

This gave rise to a new mission given to Dr. McGettigan. On the 26th of January, 1879, Cardinal Simeoni again wrote to him:—

"After the letter sent me by your Grace, in which you gave an account of the state of the diocese of Tuam, and set forth the reasons which induced you to judge that it would be better not to send thither at present the coadjutor assigned to the Archbishop of Tuam, this Sacred Congregation, while dealing anew with this matter and taking into consideration the weighty reasons alleged by your Grace, abstains for the present from taking a resolution to the contrary.

"As, however, on the other hand, several bishops have repeatedly besought us that the coadjutor, even in spite of

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

the Archbishop, should be sent to that diocese, affirming that, if this were not done, greater injuries must accrue to the spiritual welfare of the same from the single efforts of the Protestants,¹ the Sacred Congregation, having solely in view the salvation of souls in that diocese, cannot put away all anxiety on this subject.

"Wherefore, in order to give this question still further study, it has resolved to ask you to be kind enough to send, in reference to what you have mentioned in your letter, further and more detailed accounts, and to satisfy this Sacred Congregation that the diocese may remain as it is without any detriment to the welfare of souls. And this will be all the more timely if you consult your suffragans before reporting.

"I am sure you will willingly and promptly comply with this request. For the subject in question is a momentous one, involving the saving of souls from peril."²

Before complying with this second request of the Sacred Congregation, the Primate wrote to one of the foremost clergymen in the Diocese of Tuam :—

"ARMAGH, Feb. 8th, 1879.

"VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR :—I was led to believe that there was an end to every attempt at annoying his Grace in the government of his diocese. You will however see from the letter which I forward, and which reached [me] a few days ago, that the busy-bodies are sending unfounded statements to Propaganda, and endeavoring to disturb the peaceful state which now exists in Tuam.

"Propaganda asks for *ulteriores, penitioresque notitias*. . . . That there is no ground for anxiety about the state of religion in Tuam, and that there is nothing to be feared from the assaults of the "Soupers,"—are two things I am firmly convinced of already.

"I met two of the bishops of the province of Tuam (Drs. Gillooly and Conway), at the month's mind of Dr. Mc Devitt, at Letterkenny, last Wednesday, but did not

¹ The "Soupers."

² From copy of the original, MAC HALE MSS.

tell them of the letter which I had received. I asked Dr. Gillooly, in a general way, how things were going on in Tuam. His answer was, that everything was going on quietly and satisfactorily.

"I could gather from his remarks that he does not approve of the unseemly and persistent attempts of the B—— of G—— to 'get in' *vi et armis*.

"You were, no doubt, amazed at the unanimity of the Raphoe parish priests in recommending Dr. Logue to the Holy See.¹

"Wishing you every happiness, I remain, Very Rev. and dear Sir,

"Your faithful servant,

"† DANIEL McGETTIGAN."

Here, then, is the final report of the Primate of all Ireland on the state of the Diocese of Tuam in February, 1879,—the date of the letter to Propaganda:—

"MOST EMINENT AND MOST REVEREND LORD:—Your Eminence's letter of January the 26th regarding the subject of the Church of Tuam duly reached me. The more deeply I consider this matter, the more deeply am I convinced that no change should be attempted there. This is also the opinion of all my suffragans, whom I lately consulted on this point, at the meeting held to provide for the widowed Church of Raphoe.

"The fact is that everything is progressing most edifyingly in the diocese of Tuam. I quite lately saw one of the suffragan bishops of Tuam, one in no wise favorable to the Archbishop, the Most Rev. Dr. Gillooly of Elphin, who, in answer to my query as to how things were getting on in the Diocese of Tuam, answered: "Quietly and satisfactorily to everybody." What is still more important, I could gather from the conversation of that prelate, that he did not at all approve of the proceedings of those who are persistently and not edifyingly endeavoring to force, *vi et armis*, the B—— of G—— into the Church of Tuam.

¹ Dr. Logue is the present patriotic, enlightened, and most popular archbishop of Armagh.

“The clergy of the diocese of Tuam are distinguished by their priestly virtues, and are untiring in ministering to the faithful the heavenly food of the Gospel. Two priests who gave disedification were chastised by the Archbishop and have entirely changed for the better. One parish priest, who was intemperate, has been removed from the pastoral office; another, quite young in the ministry, . . . has been suspended. . . .

“Not long ago the Archbishop issued a most useful order, and one which will do great good, to restrain certain priests from writing unpriestly letters in the public papers. This was a remarkable proof of the Archbishops energy of character.

“As to the efforts of the Protestants to pervert the Catholics of the diocese of Tuam, it must be said in all truth that up to the present moment their efforts have been unsuccessful. The diocese of Tuam comprises a part of the two counties of Galway and Mayo. According to the Government Census of 1871, the Catholic population of the Co. Galway is 221,816, with 6,549 Protestants; while the Co. Mayo contains 238,319 Catholics, with 6,096 Protestants. Thus the diocese of Tuam has, relatively, a smaller Protestant population than any diocese in Ireland, except those comprised within the counties of Clare and Kerry. And this small number of Protestants has not been there increased in spite of the enormous sums of money spent during the last 30 years for the purposes of proselytism, and while the Catholic inhabitants were suffering from starvation.

“For many years people have ceased to hear or to speak about these proselytizers, except in the one district of Clifden in Connemara. There the Protestants maintain an infant asylum, where they place Catholic children brought from all the cities in Ireland, and have them brought up as Protestants. There are also in the same district some Protestant schools, into which some Catholic children are inveigled by the offers made them of food and clothing. It is intended, as I have been informed, to employ without

delay still more effective means than in the past to put a stop to these perversions.

“Moreover, the diocese of Tuam is blessed by the presence of an archbishop still in the enjoyment of bodily vigor and possessed of a wonderful energy of soul. He is quite able to fulfil all his episcopal functions. He has also a vicar-general of great perspicacity and courage, who is not the man to suffer tamely any injury to be done to religion.

“This being the case, I do not hesitate to say, in my own name and in that of the bishops of my province, that the Sacred Congregation has no reason whatever to feel any anxiety about the salvation of souls in the Diocese of Tuam; and that ecclesiastical matters therein may be well allowed to continue as they are without any inconvenience,—unless the Sacred Congregation should deem fit to make some good parish priest of the diocese auxiliary bishop to the Metropolitan.

“No spiritual detriment can arise from the present condition of things in that archdiocese; and nothing but the most serious evils could result from forcing the Bishop of Galway into the Church of Tuam, against the consent of the Archbishop.”¹

The testimony of the Archbishop of Armagh, though sustained by the unanimous judgment of all the Northern bishops, was not able to convince the Propaganda, or to outweigh the *misleading evidence* furnished by the Connaught prelates and their supporters elsewhere. In this phase of the powerful intrigue against the Archbishop of Tuam Cardinal Cullen can have had no part, having been removed by death on October 24th, 1878.

At length the crisis came, and on the 22d of August, 1879, Cardinal Simeoni informed the Archbishop that the Pope had himself resolved to empower Dr. McEvilly to repair to Tuam and to enter upon the active discharge of his duties as coadjutor. A space of one month was given Dr. Mac Hale to comply with this order of the Pope by invit.

¹ From the authentic Latin copy among the MAC HALE MSS.

ing the Bishop of Galway to Tuam. Nevertheless, as the month passed, and no invitation reached Galway from the Archbishop, His Holiness waited patiently without carrying out his threat.

"Now, therefore," Cardinal Simeoni writes, "after the lapse of so many months, and the Bishop of Galway having received no faculties from you ; and inasmuch as the reasons for which he was appointed your coadjutor become daily more urgent, the Sovereign Pontiff has at length conferred on the Bishop the faculties necessary toward discharging the duties of coadjutor in your diocese.

"I have no doubt that it will be quite sufficient for you to know the will of His Holiness in this respect, to give your clergy and people a public proof of your devotion and deference toward the Holy See and the Vicar of Christ. . . . The help of the coadjutor given you will afford you relief, over-full of years as you are, after so many years of labor in the care of souls. His strength, united to the energy of will with which you continue to work above your own strength, will thus amply provide for the administration of the diocese."¹

To the new Prefect of the Propaganda, and especially to the new Pope, who, like himself, had spent a long life in battling with the enemies of the Church and for the defence of the Christian people, the Archbishop of Tuam deemed it his duty and his right to address one last respectful explanation.

"I have received in due time," he writes to Cardinal Simeoni, "the letter of your Eminence relative to the delegation of faculties to the Bishop of Galway as my coadjutor in the administration of the diocese of Tuam. It was impossible for me to return an earlier answer, as I was busily occupied at the time in making my pastoral visitation of the deaneries of the diocese.

"I shall endeavor to set forth in as few words as may be the reasons which urge me to offer your Eminence a fuller explanation of this most important business.

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

“Two years ago I asked the Holy See to grant me a coadjutor. After some explanatory communications I received an answer saying that I should call my clergy together to select men worthy of the episcopal office. I did so, and transmitted to the Holy See the names of the men thus chosen. I declared, moreover, that I should be satisfied with any one of the four priests voted for by the clergy, but that I could not accept the Bishop of Galway, who was openly and notoriously hostile to me. Of this there is evident proof in the fact that, during the solemn celebration of my episcopal jubilee, this bishop was unwilling to show me honor by word or act of his, but, moreover, held a spiritual retreat for his clergy during these very days, and thus practically prevented them from joining the provincial clergy, a great proportion of whom by their presence and acts enhanced the solemn festivities.

“On this conduct of the Bishop of Galway much was then published by the Irish, English, and American journals.

“Notwithstanding all this, by the advice and persuasion of a most eminent personage of whom I do not at present wish to say more, the Bishop of Galway was chosen as my coadjutor, with this precautionary clause, however, that the name of the person thus chosen should be kept secret during my life-time, unless some subsequent necessity should arise to demand its divulcation.

“This decision was in no wise satisfactory to the persons who had been, in this business, so active in opposing me. Not long afterward reasons were *invented* to obtain the publication of the decree. Accusations were trumped up against my clergy and against my administration, which tended to show openly that, as my enemies judged, I was unable to govern my diocese.

“I met such of these accusations as were utterly false by a peremptory denial, others, which were exaggerated, I explained away; such as were at all true I admitted to be so. For there is no diocese exempt from faults and errors.

“But the Sacred Congregation preferred to give credit to my enemies rather than to my explanations; and thus it

comes to pass that a bishop is to be given me as my coadjutor to whom I can delegate no part of my authority. It is one thing to wish for a helpmate on whom one looks with kindness ; it is quite another to have to accept an open enemy.

“Up to this time I have so discharged my episcopal functions that I deserved, some eighteen months ago, to receive the approving praise of the Sacred Congregation. With God’s help, I shall in the future continue to fulfil the same duties.

“If in spite of all this the Apostolic See wills to delegate to the Bishop of Galway the faculties for performing certain functions in the diocese of Tuam, then I shall at once seriously think of resigning the episcopal office and dignity ; for I will never be associated with the Bishop of Galway.

“But, inasmuch as the resignation of a bishop is a thing of very rare occurrence, mine will excite surprise both among the clergy and among the people. It will thus become necessary for me to give a public explanation of my act. In the documents which I shall thus give to the public in connection with this affair, I shall add nothing to the letters written by me or in my name to the Sacred Congregation. Historical truth and the necessity of my own reputation require that I should also make public everything in these letters which can throw light on this momentous transaction.”¹

The Holy See deemed that it had gone too far to yield to reasons and explanations which received a flat contradiction from the adversaries of the Archbishop. The coadjutor came in due time to Tuam ; but the Archbishop, while declining the risk of a great public scandal by resigning his see, allowed the coadjutor to use his own discretion in the exercise of the faculties granted him by the Pope. The indomitable old man continued as usual to perform every one of his daily duties, and to face, to the last, the fatigues of his yearly visitation of the diocese.

No one,—not even his nephew or his only surviving sis-

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

ter,—was allowed to read on his countenance any trace of the emotion caused by the presence in Tuam of the man against whom he had so strongly protested. No one ever heard from his lips a word derogatory to Christian charity, or to the sovereign respect which, he never ceased to entertain towards the Vicar of Christ,—even when studied and persistent misrepresentations had obtained from the Apostolical authority acts which wounded the deepest sentiments of a soul devoted to the Church and to Ireland.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE IRISH LANGUAGE.

Labors for Restoring and Popularizing the Ancient Language and Literature of Ireland.

AS the population of the West of Ireland, where in many districts the native Irish or Gælic was generally spoken about 1839-40, needed above all things to receive solid religious instruction in that tongue, the Archbishop turned his thoughts toward providing them with an Irish catechism and a short and cheap manual of prayer. The catechism was printed in 1840, and is mentioned by very Rev. Father Loftus, while still in Dublin, on his way to Rome as the deputy of the Archbishop of Tuam and the prelates opposed to the National System of education. The little Manual of Prayer was issued soon afterwards.

In a preface to the second edition of this latter work, published in 1857, the Archbishop gives most interesting details, details which still appeal to the mind and heart of Catholic readers, both about the catechism and especially his little Manual of Devotion still cherished in Galway and Mayo,—ay, and in many an Irish home in America and Australia.

“The wide circulation,” he says, “of the Irish catechism published a few years ago, the increasing demand of fresh issues of that work made on the publisher, and the literary cultivation of our ancient language, recently combined with its traditional knowledge, have determined the publication of this little volume.

“As the LITANIES OF OUR LORD and of OUR LADY OF LORETO have formed a portion of the morning and evening prayers published in the catechism, I deemed the

LITANY OF THE SAINTS a becoming supplement to the others. The PENITENTIAL PSALMS have ever been considered as the manual from which to draw sentiments of compunction, and to learn that simple language of the heart in which sorrow for having offended God finds appropriate expression. Besides, these sorrowful devotions have a peculiar charm for the Irish people, who for ages have been sharing the afflictions of the national penitence, and been familiarized to a language of resignation which nothing but a deep-seated sense of religion could inspire.

"The RECOMMENDATION OF A SOUL DEPARTING from this world should not be omitted. It is the translation of that sanctioned by the Church in the Roman Ritual. As it cannot be expected, from the comparative fewness of the Catholic clergy, that a priest would be always present at the hour of death, it is a great consolation to a dying person to hear one of the family, or of the neighbors, reciting, at that awful hour, those consoling prayers in the language in which he was first taught to pray, and sustaining his confidence by those moving instances of God's power and mercy recorded in the Scriptures, with which those prayers abound."

Scholars in every land will applaud the next addition made by the Archbishop to his little treasury of prayer, namely,—translations of the two noble hymns the *DIES IRÆ* and *STABAT MATER*. "My object," he says, "was not confined to a mere translation: I was anxious to gratify at the same time the musical taste of the people, and to make that taste, which their worst enemies have never controverted, minister to their devotional feelings. Hence my anxiety not only to render these hymns as literally as was compatible with the restraints of measure, but likewise to give the translations the same metrical form and structure, so that they could be set and sung to the same music as the Latin originals. This want of adaptation to its music is a defect under which, as far as I know, the English translations of our Church hymns labor. For example, Roscommon's celebrated version of the *DIES IRÆ* defies any ad-

aptation to the magnificent tones with which it is accompanied in the Mass for the Dead. I know not whether one can say of this English composition what has been said, yet unfairly, of Pope's translation of Homer, that it possesses every excellence, except a likeness to the original. . . .

"Since the publication of the first edition of this devout collection, I have given in the little work of 'The Way of the Cross' an English version of the STABAT MATER in the precise metrical form of the Latin and Irish, which is here republished. It has been often suggested to me that the ROSARY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN, so popular in Ireland, especially since the time that reading and writing became penal, ought to be again accessible to the people in their native language. I have accordingly added this precious chaplet to the former wreath."

Through the famine of 1841-42, as well as through *Black '47*, and the succeeding awful years of grinding oppression and wholesale evictions, the Archbishop, while undergoing the gigantic labors imposed on him by his official position as bishop and metropolitan, as well as by that of the acknowledged guide and counsellor of the nation amid its incessant struggle for bare life, made time, one wonders how, to create a national Gaelic literature, by translating and publishing in successive numbers Moore's MELODIES, the ILIAD OF HOMER, and the PENTATEUCH.

When one takes up the public record, year by year, of the Archbishop of Tuam's varied labors, not only in the discharge of his own pastoral office, but in relation to every religious and political movement which enlisted on opposite sides the sympathies and passions of the Three Kingdoms, and the events in Italy imperilling the interests of the Catholic Church, the independence and safety of the Sovereign Pontiff,—it seems incredible that one so closely identified with all these currents of contemporary public life should have achieved much in the field of Celtic literature.

It was during the first years of his episcopate in Tuam, that, being suddenly seized with an indisposition that confined him to his bed while visiting his diocese, what might

be called an accident caused him to think of translating into Irish metre the "National Melodies" of Moore. He asked, during the long hours of his enforced repose, to be given some book to read. The good priest with whom he was staying brought him the Melodies, knowing well his admiration for the poet. As he read, and hummed while reading, the inspiring national airs, the thought came like an inspiration that he ought to translate Moore's exquisite gems of song into Gælic, faithfully following the sense and rhythm of the original. This, he thought, would make the melodies as popular among the Irish-speaking populations of the South and West of Ireland as they had already become throughout the English speaking world.

The work of translating and preparing for publication his version of the melodies went on while he was heart and soul engaged in fighting the battle for truly national Catholic schools, which is described toward the end of our first volume. Then it was, as his sister, Mrs. Higgins, relates so vividly, that the Archbishop learned to play on both the piano and the harp, in order the better to render both in metre and music the spirit of Moore and the melody of the ancient national music.

He was, as his sister tell us, an apt, a patient, and persevering learner; and his success in this instance, amid the overwhelming occupations of his charge, and constant interruptions, furnishes a most remarkable instance of what systematic industry, a well-ordered distribution of time, and conscientious perseverance will accomplish.

At length the Archbishop wrote to Thomas Moore:—

"TUAM, November 22, 1841.

"DEAR SIR:— For some time back I have been occasionally engaged in translating into a corresponding Irish metre some of your exquisite melodies. Of the selections about thirty are now ready for publication. They have been indiscriminately chosen from the first to the tenth number, as they seemed to me best suited to the sentiments of the Irish people and the spirit of that ancient language, which, with

the inhabitants of extensive districts, is yet the native tongue.

“It is my intention to publish them set to music in a style of somewhat less elaborate harmony than that of the originals. My whole aim is to familiarize the Irish natives with sentiments worthy of the melody of their popular songs, which, and it is no wonder, are, with very few exceptions, but wretched specimens of poetical composition.

“In thus attempting to diffuse the charms of your poetry through the musical airs of our humbler countrymen, there can be no danger of any interference with the rights or interests of those who have a concern in the English harmonized melodies. Their spheres will be too wide of each other ever to come in contact. Were any such collision of interest at all probable, I should cheerfully place the intended publication entirely at their disposal. But whether the poetical part of the melodies be published in a simple or harmonized form, whether it be in Irish or Italian, it is the one master-spirit that animates them all.

“I thought it, therefore, but right, before publishing my version, to make my grateful acknowledgment to you, who have given an intelligible utterance to our national music, and made the Russian and the Pole understand the sufferings and the devotedness of the people of Ireland.

“I have the honor to be, my dear sir,

“Your faithful servant,

“† JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

“THOMAS MOORE, ESQUIRE.”

Moore, of course, was much gratified by this letter. “That these songs of mine,” he writes, “should be translated into what I may call their native language, is in itself a great gratification and triumph to me: but that such a tribute should come from the pen of your Grace considerably adds to the pride and pleasure I feel in it.”¹ The London publishers, however, would not allow the English words to appear together with the Irish version. So Dr. Mac Hale issued the Irish words in numbers which appeared from time to time, till in 1871, the copy-right having expired, a

¹ MAC HALE MSS. This letter bears the Post-mark of CALNE, Dec. 18, 1841.

very handsome edition of both the original English and the Gaelic version, on opposite pages, containing eighty melodies, was issued by James Duffy, Dublin.

On December 26th, 1845, Moore wrote to the Archbishop: "I was for two reasons pleased and proud to hear from you. In the first place, to find myself kindly remembered by you could not be otherwise than a pride and a pleasure to me; and, in the next, the sight of another number of *the melodies* relieved me from a fear which I was beginning to give way to, that you had not met with sufficient sympathy in your national work to induce you to continue it. This would, indeed, have been a pity and a shame, and I hail your new number as a proof that I was mistaken."¹

One unpublished letter of the Poet to the Archbishop we must here insert:—

"SLOPERTON, April 3, 1844.

"MY DEAR LORD:—I received with great pleasure your gift of the new *cahier* of your Irish Melodies,—yours and Ireland's own melodies, and shall place it upon the same shelf with a precious fragment I was presented with the other day,—namely, the proof-sheets of a Polish translation of my 'Fire-Worshippers,' which were themselves snatched from the fire, in the last rout and flight of the poor Poles from their persecutors. The two translations will lie kindly together.

"Believe me yours, my dear Lord, very truly,

"THOMAS MOORE.

"TO JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM, TUAM, IRELAND."

Moore's "National Melodies,"—"Ireland's own Melodies," as the Poet fondly calls them,—did more than fulfil the hopes the translator had formed of them. Each number, as it appeared, was eagerly sought for, and several new issues had to be made to satisfy not only the popular appetite for the noble airs of olden times so nobly wedded to the Archbishop's version, but they were sought with avidity

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

by men and women of the cultivated classes, who understood and appreciated the poetic and melodious language of their forefathers.

The translation of the *Iliad*, aiming to give to the bright intelligence and inborn poetical sense of the *Gælic*-speaking inhabitants of Ireland the most glorious epic bequeathed by antiquity, was still more welcome to Celtic scholars at home and abroad, while it was hailed with delight by the *Gæl* in Kerry and Clare, in Galway and Mayo, in Roscommon, Sligo, and Donegal. In due time came in succession, together with the *Cantos* of Homer, the *Books* of Moses, — all telling the down-trodden race that one was working for them to whom their religious and intellectual elevation was as dear as the realization of their cherished national hopes.

“During the past few years,” says the Archbishop in his preface to the first book or canto, “I have been snatching some leisure intervals from weighty duties, for the purpose of connecting the father of classic poetry with the native language and literature of Ireland . . . Should it excite surprise that the task of rendering the *Iliad* into our native tongue was not undertaken at a time when this was almost universally spoken, let it be remembered that it was a proscribed dialect, and visited with the same penalties that were directed against the liberties and the religion of the people. The necessities of life must be provided for before the introduction of foreign luxuries. Such a literary composition, requiring not only comparative leisure, but likewise those facilities which can only be found in more propitious times and in tranquil retirement, could have been scarcely expected in the past disastrous periods of the history of our country.

“Notwithstanding its discouragement, the knowledge of the Irish language among the natives was general, and among some it was profound. Many of our country, especially the ecclesiastics, were likewise deeply versed in classical learning. But the preservation of their religion had juster and stronger claims on their zeal than the charms of

literature ; and the little time that remained on their hand, after the discharge of their religious duties, was profitably expended in preserving the annals of Ireland, which its enemies were incessantly laboring to destroy. . . .

“ There is no European tongue better adapted than ours to a full or perfect version of Homer. It is true that in radical structure the Irish bears a stronger resemblance to the Hebrew than to the Greek language. But in the happy flexibility of the latter to the most varied and harmonious combinations there is such an analogy between it and the Irish language as to render one the fittest medium for the transfusion of the other. Of this easy pliancy of our language to those kindred forms of compound adjectives, in which the Greek, especially that of Homer, abounds, the remains of our ancient poetry furnish copious illustrations.

“ If a language, almost a wreck, long abandoned without improvement to the humbler classes of society, be distinguished by such rare excellence, we may judge of its power when it was the exclusive instrument of communication throughout the entire kingdom ; nor is it difficult to fancy its capability of indefinite improvement if enriched with all the treasures with which genius and industry, stimulated by the rewards of learned professions. . . .

“ Even in its present condition, the Irish language is one of the most effective instruments of oratorical persuasion, by which the feelings of a religious and sensitive people could be roused and regulated to any pitch. Were there no other monument to attest the early and superior civilization of our nation, it is indelibly impressed on its truly philosophical language.”

The Irish version of the First Book of the Iliad was published in 1844 ; that of the Second Book appeared in 1845. “ Such,” says the Archbishop in his preface to the latter, “ has been, of late, the growing taste for the revival of our native literature, that it is extensively read in our schools. To sustain and stimulate this laudable desire for the cultivation of our ancient language, I now give to the public the Second Book of that inimitable production.”

Not before 1851 did the Third Book make its appearance. "It was not to be expected," we are told in the preface, "that one could enjoy much literary leisure during the trying period of a famine far more memorable than that of Milan, stretching as it did over a longer period of time, and attended with a far more frightful amount of suffering and mortality."

For kindred reasons, the Fourth Book could only be issued in 1857; the Fifth, the longest in Homer, was given to the public in 1860. "Besides its extraordinary length," the Archbishop says, "which required corresponding attention, there were other causes that contributed to delay its publication. . . . Since the translation of the Fourth Book, I have been engaged in the more serious work of giving an Irish version of the Bible; and of that time which before was allotted to the Iliad and the Irish Melodies, the chief portion has been since bestowed on the translation of the books of the Pentateuch." The Sixth Book followed within a twelvemonth, the Seventh and Eighth appearing, respectively, in 1869 and 1871.

The eight books, with the original Greek and the Irish version on opposite pages, formed a goodly volume of 478 pages. "With the completion of this volume," writes the Archbishop on March 6th 1871, on entering on his eighty-first year, "it is probable that the labors of my translation of the Iliad shall close, and that I shall resign to some other worthy hands the task of enriching further our Irish literature with a translation of the remainder of Homer's magnificent Iliad, and, perhaps, I may hope, of his no less charming poem of the Odyssey.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE O'CONNELL MONUMENT AND CENTENARY.

"Gods walk the earth, or beings more than men;
Who breathe the soul of inspiration round,
Whose very shadows consecrate the ground."

ROGERS.

IN 1862 a movement was set on foot by Dr. Gray, of the "Freeman's Journal," to raise by national subscription a statue to Daniel O'Connell in Dublin. Such a project could not but commend itself to the Archbishop of Tuam, as it did to the nation itself. To Dr. Gray's appeal a hearty response came from the entire national press, the clergy, the people, and the Corporation of Dublin.

A committee was organized to carry out the design, and a conspicuous place was selected at the head of Sackville (now O'Connell) Street for the erection of this monumental statue. A report and circular were published by the Committee, and Dr. Gray himself wrote to the Archbishop to ask him to become a member of the Committee. On looking over the resolutions passed by that body, the Archbishop saw that the services for which O'Connell was thus to be rewarded with a national monument were those which ended with Emancipation, whereas his labors in favor of complete justice to Ireland, and those especially in favor of Repeal, were left out of sight—The statue was, plainly, to be erected only to O'CONNELL THE LIBERATOR.

Dr. Mac Hale, thereupon, wrote a public letter to Dr. Gray, objecting to this, as he conceived, most partial and unjust view of O'Connell and his career; and followed this up by another letter to Very Rev. Dr. Spratt, the chairman of the Committee, insisting on the necessity of recognizing, in any national memorial in honor of O'Con-

nell, the entire of his illustrious career of labor and service. The great Tribune, he maintained, should be represented "in his majestic integrity."

Unhappily, the influence of the Irish Whigs and place-hunters was strongly felt in this Dublin Committee, and anything tending to recall or restore the Repeal movement was supremely distasteful to them. The majority, however, were much impressed with the Archbishop's objections, which were echoed and supported by the national journals. Letters of thanks and congratulation were poured in on the Archbishop, whose view about O'Connell was, manifestly, that of the Irish race at home and abroad.

Among the members of the Committee were such tried patriots as J. B. Dillon, A. M. Sullivan, and P. J. Smyth. They set energetically to work to counteract the anti-Repeal influence in that body and to bring back a movement which they wished to be national to the lines so clearly marked out by the Archbishop of Tuam. No one did better service in this respect than Mr. Smyth. He drew up a comprehensive resolution embodying the idea of the Archbishop with regard to the O'Connell monument, and succeeded, after no little opposition, in getting it adopted.

So, thirty-two years after O'Connell had closed his labors, labors not always appreciated in their aim and results even by those who were almost exclusively benefited by them, Dr. Mac Hale was called on to vindicate the public character and life-work of this great man from the limitations which unwise admirers and false friends would fain have put on his services to Ireland.

The nation, the entire Irish race at home and abroad, read with equal reverence and delight the Archbishop of Tuam's words rebuking the men who would, wittingly or unwittingly, belittle O'Connell. They would have erected in Dublin a monumental statue in his honor with the simple inscription "*The Liberator*," thus leaving out the darling purpose to which he dedicated the nineteen last years of his life, the Repeal of the Union, "the restoring of Ire-

land to herself," the cause to which ever since Irishmen all over the world give their thoughts, their best efforts, their money, their lives. The Archbishop writes to Dr. Spratt on Nov. 18, 1862:—

"For all O'Connell achieved, or was anxious to achieve, they (the Irish people) are grateful beyond measure. And if they feel disappointed at the practical short-comings of these boasted measures, their disappointment is only against those who, instead of laboring to perfect his work, have been contented with monopolizing all its benefits.

"Before Emancipation the people had in the franchise, such as it is, a security of tenure so long as they paid their rent. Now, however, matters are so changed that rents are regulated by the mutual feeling influencing the contracts between a starving man and a usurer; and by an obvious consequence, there are law processes without number, evictions without remorse, clearances of whole tracts of country without exception, and the systematic reduction of the people by exile and by death; such is, at this moment, the normal condition of Ireland.

"This is not an emancipation which brings such benefits to the people as to the few whom he (O'Connell) rendered eligible for office, and who do not appear from the number or the amount of their subscriptions to be overburdened by a sense of their obligations. O'Connell felt those terrible evils of insecurity and proscription to which the tenantry of Ireland are doomed beyond any people on earth.... As for the civil and religious liberty now enjoyed in Ireland, it is surely not a subject for much boast, when we reflect with what patience the monstrous weight of the Protestant Church Establishment is borne by Catholics, and how a Board carrying out the worst principles of the Mixed Education, so often condemned, is forcing on the people its noxious system, nay, striving to make the clergy their agents in carrying out this anti-national and anti-Catholic system of instruction.

"During the last nineteen years of his extraordinary and eventful life O'Connell labored to heal those evils by en-

deavoring to restore our native legislature. What his convictions were regarding the influence of such a (restorative) measure, we may learn from the following passage of one of his letters in my possession:—

“ ‘After all, what can we do? Nothing, without restoring Ireland to itself. The resources derived from the soil of Ireland and the labors of the inhabitants must be spent in Ireland. There must be a law to take off the Church burthen. An Irish parliament alone can do that. There must be an end to absenteeism. An Irish parliament alone can do that. The crying wants of the poor, the increasing indigence of the people, demand the restoration of a parliament which will not only keep at home the rents, but diminish their amount by the influence which tenants, voters, sharers in a government, neighbors, friends from kindness received, enemies from oppression practised, must necessarily have over the landlords who reside within their view, and can hear with their own ears the curses of the people on their hardheartedness, or receive blessings for generosity.’ ”

“ Here are the sentiments, now revealed to the world for the first time, of a man who has been often represented as indifferent, nay, heartless toward the condition of the poor tenantry of Ireland and as trading the Repeal of the Union as an engine subservient to his political ambition. And when, it may be inquired, did he write those sententious passages describing so accurately the present state of Ireland, and so suggestive of the appropriate remedy? Is it long after Emancipation, when his mind might have been embittered by disappointment at the results of a measure from which he was supposed to anticipate vast benefits? No, but on the 3d of December, 1830, showing that he only regarded the Emancipation Act, an imperfect measure, as an instalment of that full act of justice to that oppressed people, only to be found in the beneficent laws of an Irish parliament.”¹

So does the venerable survivor of the two who had labored so long together to emancipate the Catholics of the

¹ Letter of Nov. 18, 1862, to Very Rev. Dr. Spratt, on the O'Connell Monument.

Three Kingdoms vindicate the real greatness of the man whose least title to the gratitude of his countrymen is that he was their LIBERATOR. John Mac Hale had stood by O'Connell in the struggle for Repeal until the day of the latter's death. From his bier the Patriot Prelate took up the flag of Repeal, of Home Rule, and held it on high, till he too laid it down with his life.

From his grave the Irish hierarchy and clergy, together with Charles Stewart Parnell and the National Party, have reverently taken the banner so nobly borne for almost a century. Who will dare to say that victory will not soon rest upon a banner which is the symbol of a nation's imprescriptible right, and has been consecrated by the devotion of Daniel O'Connell and John Mac Hale?

The Archbishop's letters shamed the dissentients into something like accord.

Mr. Smyth soon informed the Archbishop of the effect produced by his letter to Dr. Spratt:—

“9 MIDDLE GARDINER STREET, DUBLIN, Dec. 5, 1862.

MY DEAR LORD:—Permit me in the first place heartily to thank you for having enabled me to pass my resolution at the last meeting of the O'Connell Committee. That I would ultimately have forced the Committee to accept that resolution I never entertained a doubt; but your Grace's letter made its immediate adoption a neccessity, and, in fact, as was actually the case, compelled some of those who, on a former occasion, had opposed it, to call for its adoption.

“In so far, therefore, as the resolution places the movement on its true basis, that is, irrevocably decrees that the statue shall be an O'Connell one, your Grace has achieved a triumph for Ireland; and the course which you have adopted has received an honorable vindication.

“It seems to me and to my friends here that the adoption of this resolution removes the only obstacle to the hearty co-operation of all who are devoted to the great principle of Legislative Independence. . . . The statue shall be an

'O'CONNELL statue,' and nothing else, one to honor O'Connell, to use your Grace's own words, 'in his majestic integrity.'

"The adoption of the Resolution is proof that public opinion, when properly evoked, as it has been by your Grace, has not yet quite lost its power in our poor land. I confess, though, there is much in the constitution of the Committee that is unpleasant, . . . still, for the sake of the great cause, I am disposed to act with these men, satisfied that, if through their means all the good that we desire may not be accomplished, yet no further serious wrong can be perpetrated, and that the result on the whole must be favorable to the cause of national union. It is something, after all, to succeed in Ireland in anything identified with the cause of nationality.

"I believe this movement is destined to have a great success. And, if there can be any name which can evoke the patriot spirit of the land, and around which Irishmen of every creed and party may fondly and proudly gather, it assuredly is the grand though simple name, O'CONNELL.

"I have the honor to be, my dear Lord, with profound respect, your Grace's obedient, humble servant,

"P. J. SMYTH."

To this the Archbishop replied at once:—

"TUAM, December 5, 1862.

"DEAR SIR:—I beg to thank you for your kind letter of this morning, and to congratulate you, or rather the country, on the success of your Resolution. There should not have been, from the beginning, any invidious attempt to put O'Connell at issue with himself, or to make his venerated name the badge of political parties the most adverse to that measure which he prized above all others.

"The word O'CONNELL, without adjunct or qualification, should satisfy all, and give umbrage to none.

"Hoping that you have effectually set at rest all further controversy on this subject, and thus enabled us all, after

doing due honor to the dead, to look to the interests of the living,

"I remain, my dear Sir, your faithful servant,

"† JOHN MAC HALE.

"P. J. SMYTH, ESQUIRE." ¹

In a subsequent letter Mr. Smyth urgently presses the Archbishop to become one of the trustees of the O'Connell Monument Fund, which, he says, had already reached the sum of £5070. "I feel certain," he continues, "that, until your Grace identifies yourself with the movement, it will not have the confidence of the Irish race. . . ."

"An effort is being made here to revive an agitation on the Church Establishment question. It will surely fail. I believe the REPEAL OF THE UNION is the only cry by which we have the smallest chance of arousing the spirit of the country, and calling into existence again a really formidable Irish power." ¹

As we know, this revival of the cry of Repeal was the ultimate object of all Dr. Mac Hale's efforts, both in the present movement and in the Home Rule agitation which sprung up later, and which was soon swallowed up in the grand agitation under Parnell.

In this movement in favor of the O'Connell Monument and Centenary, the ever-patriotic clergy and people of Meath were not slow to listen to the warning voice of the Archbishop of Tuam, and to follow his guidance. Like all true Irishmen, they had an instinctive assurance that, where a difference of opinion arose on national questions, "John of Tuam was always right." The venerable Dr. Cantwell still lived in 1862 to direct and enlighten his faithful flock; and among the priests in whom, by word and example, he had fostered a deep love of country and of learning, was the Rev. A. Cogan, the parish priest of Navan, and the author of an admirable book entitled "Meath Ancient and Modern." The Archbishop of Tuam had written to this model priest a warm letter of praise on his literary labors, and especially on the monument he had just reared to the

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

² *Ibidem.*

glory of Royal Meath. This happened while the controversy about the O'Connell Statue was passionately stirring all Ireland. Father Cogan thus answers:—

“PAROCHIAL HOUSE, NAVAN, February 3d, 1863.

“MY LORD:—A severe attack of influenza, from which I have recovered within the last few days, prevented me from returning you my most sincere and grateful thanks for the magnificent testimony with which you have sealed your approval of my opusculum on Meath.

“I have had many dreary hours, and I have denied myself much licit relaxation in the compilation of that work; but after having received your Grace's high and distinguished sanction, I am more than recompensed for the past, and I am stimulated for the future. . . . There are few events of my life to which I can look back with greater pride and pleasure than the glorious letter of your Grace; and I should be unworthy indeed of respect and esteem, were I not to experience the liveliest sentiments of gratitude.

“Every Meathman, from our venerable Bishop to the humblest peasant, felt a thrill of joy at your Grace's complimentary allusions to our past fidelity to Ireland; and I can aver with certainty that the olden spirit still lives, and only requires *to know the way*, in order to make fresh sacrifices and renewed efforts for our suffering country.

“We have looked to the West for many years, and we look still to the West for advice and guidance.

“Preparations had been made for a simultaneous collection for the O'Connell Monument, until your Grace unmasked some pseudo-patriots and awakened the country to the true state of the question. When this took place, the various parishes of the diocese, with one accord, suspended all action, determined to sustain your Grace, and, in doing so, carried out those principles of national honor, long since solemnly adopted, to which Meath will never be recreant, no matter who may desert the old flag or grow cold toward the good old cause.

“Praying that God in His mercy may long spare your

Grace to Ireland, I remain, with the most profound respect, your Grace's obliged and grateful servant,

"A. COGAN."

We are compelled to believe that the acquiescence of the Dublin Committee in the view taken of the O'Connell Statue and Monument by the Archbishop of Tuam was only apparent. In the address issued in February, 1864, by the Committee, for a collection in all the churches on the ensuing St. Patrick's Day, the expression which Dr. Mac Hale had objected to both in the original resolution of October the 13th, 1862, and in the circular of the ensuing November, was reiterated in the following paragraph: "You must come to our aid, and enable us to raise in Sackville Street such a monument as the nation may be proud of, and as shall inspire future generations with a high, unselfish patriotism, such a monument that, when the stranger first beholds its grand proportions, he will at once exclaim: 'This must be the monument of Ireland's Liberator.'"²

It was resolved to lay the foundation stone of the monument on the 6th of August, 1864, the eighty-ninth anniversary of O'Connell's birth. But as the 6th fell on Saturday, the solemn ceremonial was deferred till Monday, the 8th of August. In the circular issued for the occasion and signed on behalf of the Committee by Peter Paul McSwiney, Lord Mayor of Dublin, and John O'Hanlon, C.C. Honorary Secretary, the restrictive language used in the address just mentioned is wisely avoided. "His (O'Connell's) giant labors," the circular says, "were ever devoted to the advancement of the religion he gloried in and the land he loved. His end and aim were to uplift his countrymen from social degradation, and to invest them with the prerogatives of freemen. The unflinching champion of civil and religious liberty all over the world; the zealous advocate of legislative independence; the stern foe of intolerance, he strove to reconstruct from the disorders incident to a long

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

² "Report of the O'Connell Committee," James Duffy & Co., Dublin, 1888, p. xliii.

reign of oppression a nation rich in all the attributes that would dignify and in all the qualities which should ennoble the enfranchised country of a people disenthralled." ¹ In the authorized programme of the ceremonies to be followed, the words which most caught the eye were: "The First Stone of the National Monument to Ireland's Greatest Son, THE IMMORTAL LIBERATOR." ²

The pageant was a splendid one; the Archbishops of Dublin, Armagh, and Cashel, with the Bishops of Limerick, Cloyne, Cork, Ross, Elphin, and Clogher, were present on the platform, while the Lord Mayor performed the ceremony, assisted by Sir John Gray.

The Archbishop of Tuam was absent on the occasion.

The Monument, which was intrusted to the Irish sculptor Foley, progressed slowly. Not till August 6th, 1875, the first centenary of O'Connell's birth, did Dr. Mac Hale take part in any public demonstration in honor of his ever-lamented friend. Unfortunately Mr. Foley died, unexpectedly, in August, 1874, and the unfinished state of the great artist's work made it impossible, as had been contemplated, to unveil both statue and monument on the 6th of August, 1875. The centenary, nevertheless, was celebrated with due religious and civic splendor on the day itself. In the morning there was a solemn service at the Metropolitan Church; and, on issuing from the Cathedral, the Archbishop of Tuam was singled out by the citizens and the marshaled societies who filled the streets, and greeted with such enthusiastic demonstrations of delight and applause as the capital had not witnessed since the days of O'Connell's own triumphs.

The popular masses, who would fain have gone to Tuam in the preceding June for the Archbishop's golden jubilee, seemed bent on testifying their grateful admiration of one who represented the patriotism of the nineteenth century in its most heroic devotion and noblest aspirations. The spontaneous honor thus paid to the living prelate by the assembled multitudes identified him with the illustrious

¹ "Report of the O'Connell Committee" p. xliv.

² *Ibid.*, p. xlv.

dead. How these two, the Prelate and the great Agitator, had battled together for Repeal as well as for Emancipation! No matter who forgot, or seemed to forget, the splendid services of John Mac Hale, the true Irish people were ever mindful of them.

Had it been given to the venerable Archbishop to see with his own eyes that day the National Monument to O'Connell completed and unveiled; had it been granted to him to stand beneath the statue of his friend, as the veil was withdrawn, and the features of the great Repealer were shown to his countrymen, as so many of them had gazed upon him at the Hill of Tara, surrounded by half a million followers, what a mighty chorus of benediction would have greeted not only the statue of the national Leader, but the Patriot Prelate, who stood there beneath the shadow of that monument, the embodiment of Ireland's undying hopes and Ireland's virtues!

In the evening there was a great banquet, the Lord Mayor presiding, and Dr. Mac Hale sat by the side of the Archbishop of Dublin. They both were sincere admirers of O'Connell, and both, each in his own way, sincerely loved Ireland. The Lord Mayor, when proposing "the Memory of O'Connell," said it was unnecessary to occupy their attention with prefatory remarks, because he was to be followed by one whose voice and pen had ever been used in defence of the principles and policy of the great Irishman who loved to hail him as "the Lion of the Fold of Judah."

"As the Archbishop rose to respond, the enthusiastic applause called forth by these last words redoubled, the entire company rising to their feet and cheering again, and again, and again.

"Although I should prefer," the Archbishop said, "to be a silent spectator and an attentive listener on an occasion like this, which has filled the heart of Ireland with joyous emotion, I cannot in the spirit of obedience refuse to comply with the request of the Lord Mayor, so flatteringly conveyed and so kindly seconded by this distinguished and numerous company.

"This most welcome inauguration of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of O'Connell, the illustrious benefactor and liberator of his nation, I hail in union with you and with tens of thousands of the children of Ireland, as one of the most significant and cheering presages of Ireland's approaching autonomy, of the exercise of that right of self-government which no people ever lost to any extent without being, in a corresponding degree treated as slaves. . . .

"It is on account of his extraordinary and heroic exertions to procure the blessings of self-government for his native country that O'Connell has so endeared himself to the Irish people. And they, on their side, have given proof of the immense value they set on such self-government, by thus honoring its devoted champion with such a magnificent national celebration. A nation's homage, so signal and unprecedented, proves that it was not for services of an ordinary character the Liberator won such grateful recognition from his country. A people capable of feelings and conduct so noble and disinterested cannot long continue to wear the bonds of the slave or the thrall, how persevering soever the efforts to rivet them, or however artful the contrivance to disguise them.

"Had the Liberator's life been prolonged; or, when he was called to his reward, had there been one like himself to take his place, Ireland would, no doubt, have exhibited evidence of the legislative improvement which had marked it during his lifetime, notwithstanding the disastrous famine which so deeply saddened the close of his career. As it has not been given to us to see his mantle falling on any other, it was a most wise and provident move to inaugurate this centenary festival in his honor. We thereby preserve his memory from decay, we perpetuate his auspicious influence over the three next generations; and then, at their close, coincidently with the next century, Ireland shall renew a similar celebration.

"It is by worthily celebrating such exalted patriotism as his, that a succession of genuine and sterling patriots is to be kept up to the everlasting benefit of our country."

And so the Archbishop of Tuam had once more lifted the flag of Repeal in Ireland. It was soon to be planted permanently in Dublin on the O'Connell monument itself, there to be kept flying till "Ireland had been restored to herself."¹

The Archbishop visited Dublin twice in 1876, the first time at the invitation of Cardinal Cullen, to assist at the dedication of the church attached to the diocesan seminary of Clonliffe, the other to pay his respects to Cardinal Franchi, Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda. Each visit was marked by the demonstrations of love and veneration toward his Grace by all classes of citizens. At Clonliffe, on Dr. Mac Hale's appearing in the great hall of the College, the students went wild with enthusiasm. These young hearts, who knew nothing of worldly policy, and who only reflected the true sentiments of their families and of the popular classes, had no thought, in thus manifesting their delight in presence of Cardinal Cullen, that their partiality toward the great patriot-prelate might possibly offend his Eminence.

Three years later, when the imposing figure of Cardinal Cullen had disappeared from the scene of his unquestionably zealous labors, the unveiling of another statue, erected in Dublin to another patriotic Irishman, gave the Archbishop of Tuam, burthened with the weight of well nigh four score and ten, the occasion of paying his last visit to Dublin, and there delivering his last public discourse. The statue was that of Sir John Gray, whose great paper, the "Freeman's Journal," had rendered such long and priceless services to the national cause. He had been the steady friend of John Mac Hale, as he had been the friend and associate of Daniel O'Connell. Like many other Irish Protestants, he had ever entertained for the great Archbishop of the West a deep attachment inspired by love and admiration.

The statue of Sir John Gray stands near the southern

¹ Irishmen and others reading the book referred to in the preceding pages, the "Report of the O'Connell Monument Committee," will ask how it happens that its author never once mentions the name of Dr. Mac Hale.

extremity of O'Connell Bridge, and faces that of the Liberator at the entrance to O'Connell Street. The occasion was made a national one, and was shared in by the whole country. The corporations of Clonmel and Waterford sent deputations; the Irish Members of Parliament, the public bodies in the Metropolis, and the patriotic organizations throughout Ireland, were all numerously represented. Sir John Barrington, the then Lord Mayor of Dublin, and the Dublin Corporation attended in state. The High Sheriff placed his carriage at the service of the Archbishop, who was accompanied by his nephew, Very Rev. Dr. Thomas Mac Hale. His appearance in the crowded streets, as he drove from Coffey's Hotel, was the signal for an ovation fully as enthusiastic as he had received four years before at the O'Connell centenary. It is not enough to say, as they looked on the old man of eighty-nine, well knowing what he was to them, that they felt their hearts going out to him, who had ever been to them, like God Himself, "FAITHFUL AND TRUE." They loved him, they worshipped him, these intelligent and warm-hearted Celts. They said to themselves and to each other that, in all likelihood, they should never see his face again. And they could not take their eyes off that noble countenance, as open as the face of the sun. Mothers lifted up their little sons in their arms that they might see the great Archbishop; and the scene along the route followed by the procession was one as touching as it was indescribable.

The platform erected at the foot of the statue was only wide enough to accommodate the family of Sir John Gray, the Lord Mayor and High Sheriff, with a few privileged persons. Chairs were reserved for the Archbishop and his nephew. A resolution moved and passed in the name of the assembled multitude invited his Grace of Tuam to unveil the statue. Up he stood, as erect in frame and firm in every muscle as a man of thirty. There was another great outburst of cheering. When it had subsided, the Archbishop, in a clear, steady voice, said:—

"My Lord Mayor, I shall preface the ceremony of the

day by a few observations. What might be termed a formal address can scarcely be expected from me on this occasion. I shall, therefore, limit myself almost entirely to expressing my thanks to the members of the Committee, who have kindly asked me to unveil this statue of my friend, the late Sir John Gray.

"A great many years have passed away since I first became acquainted with Sir John. During that long period highly important measures, interesting no less to the welfare of our beloved country than to our holy religion, trampled under foot for centuries in this Catholic land by the merciless bigotry and cruelty of the dominant race beyond the British Channel, have engaged the attention of all, both friendly and adverse classes. In the discussion of the varied topics connected with such measures, the genuine patriotism of Sir John Gray was never for a moment doubtful or called into question. It was always manifested in a vast variety of useful projects.

"Some of the questions then discussed have been since decided, owing, in a great measure, to the honest and persevering influence of Sir John Gray; and others still remained unsettled, to test the fidelity and earnestness of the members sent from Ireland to the alien British Parliament. It is not, however, by immoral or illegal combinations that the manifest and manifold evils of our country can be redressed. It is by constitutional agitation, of which the great and successful teacher was the late illustrious Liberator, that the disorders of this country can be removed or abated. Of this wholesome agitation there can be no fear of our having too much, until the conviction grows on the minds of Englishmen that *Ireland is to be governed according to the convictions of Irishmen*, and not according to the crude notions of the Saxon or the Saxon garrison in our land."

Here the multitude broke out into loud and long applause. Returning to the all-important theme of earnest constitutional agitation, as opposed to secret and condemned illegal combinations, the Archbishop resumed with increased emphasis:—

"Immoral and illegal combinations, disowned by right reason and reprobated by religion, cannot be enlisted in the service of our country. ¹ They would be auxiliaries entirely unsuited to so sacred a cause as the social regeneration of Catholic Ireland. But I must now conclude: and in doing so, I beg to repeat my deep sense of our obligations for the invaluable assistance extended to our country, and, above all, to the West of Ireland, in the dreary years of famine and pestilence, by the late laborious, upright, and patriotic proprietor of the *FREEMAN'S JOURNAL*."

The statue was then unveiled amid the prolonged and hearty cheers of the assembled thousands. Then the Lord Mayor proposed that a vote of thanks be passed by acclamation to the Archbishop of Tuam "for his attending to unveil the statue of Sir John Gray, whose long and unchanging friend he was in life, and who thus fittingly sets the seal upon his estimate of our fellow-countryman."

"The Archbishop," the Lord Mayor remarked, "bears a name renowned in the history of Ireland for his benevolence, for his charity, for his care of the flock over which he presides. Long may he live to enjoy health and happiness."

Of course, the vote was passed with acclamation, loud, long, and hearty. And, of course, the Archbishop had again to rise and return thanks. "Having already, I fear, detained you too long," he said, "it would be another mere trespass on your kindness if I were to repeat myself. I

¹ The words are almost identical with those of Leo XIII. in one of his letters to the bishops of Ireland, on Aug. 1, 1882:—"All right minded men should carefully shun these dark associations." . . . And on January 1st, 1883, the Pontiff is still more explicit:—

"The secret societies, as we have learned with pain during these last months, always persist in putting their hope in the commission of crime, in kindling into fury popular passions, in seeking for the national grievances remedies worse than the grievances themselves, and in pursuing a path which will lead to ruin instead of prosperity. . . . The just cause of their country must be kept separate from the aims, the plots, the deeds of criminal associations;—it is both right and lawful for all who suffer wrong to seek redress by all rightful means; but it is neither right nor lawful to have recourse to crime for redress."—See the Author's *LIFE OF LEO XIII.*, pp. 430, 431, 432, 1st ed.

must, however, express my extreme gratitude to the people of Dublin, for they illustrate wonderfully the charity of the different parts of Ireland. That charity appears to be concentrated in your city. Where, I ask, are the people who can claim anything like an equality with them in the public spirit which creates all their charities? . . . The Almighty blesses all their efforts. Their means are not sensibly diminished by this profusion. The divine blessing renders the Metropolis of Ireland foremost in promoting the interests of the country and the welfare of the poor. I thank you for the high compliment you have paid me."

This generous praise of the Dublin Catholics, preëminent in their devotion to every great and good work which religion can inspire, ought to be treasured in their memory as among the last utterances of one who stands unrivaled in his age and country for his services to the sacred cause of education and his unwearied advocacy of the rights of the poor.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE LAST YEARS.

Abide with me ; fast falls the eventide ;
The darkness deepens ; Lord, with me abide !
When other helpers fail, and comforts flee,
Help of the helpless, O abide with me.
Swift to its close ebbs out life's little day ;
Earth's joys grow dim, its glories pass away,
Change and decay in all around I see ;
O Thou who changest not, abide with me.

LYTE.

ON October 24th 1878, Cardinal Cullen passed away. With his death, as earlier with that of Cardinal Barnabò, the Archbishop of Tuam forgot the wrongs inflicted, whether consciously, wilfully, or not, only to remember the claim which every priestly soul departing this life has on the charity of every brother-priest. Through all his life Dr. Mac Hale was too mindful of these sublime and pressing duties of the priestly office, not to cherish their practice still more fondly as he felt himself day by day more sensibly within the awful shadow of the Judgment Seat. To Cardinal Cullen dead, as to Cardinal Barnabò, he owed the love which only remembers the long past years of brotherly accord and united endeavor in the Master's service. The dissentiments or aberrations of later times were left to be judged by Him who alone sees the secrets of the heart.

The year 1878, apart from the trials put upon the Archbishop by the question of the coadjutorship, was one of unusual activity in the fulfilment of his pastoral office. We have now before us, as we pen these lines, the little book in which are entered,—written by the Archbishop's own hand,—the record of his pastoral visitations, the names of

the parishes visited, and the number of persons confirmed in each. This record of faithful labor begins with 1837 and ends with 1878. Beginning his yearly visitation on July 15 and closing it on September 4, 1878, at Clonberne, he administered Confirmation to 5417 persons.¹ The administering of the Sacrament of Confirmation, fatiguing though it must have been to a man of the Archbishop's years, was only one part of the laborious duties which fell upon him. Revered, beloved, and idolized as he was, and dearly as he cherished the privilege of instructing his people,—his poor and down-trodden people,—in their own native Gaelic, he was more than ever particular in breaking to them the bread of the Divine Word in the last years of his life. And how they listened to him! How they treasured up in their heart of hearts the golden lessons he so well knew how to impart to these simple and hungry souls!

Toward the end of the first volume of this biography we gave from the most authentic sources details of the Archbishop's private life. Just as we are hastening toward the

¹ We transcribe the record of this last year from the little book, which had been, during 51 years, the companion of the Archbishop's weary journeying on sea and and,—among the populations of mountain and plain, and the inhabitants of the Arran Islands and those of Achill, Clare, and Innisturk.

"On Sunday, the 14th of July, conferred priesthood on a deacon.

DATE.	PLACE.	CONFIRMED.	DATE.	PLACE.	CONFIRMED.
July 15,	Kille, - - -	160	Aug. 1,	Partry, - - -	300
" 16,	Mylagh, - - -	201	" 5,	Newport, - - -	240
" 17,	Mountbellew, - - -	105	" 6,		97
" 22,	Anghamore - - -	270	" 8,	Achill, North, - - -	140
" 23,	Knock, - - -	180	" 9,	Achill South, - - -	170
" 24,	Balla, - - -	100	" 13,	Kilgeever, - - -	420
" 25,	Belcarra, - - -	280	" 19,		200
" 29,	Hollymount, - - -	285	" 20,	Headford, - - -	180
" 30,	Robien, - - -	160	" 21,	Kilannin, - - -	210
" 31,	The Neal, - - -	455	" 26,	Glen, - - -	200
		<hr/>	" 27,	Kiltullagh, - - -	205
		2195	" 28,		130
			Sept. 2,	Williamstown, - - -	150
			" 3,	Kilkerrin, - - -	180
			" 4,	Clonberne, - - -	400
					<hr/>
					3222

end of this second volume come precious notes from his only surviving sister, so long his household companion, and his devoted attendant during his last years. Her paper bears the heading:—

HIS EVERY DAY LIFE AT HOME.

“He was most regular and unvarying in his domestic habits. He rose early, and when his first devotions were ended, on leaving his room, *he kissed a crucifix standing on the mantelpiece* on his way to the door. After Mass in the Cathedral, he breakfasted, and then went to his library and read and wrote for about four hours, if not interrupted by visitors. He then rode on horse-back for an hour and a half. This exercise he needed and enjoyed very much, being a good horseman. He was also a rapid walker, as his friends knew well; for both in Maynooth and at the College of Tuam the pace he kept tried the mettle of the best pedestrians among priests and professors. He was also a very expert ball-player (*tennis*) in his early life.

“After his daily ride, he read and wrote till dinner-time, which was at five o’clock. He generally had some one or more to dine with him. He had coffee at half-past seven. This over, the household assembled to recite the Rosary and night-prayers. Before retiring he read the newspapers brought in by the evening mail; then he read a chapter from the ‘Lives of the Saints,’ and the subject of the next morning’s meditation.

“He sometimes, after dinner, asked to have some music. —Irish airs, the stirring strains of Carolan, or McCabe, or some other of the popular bards, and the wild, sad melodies of by-gone days.

“In the early years of his episcopacy he entertained a good deal. His dining room was of large dimensions. I could safely say that no metropolitan in Ireland ever had his suffragan bishops so often at his table as he had those of his province during synod-time, on the occasion of meeting to elect a bishop for a vacant see, or for taking counsel together. During his stay in Tuam there were three

or four elections in each of the six suffragan dioceses.

“He also entertained many distinguished patriots, members of Parliament or candidates, with the hope of enlisting their services in the cause of the Church or of the poor oppressed people. O’Connell, in these early years, often graced the Archbishop’s table, and later on with his formidable troop of followers, on their ‘Monster Meeting’ expeditions through the different counties.

“At election times it was his wont to propose a candidate at one polling place, and then travel nearly fifty miles to propose another in an adjoining county the next day. On one of these latter occasions he made, it was said, one of the finest speeches of his life, although he had then passed his sixtieth year.

“He was always courteous, without any studied politeness, and accessible at all times, unless to some rude obtrusion. He would reprimand when necessary; but the reprimand given would never be recurred to. No amount of public or private business ever put him out.

“He was always very happy at the head of his table, when he had his priests around him, encouraging and enjoying their opinions and criticisms on passing events and public men:—on the latest speech of O’Connell or some other prominent patriots; on the undoubted certainty of the repeal of the union, or every good measure for Ireland, etc.; on the last tirade of the ‘Evening Mail,’ or the English press against Irish patriots; on the late letters of a P.P. on the dire distress of his parishioners, and begging attention to their sad condition.

“The guests thought they had pleased and amused the Archbishop by these harmless discussions; and so they generally did. But he always was adverse to criticisms which bore too hardly on the absent, and would come out in their defence in his own happy way. With a half droll, half bright smile, he would say: “I have heard your clever remarks on the different topics you have touched on, as well as your witticisms on the letter of our Rev. friend and fellow-laborer. Allow me to observe that the letter, in my

opinion, deserves credit. In the first place, it shows his zeal for the interests of his flock; and in the second place, it requires no small amount of nerve, thought, and time to appear in print. And had any of ourselves the same task to perform, we might find it hard enough.' By thus identifying himself with them, the rebuke did not seem a rebuke.

"When responding to a toast, he shot right and left the shafts of his brilliant eloquence. On the occasion of a public meeting, he was particularly grand when putting forward and advocating the rights of the people to immediate, advantageous, and improving measures from the Government,—or while he hurled his invective at their unfeeling oppressors.

"He was very anxious that the Irish language should be kept up and spoken by the people. He gave an exhortation in Irish every Sunday at first Mass. He had the Good Friday sermon preached in Irish in his Cathedral every year up to his death. He always spoke Irish to the poor people, of whom he had a formidable 'body guard' from the church to his entrance gate, who often threatened to trip him up, in their rush to get a first hearing. When it so happened that he had no silver coins about him, on his way to celebrate Mass, he used to send to get change in the town, in order to relieve their wants on his way out. And when going out to church and coming in it was still more troublesome to manage to have a free passage to the hall-door. The way was lined on both sides, up the steps, and to the door itself, by crowds of petitioners, all eager to press their demands on the Archbishop's attention. He would relieve them as best he could, and get inside, without ever showing any sign of being annoyed by their importunities.

"There was a nicely kept birch hedge on either side from the entrance gate to the foot of the flight of steps, and at the farthest extremity to the left, a little inside the gate, there was a wide-spreading tree. The constant coming and going of the crowd of poor people under the drooping

branches of this tree soon gave it the appearance of an arch. There the poor creatures sought shelter from the rain, so that it came to be called the Beggars' Bush.

"The Archbishop did, as all know, herculean work during the famine times. His correspondence was enormous. He went to his library after breakfast, and on two days in the week, perhaps, did not leave it till dinner time,—busying himself in acknowledging generous contributions from foreign countries, as well as from the charitable in the United Kingdom. These contributions he sent without delay to the different parishes where the distress was greatest. He first acknowledged by writing to the contributors, and then, from time to time, through the press, when large contributions were made to various districts. All this labor he took on himself.

"His own house was open every day during the famine to the calls of the poor of Tuam and the neighborhood. Every hand among his household was employed in baking bread and making soup for the relief of the famishing poor; and a hard task it was to deal it out, so fearfully eager were the poor creatures to get a share of this bounty. When the nearest ranks to the door were supplied, the pressure from behind was such that those who had been relieved could not get away or move from where they stood. So those in the rear could only fling their cans over the heads of those in front. . . . When these were filled, and the crush had, finally, been diminished, it was no easy matter for the owners of the tin-cans to find out their own. It was a pitiful scrimmage. . . . There were harrowing scenes all through these dark days. No sound of mirth inside the house or outside. No strain of music from piper, fiddler, or flute player gladdened the ear in street or highway. The very children shared in the general gloom. For they were not seen to indulge in their innocent gambols about the homestead. They did not even come out of doors, unless the sound of carriage wheels attracted them, and then they stood staring, half-dazed, and in languid tones called out, 'a penny for bread! a penny for bread!'

"When the Archbishop drove out during these days, it was more to relieve the wants of these little ones, and of such as were too weak from hunger to travel into the town, than for any reason of health or relaxation. Many a hungry creature and starving family was relieved by him during these fatherly excursions.

"During one of these drives his Grace came one day across a wretched looking boy, comely in features, but, oh! so emaciated. 'Give me charity, my Lord; I am very weak and hungry,' the poor, famished child gasped out.—'O my poor boy, you do look very badly.'—'Oh, yes, my Lord; and my father and mother are weak and hungry also. For, sure, nothing did we eat to-day but *neantog*, *neantog* (nettles, nettles).—'Where do you live?' queried the Archbishop, who took a note of the boy's answer.—'Here, my child,' said he, handing the little fellow some shillings, 'take this to your father and mother, and be sure to let me know when you want more.'

"The boy went off, happy and hopeful, and bought some bread and meal on his way. He came frequently to the Archbishop for relief, and was never refused. Those who witnessed the kindness with which the lad was treated, seemed to envy him, and gave him the derisive by-name of *Neantog*. 'O! here is *Neantog*,' they would call out; 'and he is sure to get relief.' The boy, however, little heeded their jeers, intent solely on getting food for his starving father and mother.

"I might fill page after page with the awful scenes of that never to be forgotten period. Some years after this, when the worst had passed, and things began to look brighter and more hopeful, . . . a young lad, comfortably clothed, approached his Grace, and seemed, from emotion, unable to speak.—'Do you want anything, my lad?' kindly asked the Archbishop.—'Your blessing I want, my Lord'—'God Almighty bless you,' was the reply, as his Grace was about to pass on.—'O my Lord, will you allow me to speak a few words to you, and may every blessing under heaven be yours, with a long life, and a happy death, for all the relief

you gave me for my poor father's family during the bad times. You don't know me; but you will when I tell you that I am *Neantog*, and from the day I came to you weak and hungry, I never felt hunger afterwards. And I am come to thank you.'— 'But, my good lad, whom I now remember, I am glad to see you looking so well; you will pray the Almighty for every blessing on the humane, good people at home and abroad, who only made me the means of distributing their charities'— 'I do, my Lord, pray for them, and will continue to pray. But, my Lord, it was your writing, and speaking, and exposing our starving condition, that brought in so much relief. Only we had you, what would have become of us?'— 'Very good, my lad; you are grateful, and I pray God to bless you.'— 'Thank you, my Lord, for allowing me to speak to you; and may you live long to help the poor!'

"The poor, surely, seemed to make their own of him, and he recognized their claim. He never put them away when they came to him."

It must have been soon after the pastoral visitation described in this chapter, that the representative of a London journal, notoriously opposed to the claims of the Irish nationalists, visited Tuam, and thus spoke of the town and the Archbishop:—

"In a very little and very ancient town in the West of Ireland, where the tallest of those sculptured crosses admired by antiquarians lifts its circled head in the marketplace, lives and rules a prelate who, even if his life were not remarkable in other respects, would be notable as the senior archbishop of the Church of Rome. . . . 'John Archbishop of Tuam,' as Dr. Mac Hale loved to sign himself in sturdy protest against the law denying territorial titles in these kingdoms to ecclesiastics of foreign creation, was at one time the contemporary Catholic divine most prominently before the daily mind of England. And now the summer traveler or tourist angler steps off the route to Connemara to see or seek an interview with the anointed Irish champion. . . .

“St. Jarlath’s is a square-built mansion, with gardens at the rear opening on the elevated Cathedral grounds, and having for its *vis-a-vis* across the street, not inappropriately called Bishop Street, the palace of the only Protestant bishop in Connaught. . . . At the introduction of the president of St. Jarlath’s College, contiguous to the archiepiscopal residence, the visitor is received by the Archbishop. Bearing the weight of his eighty-six years, the venerable prelate, with a singular alertness, advances and gives a dignified greeting.

“The Roman Catholic usually kneels for a benediction and kisses the episcopal ring. And, indeed, no man, whatever be his faith, need blush to kneel for the blessing of a pastor whose years are patriarchal, and whose face and form are evidences of a life of internal nobility, and the faithful discharge of onerous and lofty duties.

“Dr. Mac Hale is of middle height, and even now, when somewhat shrunken, ample proof remains of the well-knit frame, which felt but little, in ante-railway and ante-Bianconi days in this remote district, the fatigues of a two days’ ride from the foot of cloud-capped Nephin to the royal college of Geraldine Maynooth. His head is shapely and singularly massive; with powerful face; aquiline nose, not chiseled enough to be Roman; the high forehead of a poet, yet not wanting in breadth; all lighted up with an eagle-gray eye, and crowned with a rich growth of soft, straight, undivided gray hair.

“Placed in any position, John Mac Hale would have towered above his fellows head and shoulders, would have been a king of men. And it is plain that the absoluteness of the Roman Catholic Churchman’s rule over his flock in Ireland has been congenial to a spirit that would ill brook the interference of any other power. . . .

“. . . . If Dr. Mac Hale has often been moved to take a side in political struggles, he has never forfeited the respect of friend or foe. His presence, nay, his name, can yet enkindle an enthusiasm amongst the hero-worshipping Irish beneath every sky which O’Connell’s self in the palmyest days of his uncrowned royalty might envy.

"If, in the eyes of the English public, never politic or practicable, he cannot be denied whatever merit is found in fearlessness and consistent opposition. He is the last of a big race. From a Roman Catholic point of view he has been far-seeing, if foresight is to be adjudged by the subsequent adhesion of his once more complaisant brother-prelates to his policy of uncompromising hostility to the Government on the education question. To the Government claim over the education of the children of the State he always returned an unvarying *non possumus*.

"But in his diocese he had not been unmindful of education according to his mind, that imparted by monks and nuns, and in schools under the management of his priests. His annual visitations to these, necessitating journeys of no little arduousness to a man of his years, are so many triumphal progresses. Fleets of boats gay with bunting convey him to stormy Achill and to distant Arran. The faithful peasantry of Galway and Mayo receive their high-priest with genuine heartiness allied to a primitive reverence. The sick are brought to be touched by his hands." ¹

Since the death of Frederick Lucas, no man connected with the national press in Ireland enjoyed more of the Archbishop's confidence than Alexander M. Sullivan. His was the enlightened Catholic faith, the practical piety, the high intelligence, the eloquent tongue and pen, and the incorruptible patriotism, which made up the Archbishop's ideal of an Irish publicist and statesman. From the days made infamously memorable of the Sadleir-Keogh betrayal, A. M. Sullivan looked to the Archbishop of Tuam as the hope of Irish patriots and the guiding-star of national politics. When Charles Gavan Duffy retired, disheartened and disgusted, from the arena on which the cause of parliamentary independence and genuine national journalism had been hopelessly, as he thought, defeated by the corruptionists, A. M. Sullivan began to loom up as one of those men to whose advocacy the best interests of country and religion could be intrusted.

¹ From "The Mayo Examiner," Nov. 10, 1878.

On the 29th of November, 1858, this lamented journalist and statesman wrote to the Archbishop :—

“Through the dark days which have for some time clouded Irish politics, the duty of a journalist who would be honest and hold by the immutable truth, even in the hour of degenerate defection,—who would disregard the guilty gains of temporizing, and brave and bear the wounds of faithful service, has been a hard one and a painful one in many senses, but a proud and a pleasant one in higher regards.

“I can say conscientiously that I have at least endeavored to the utmost of my humble abilities to bear myself, during my comparatively short term of servitude, as an honest man, a dutiful Catholic, and a faithful Irishman. But what would efforts such as mine avail, save as feeble acts of protest against wrong—what would the strongest will avail against the overbearing tide of public corruption in Ireland, *but for THE TOWER OF STRENGTH which virtue and honor have ever found in you ?*

“Often, when, with almost failing hearts, we surveyed the odds against Truth, your voice was heard in tones that gave courage and strength to every soldier in the righteous struggle.”¹

Again, in 1877 :—

“I have recently been writing a book² which, whatever its merits, is certainly creating a great stir in these parts. ‘New Ireland’ my work is called. I have tried to tell the story of the dispersed millions of our race in a way to touch English sympathies, and to show how secret associations had their rise in the heartless betrayal and ruin of the people’s hopes in legitimate public agitation.

“Whoever else may suffer by the recital of those sad and terrible episodes, JOHN OF TUAM comes out ennobled and vindicated by what time unrolls.”³

We have left the Archbishop of Tuam just as he was concluding the visitation of his diocese at Clonberne, County Galway, in the first days of September, 1878. We are now acquainted, after reading the letters published in the chap-

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

² “New Ireland.”

³ Ibidem.

ter before last, with the bitter trials which then assailed him, and with the calumnious reports sent to Rome regarding his incapacity or negligence in the performance of his pastoral duties. But the man who for more than fifty years had been "A TOWER OF STRENGTH" to the struggling priests and patriots of Ireland, stood, amid the storm which assailed him, as erect and firm as those monumental symbols of his country's religious and political faith,—the Round Towers of Ireland.

At the close of 1878, the Irish Parliamentary Party, pledged to Tenant-Right and Home-Rule, were sadly divided, and the venerable Archbishop of Tuam felt called upon to make the following appeal for union:—

"ST. JARLATH'S, TUAM, January 4th, 1879.

"DEAR SIR:—It is high time that a term be put to the disheartening divisions that prevail in the ranks of the Irish popular representatives in the British House of Parliament. The evils of discord, existing for some time past, have been aggravated by recent manifestations as senseless as the worst enemies of Ireland could desire.

"The nation heartily laments the existence of such dissensions, and will suffer no longer the continuance of a disorder that paralyzes the best energies of all for the common benefit of their native land.

"Without attempting to offer an opinion as to the correctness of the views of the contending parties, it may be affirmed that the moment has arrived for united and energetic action on the part of all.

"Let the errors of the past be generously forgiven and forgotten; and let the opening year usher in the dawn of a brighter era, dispelling forever the present dark and dreary prospects of our down-trodden people.

"It is to be hoped and expected that this first month of the new year shall witness in the Capital of our country an assembly of our faithful, devoted, and experienced sons of Ireland, judiciously framing wise and efficient rules for the future direction of our members of Parliament, regardless

of the interests of the contending parties of the British nation.

“Let the existence of Home-Rule be vigorously insisted upon. Let unity of action among the members, as far as possible, be insured by summoning them in due time for seasonable deliberation in London, whenever great measures for the benefit of Ireland or of the British dominions are about being introduced into Parliament, as well as during the progress of such measures through both Houses.

“Let the deliberations of the consulting assembly in London be duly submitted from time to time, by means of the press, to the discriminating appreciation of the Irish people, who never fail to distinguish between their real and fictitious friends. Neither will they fail to consign to suitable retirement those members who prove themselves more interested for the well-being of Great Britain, or their own, than for the freedom, the religious and social amelioration of the people whom they faithlessly represent.

Above all, even with the sacrifice of what may be deemed by some public duty, let the views of the able and learned chief of the party receive from all the consideration to which they are justly entitled.

“Great measures are needed for Ireland, which must be wrung from a powerful, overbearing, and hostile adversary.

“For this end union and combination, of which the English and Scotch members, in the hour of need, furnish striking illustrations, are absolutely needed on the part of the Irish representatives.

“By thus pursuing a steady, united, and, when prudent, an aggressive parliamentary form of action, Ireland will soon be raised up by her faithful representatives from the abject and humiliating state in which she still lies, owing to the inhuman legislation of centuries, to an equal participation with England in the vaunted benefits of the Constitution, and, ultimately, to the glorious condition of having her laws made and her interests secured by the joint action of the Queen, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

“I remain, dear Sir, faithfully yours,

“JOHN, ARCHBISHOP TUAM.”

What effect this letter had on the Irish members and on the public, another letter of A. M. Sullivan, written immediately after the appearance of the Archbishop's, will tell the reader:—

“ LONDON, 14 THE CRESCENT, CLAPHAM S. W.,

Jan. 8th, 1879.

“ MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—Of the many sterling services to Ireland that have marked your Grace's long and glorious career, I doubt if any may be ranked higher than that accomplished by your recent letter.

“ It will, thank God, avert a great calamity and effect a priceless good. The Home Rule party will fall into line at *your* call; the only call which all would recognize and heartily obey just now.

“ It is within my own knowledge here in London that the managers of the two great British parties have, each from his own private reports and figures, arrived at the conclusion that the approaching general election *will not do enough either way* for them, but will reduce the present majority of Government to ten or twenty, or else, as ardent liberals think, give the present opposition a majority of twenty or thirty *including* Home Rulers. And dire is their alarm at a state of things thus putting them both ‘at the mercy of those Irish.’

“ Knowing all this, hearing it around me every day, your Grace may understand with what a heavy heart I watched recent occurrences. The appearance of your Grace's letter, however, has a magical effect. I am full of hope now. Englishmen are supposed on certain occasions to exclaim, *Thank God, we have a House of Lords*. With incalculably better reason Irishmen, with all fervor, may shout, THANK GOD, WE HAVE JOHN MAC HALE, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

“ Ever your Grace's faithful servant,

“ A. M. SULLIVAN.”

We need not enter here upon the dissensions or differences which, at the date of these last letters, existed in the Irish Parliamentary party. Mr. Butt was within a few months of his death, and his feeble hands could no longer

hold the reins. The "obstruction" tactics of Parnell and Biggar in a House of Commons obstinately and systematically deaf to the claims of Ireland, and blind to the most evident symptoms of the dire distress and suffering of the Irish agricultural population, aroused long-dormant hopes in the mass of the nation. It was clear that nothing but force and fear could obtain from a British legislature any measure of redress for Irish grievances. So Parnell felt that "obstruction," by delaying the proceedings of Parliament and wearying Ministers and the stolid majority behind them, would obtain from sheer lassitude what a sense of justice was unable to yield.

Parnell and Biggar were more than a match for the House of Commons. They were fighting, and fighting successfully, and in a new way, the battles of Ireland in an alien legislature. Then, too, arose the Land League, the idea of which, conceived by Michael Davitt, was adopted by Parnell, and grew to such proportions and power that it frightened Ministers and Parliament into something like concession.

It will be remarked that, in the letter of January 4th, 1879, the Archbishop of Tuam recommends to the Home Rulers to forget and forgive past differences; to meet in Dublin at once and frame "wise and efficient rules for the future direction of our members of Parliament." The advice he gives in order to secure "unity of action" points out the very means since taken by Mr. Parnell to hold his followers together, and to enforce the discipline which has, after so many years of failure, from 1829 to 1879-80, rendered the Irish Parliamentary party an acknowledged and formidable power.

It was, perhaps, thought, during the first phase of the Land League movement, that the Archbishop of Tuam was hostile to Mr. Parnell and his policy. We have, on this point, the most authentic testimony in the following note of one who occupied, at that period, and until the Archbishop's death, a position of the highest trust near the latter's person.

"The Archbishop entertained" the note says, "most

friendly feelings toward Mr. Parnell from the first moment of his appearance on the Irish political stage; so much so, that in a public letter he referred to him as a worthy kinsman of the noble Sir John Parnell, who sacrificed the certainty of wealth and honors by his invincible opposition to the Act of Union. This testimony to Mr. Parnell's claims on public support was so significant, that Mr. Isaac Butt, at the time the head of the Irish party, felt greatly offended, and manifested his feeling to that effect to friends, who reported the matter to Dr. Thomas Mac Hale.

"Not long after this, the Archbishop perceived that Mr. Parnell and some of his most attached followers and supporters thought fit to convoke public meetings of the people without any reference to the bishops or priests. Of these meetings two of the earliest were called together in the diocese of Tuam, that is, in Irishtown and Westport, without the approbation or even the knowledge of the Archbishop or of any of the clergy.

"This circumstance roused the Archbishop, who could not fail to see in this attempt a desire on the part of Mr. Parnell and some of his friends to throw aside the clergy, the only safeguard against public disorder and religious indifference in Ireland as in all other countries.

"This circumstance also led to the publication of some short letters from the Archbishop censuring the incipient agitation directed by Mr. Parnell. And it is to this novel proceeding in Irish political agitation that the Archbishop referred in his brief discourse on the occasion of unveiling the statue of Sir John Gray in Dublin.

"Fortunately for the independence of Ireland and for the relief of our distressed countrymen, Mr. Parnell and his friends, better advised than at the beginning of the Land League movement, very soon not only admitted, but sought at home and abroad the approval and support of the clergy."¹

At a memorable assemblage held in Kildare, about mid-October, 1885, the present Archbishop of Cashel, in presence of the Archbishop of Dublin, of several other prelates, of

¹ Note of the Very Rev. Thomas Mac Hale, D.D. among the MAC HALE MSS.

Mr. Parnell and others members of Parliament, clergymen, and leading gentlemen from the surrounding counties, gave an historical account of the beginning of the Land League movement under Mr. Parnell's direction. He affirmed that Mr. Parnell came to him and declared, in view of the incalculable importance which the new agitation seemed likely or certain to attain, that he was unwilling to take a single step without securing the sympathy and coöperation of the bishops and priests of Ireland. This discourse, and Mr. Parnell's confirmatory reply, were made in the hearing of the author.

Probably Mr. Parnell addressed himself to Dr. Croke only after the meetings at Irishtown and Westport, and when the Archbishop of Tuam had protested openly against thus setting aside the Catholic clergy in any Irish national movement. His Grace's anxiety, the great, all-sorbing care of his life, indeed, ever was to unite all the vital forces of the nation, all the best energies of Irish politicians and statesmen, into a compact league with one aim and one will, the obtaining JUSTICE for Ireland.

Hence the support he gave to the Home Rule movement led by Isaac Butt, Professor Galbraith, Mitchell Henry, and others. Hence also the favor with which, at the close of his life, he viewed the Parnell movement, once it had been brought back to the lines on which it could have the sanction and coöperation of the clergy, and, with that, the only sure element of final success.

Isaac Butt writes to him on September 17, 1870:—

"Although not having the honor and privilege of your Grace's personal acquaintance, I am sure no excuse is necessary for asking your attention to any effort to serve Ireland. I therefore venture to ask your Grace's acceptance of a tract, a copy of which you will receive by this post. It is intended to explain and advocate a proposal to obtain self-government for Ireland through the means of a federal union with England.

"The proposal, any recent agitation of which has mostly originated with myself, has made very considerable way

with English members. I have strong hopes that, if it be generally entertained by the Irish clergy and people, it may open a prospect of obtaining peacefully and constitutionally a domestic legislature for Ireland.

"There is no approbation I would value more highly than that of your Grace."¹

The Archbishop's answer was only written on the 8th of October. "I owe you an apology," he writes, "for my delay in acknowledging your respected letter, which was occasioned, not by any want of courtesy, but because I was not, nor am I still fully satisfied with the projected plan, however patriotically conceived and eloquently advocated.

"No doubt some of the most ardent and sanguine advocates of the full repeal of the Union might be brought to acquiesce in the contemplated scheme of Federalism. I do not mean to discuss in any manner their relative merits or disadvantages. But I think, and if I do not err, I am borne out by experience, that to obtain an object it may be necessary to take a loftier aim; and, therefore I think you are not so likely to obtain federalism by professing to be content with the measure, as you would be by insisting on the entire repeal."²

In this view of the far-seeing prelate Mr. Butt himself soon fully acquiesced, as we see by the following letter:—

"64 ECCLES STREET, DUBLIN, February 6th, 1875.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—I hope your Grace will accept from me a copy of a tract which I have just published on education, and which goes to you by this post. It contains sentiments of which your Grace will not disapprove.

"I have very little hope that this or any other Irish question will ever be settled upon any just basis, or in a manner that will give play to the national faculties and life, until we have once more a parliament of our own. But still I am anxious to place my own sentiments on record; and I have some faint hope that, on this question of education, it may be possible to gain some concession from a party who pro-

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

² *Ibidem.*

fess themselves so zealous for the principle of religious education. I have said this in the tract; but even since its publication matters have occurred which lessen the hopes I entertained.

"Wishing your Grace many years still to defend the rights of the Irish people, I remain, my dear Lord,

"Yours very faithfully,

"ISAAC BUTT."

This was written at the beginning of the year which was to witness the glorious celebration of the Archbishop's episcopal jubilee, and we have already seen the part taken in the solemnities by the Home Rule party. Both they and their leader thought, however, that the impulse given to the national cause by the Tuam celebration would be still further increased by holding in Tuam, in the warm and genial atmosphere where every noble national aspiration was so generously fostered, a great Home Rule meeting. This, in connection with the joy caused the venerable prelate by the right start of the Parnell movement and the letters of Mr. A. M. Sullivan, will show that John of Tuam was the soul of every agitation truly intended or destined to benefit his native land.

"64 ECCLES STREET, DUBLIN, September 30th, 1875.

"MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—I venture to trespass on you with a few lines to endeavor to express how deeply I and all the members of the Home Rule Council feel the countenance and sanction which your Grace has given to our intended meeting at Tuam.

"I need not say that we all appreciate the value of that sanction to any Irish movement. I feel confident that it will make the meeting one worthy of the province it is intended to represent and of the cause it is designed to serve.

"For myself, I esteem it among the most cherished memories of my life that any poor effort of mine to serve our country should meet with your Grace's sanction and approval. It gives me additional confidence and hope, and strengthens me in my faith in the success of our cause.

"It is more than an equivalent for any discouragement which could meet us in that which I am sure is the path of duty.

"Judge Little is, I understand, going down to Tuam to see the gentlemen on whom the making of the arrangements will devolve. . . .

"With earnest wishes for your Grace's health and happiness, I remain, my dear Lord,

"Your Grace's very faithful servant,

"ISAAC BUTT."¹

In 1875 also a national subscription was begun in favor of Mr. Butt, who, in abandoning the practice of his profession, had sacrificed to the service of Ireland not only all hopes of securing a fortune, but even the means of supporting his family. This just and patriotic undertaking, begun in Limerick, which Mr. Butt represented in Parliament, was also warmly encouraged in Dublin. On May the 25th the secretaries of the Central Committee, among whom were Professor Galbraith and Mr. Parnell, appealed to the Archbishop for permission to place his name on the National Committee of the Isaac Butt Fund.

The Archbishop at once replied:—"In recognition of the great talents of Mr. Butt hitherto devoted to the service of Ireland, and in the hope that his countrymen will give their countenance to the same noble object, I beg to forward my subscription of 5£ to your committee. If the laborer is worthy of his hire, it cannot be expected that one who sacrifices the ample emoluments of a lucrative profession to the promotion of his country's interests should be left without grateful recognition and remuneration.

"This is not a matter of simple generosity; it involves the higher considerations of justice, and the raising of an entire nation to its rightful destiny."²

This same summer of 1875 had well nigh ended the career of the Archbishop of Tuam. In the course of a visit to some parish in his diocese he came near the line of railway, and the unexpected passage of a train so frightened

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

² *Ibid.*

the Archbishop's horses, that they dashed off and upset and broke the carriage, his Grace escaping by a sort of miracle. He sustained no injury, happily, although the shock to one of his years must have been very severe. The newspapers reported the accident, and universal concern and sympathy were aroused.

Of the letters of congratulation written on this occasion we only quote one, which speaks for itself:—

“ 11 NORTH GREAT ST. GEORGE STREET.

“ DUBLIN, Sept. 23d, 1875.

“ MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—With a heart full of thankfulness to Almighty God I congratulate your Grace on your safe escape from your recent serious peril. Thousands and hundreds of thousands, reading what happened, will instantly contemplate what might have been, and thank God that our country is not to-day plunged into the deepest grief and mourning it has known for many a long year.

“ Well knowing how many letters your Grace will receive from those who love and admire you, I beg you not to trouble yourself with any acknowledgment of this hasty note, and remain, with heartfelt congratulations,

“ Your Grace's faithful servant,

“ A. M. SULLIVAN.

“ HIS GRACE THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.”

We now return from this short retrospect of the Home Rule movement under Isaac Butt, and these additional testimonies to the place which the Archbishop held in the estimation of his countrymen, to the Land League agitation in 1879.

The agitation having been brought back, both by the remonstrances of Dr. Mac Hale and the advice of Dr. Croke, to its normal direction, it was proposed to hold a great Tenant Right meeting at Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo, within sight of Mr. Davitt's native place. This time the Archbishop of Tuam was duly and respectfully consulted. In his answer to the honorary secretaries of the meeting Com-

mittee, his Grace found a fitting opportunity to recommend to the imitation of all true Irishmen the principles and conduct of Mr. A. M. Sullivan, M. P. This called forth the following characteristic answer from the high-souled publicist:—

HOUSE OF COMMONS, midnight, July 10th, 1879.

“MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP:—The greatest honor ever conferred upon me in the whole course of my life has just been bestowed on me by your Grace, in your letter to the honorary secretaries of the Ballyhaunis Tenant Right meeting.

“I can truly say that, so far from being unduly elated by mere pride to think the greatest and most illustrious of living Irishmen has thus spoken of me, I feel a sort of responsibility cast upon me so to act as never to give you cause to regret the kindly opinion and the indulgent judgment of me which have found such warm utterance.

“With all my heart thanking your Grace, I remain, with deep veneration and affection, your Grace’s faithful and sincere servant,

“A. M. SULLIVAN.

“HIS GRACE THE MOST REV. DR. MAC HALE, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.”

While hands which should, as his ninetieth year was close at hand, have been lovingly busied in binding a garland of honor around his venerable head, were, on the contrary, pressing upon it a crown of thorns, one of his chief cares was to hide his own anguish and their unnatural conduct from all observation. But meanwhile, as we have related, there were not wanting to him the spontaneous homage, reverence, and love of what was most distinguished in the country.

But, in very truth, earnest as he especially was in these last years to do what was most pleasing to God, and to avoid even the appearance of what might offend the divine majesty, he silently endured what could only wound himself. But as his conscientious conviction had ever been

that the cause of Catholic Ireland and her long-oppressed millions was the cause of God, every measure, every movement carried on by legal and constitutional means to restore the nation to her rightful position, and to obtain justice for her impoverished and famished population, won his adhesion, and enlisted his holiest sympathies and most strenuous coöperation.

The cry of *Dieu le veult! Dieu le veult!* which inflamed the heart of medieval Europe, and sent Godfrey de Bouillon and St. Louis of France against the Moslems of Asia and Africa, which armed St. Ferdinand and his legions against the Arabs and Moors who held Spain enthralled,—was not deeper, more sincere, or more ardent than the sentiment which animated the Archbishop of Tuam in all his life-long struggles in favor of Irish nationality. This is the conviction, this the sentiment with which he animated Repealers and Home Rulers. Men, Protestants and Catholics alike, who yearned to restore Ireland to herself, to thus right the wrong of centuries, came to him because they knew that his soul burned with the sacred fire of purest, holiest love of country; and they went away from his presence, with their souls all aflame with his ardor;—such, I mean, as no selfish or unworthy motives impelled to serve holy Ireland.

No earthly consideration could divert him from the unselfish, disinterested, and independent line of personal conduct which he had laid out for himself ere yet he had left the quiet of Maynooth for his 56 years of incessant and gigantic struggle against WRONG.

In 1879 an incident occurred in Tuam which illustrates strikingly this lofty independence of character, which he considered so necessary not only to Irish prelates and priests, but to all laymen earnestly bent on promoting the best interests of their country. The late Duke of Marlborough, then Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, wishing perhaps to assure himself by personal observation of the terrible distress then reigning in the West, made a journey to Connaught. While in Tuam he was the guest of the Right

Rev. Dr. Bernard, Protestant Bishop of Tuam, whose residence was just opposite St. Jarlath's, and on the same street. Wishing, perhaps, to obtain a personal interview with the Archbishop, the Viceroy made known his intention of visiting the beautiful cathedral. But if he fancied that John of Tuam could be tempted to leave the privacy of his library to meet, invited or uninvited, the representative of the Queen, he was very much mistaken. The President of St. Jarlath's College received his Excellency and accompanied him through the Cathedral. The Archbishop did not make his appearance.

We have before us now a note from the private secretary of another Viceroy, with Dr. Mac Hale's comment thereon, which further illustrates the golden rule of independence which the Prelate had early laid down for himself :—

"Lt. Colonel Yorke presents his compliments to Dr. Mac Hale, and is directed by the Lord-lieutenant to inform him that his Excellency would be very glad to have an opportunity of conferring with him relative to the state of his part of the country before he returns to his province; and conceiving that he may not probably leave town this day, his Excellency would wish, if not inconvenient to Dr. Mac Hale, that he would call upon him at the Vice-regal Lodge to-morrow (Saturday the 27th instant), at half past one o'clock."

"VICE REGAL LODGE, Friday, June 26th, 1835."

This was before the Archbishop had been a whole year in Tuam. Of course, the invitation was declined. On the back of this note of invitation, and in the Archbishop's own handwriting, is the following comment :—

"A political snare for the Castle. Alas, that those snares continue to be stretched to catch dupes!"¹

One other incident will conclude this chapter, and convey, perhaps, to the reader a further idea of the grand and consistent character we have been portraying. On his last pastoral visitation an address was presented to him by the par-

¹ MAC HALE MSS.

ishioners of Moore, near Ballinasloe. A beautiful illuminated copy of this is now in the possession of Mrs. Higgins.

"The gift itself," it was remarked in presenting his Grace with the illuminated copy, "is of little intrinsic value, but the sentiments of love and veneration which it embodies find an echo in every Irish heart, from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear,—what do I say?—from the Giant's Causeway to the Rocky Mountains. . . . In every place, in every clime, the name of JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM, is revered as a household word.

" It is our most fervent prayer that you may be long spared to us and to religion,—to that religion of which you have been always the champion. We pray that the end may not come until you, who love Ireland so well, may be able to cry out after the manner of Simeon: 'Now, Lord, dismiss Thy servant in peace, for mine eyes have seen the regeneration of my country.'

The answer was in the Archbishop's happiest manner. In concluding he said: "You have given me credit for all the real or imaginary Irish attractions or qualities. You reminded me of a secretary of the Propaganda, now no more,¹ who, condescending to mention me to some of his friends, was not content to state that I was a genuine Irishman, but said that I possessed the qualities of my countrymen in double-dyed colors.

"For this genuine description of me I did not hesitate to thank him. I must own that I like to retain all the ruggedness of a genuine love of country. Indeed, I may say that so deeply has the rugged love of country been stamped upon my heart, that I am like some old coin with the impression still unworn, whilst many another coin has been so operated upon that no trace of the impression upon it can now be found."

¹ The late Cardinal Barnabò. His words were: *Un Irlandese due volte tinto nella lana*, "an Irishman who has been twice-dyed in the wool."

CHAPTER XXV.

AT REST, AT LAST.

"I fear no foe with THEE at hand to bless;
Ills have no weight, and tears no bitterness;
Where is Death's sting? Where, Grave, thy victory?
I triumph still if THOU abide with me.
Hold THOU Thy Cross before my closing eyes;
Shine through the gloom, and point me to the skies;
Heaven's morning breaks, and earth's vain shadows flee;
In life, in death, O LORD, abide with me.'

LYTE.

THE year 1881 had come and found the Archbishop of Tuam, now about to enter on his ninety-first year, with his intellectual faculties as bright as ever, and his heart as keenly interested in all that had been the absorbing concern of his long and laborious career, the independence and progress of religion, the welfare of the poor, the struggle for the rights of the nation. He went through the regular course of his daily duties with the same unvarying and edifying punctuality. The early Mass,—his bath of life since he had been ordained priest in 1814,—became, as the end drew near, more needful than ever to this faithful shepherd of the flock. And the poor, who watched with a grateful and tender concern the appearance of increasing weakness in the aged frame, to the end formed "a body guard," accompanying and protecting him back and forth between the Cathedral and the Episcopal Residence. And to the end he bestowed on these loved ones, the privileged citizens of Christ's kingdom, his special care in the confessional, at the altar, and in his abundant almsgiving.

Winter passed into spring, and with Lent and Passiontide came that season of self-denial and austerity to the observance of which he was faithful even in his ninety-first year.

His was a magnanimous piety, which deemed the utmost that could be done for God all too little for the Infinite Majesty, and thought no little detail of duty or self-sacrifice unworthy of that Goodness which rewards so bountifully a cup of cold water given in Its name. He went through the functions of Holy Week with unflinching courage, though he had to be occasionally supported at the altar. But Eastertide seemed to revive him; and with the return of spring and summer he thought of visiting, as usual, the parishes of his diocese, and bringing to the little ones of his flock the divine graces of Confirmation.

And so summer passed, and the chilly autumn weather set in. All through these last years the Very Reverend Thomas Mac Hale, who was also vicar general, was his uncle's inseparable companion. The sweet community of thought and sentiment which existed between these two was an unspeakable comfort to the Prelate of ninety, who would still persist in performing all the offices of his high charge. The nephew watched with many a keen pang the decline of that bodily vigor which, until then, seemed to defy the fatigues of well-nigh a century of unceasing toil.

We now leave it to the Archbishop's surviving sister, Mrs. Higgins, to describe the ending of that glorious, and, to all who were privileged to see the great Prelate in his home-life, most edifying career:—

"The sad end was rather unexpected," she writes to us: "though it was, seemingly, only a slight indisposition that led to it, affording no serious cause of alarm.

"On the afternoon of October 26th, having returned from a drive together with his nephew,—a drive which they took daily when the weather permitted,—this day being bright and cheery, the Archbishop did not look at all fatigued.¹ His sister, who was living in the town, so as to

¹ A remarkable incident, related by Dr. Thomas Mac Hale, occurred on this occasion. "Just as the carriage drove up to the hall-door," he says, "a very old woman from amidst the crowd of expectant beggars called out to the Archbishop, as he was alighting:—'*Ah, before many days you and I shall be in God's heaven.*'"

"This startled me," continued the Doctor, "but I did not think the Archbishop heard the word; he did not, at least, advert to them."

be with him as much as possible during the daytime and on evenings, was in the house as usual when he returned. He took a little nourishment, after which she sat and chatted with him till the dinner hour. He had dined at table regularly up to that day ; she led him to his place at the dinner table, and then had to go home for dinner. She returned hurriedly, however, something telling her, though the Archbishop had not complained, that he was not well. She found him, though pretty much the same, a trifle silent, yet anxious to join in the conversation. He sat on quietly and uncomplainingly till the usual hour for retiring, between eight and nine. He then stood up, took Dr. Mac Hale's arm, moved out to the back hall toward the stairs. These he usually mounted latterly holding on to the banister with the right hand, and leaning with his left on Dr. Mac Hale or some guest or person of the household.

“ But this evening no help from others, no effort of his own, no management, by resting awhile or otherwise, could get him up the stairs. He had to be brought back to the sitting-room and placed in a chair. He was silent and very feeble. This alarmed us all. The doctor was sent for, who lost no time in coming. After seeing the Archbishop, the doctor said he should not be moved, and that a bed must be got up for him in the room where he was. This was done as quickly as could be ; and while the servants were doing it the Archbishop had some nourishment and restoratives. When placed in bed, we administered to him what the doctor prescribed. All this apparently relieved him. So, he passed rather a good night. The next day, Thursday, October 27th, he was not worse. On Friday things took a bad turn. But he rallied and went on improving, as we thought, on Saturday, Sunday, and up to Thursday, November 3d, when he got very bad the third time. His confessor remained the whole night in the room with him. On Friday evening, November 4th, he rallied again,—showing the wonderful vitality he possessed in that extreme old age,—and thus he went on nicely till Monday. On the morning of that day he seemed

so well that we hoped we should be able to move him upstairs the next day. But, alas! we were undeceived later on; for a great change for the worse came between four and five o'clock, alarming symptoms of approaching dissolution now becoming manifest. The doctor confirmed those fears. His confessor was called for and remained by his bed-side for some time, praying with him and for him. After which the Archbishop received the last sacraments with all the faith and fervor of a true son of our holy Church, with all the sentiments of that devotion he had shown through life. All prayed aloud after this.

"He did not suffer much; only his respiration was in thick, heavy, deep-drawn breaths.

"Toward the late evening the end seemed to be near. The household were summoned; his devoted nephew, his sister, her husband, other near relatives, the servants, and some of the clergy of the town and College. The blessed caudles were lighted in our hands,—the symbol of ardent faith and hope, and of that charity which accompanies the Christian soul to the borders of the other world. The crucifix was held up before him, all kneeling around and pouring forth their supplications to the Almighty for the grace of a happy death to that soul, which trusted so firmly in the mercies of the Redeemer. To His honor and glory that long life now ending had been devoted. Well might he, like St. Thomas Aquinas, appeal to his Master and Judge for mercy,—since 'for Him he had studied, labored, preached, and taught.' Aye, and he had fought like a valiant soldier in His cause and for His dearest interests,—those of religion, of Christ's people, and Christ's poor and oppressed. . . .

"The end came, and all was over; and thus passed away, calmly and peacefully, full of years and merit, on the 7th of November, 1881, the great Prelate of the West. . . .

"Gloom, sadness, and grief, deep and sincere, fell over Tuam. Every voice in the episcopal residence was low and subdued. Footsteps fell soft on the floor, because we were all in the presence of death.

“The priests, when the first prayers for the departed had been said, and the first burst of grief was over, retired for a short space to come back again. The chaplain and some other clergyman, during the midnight hours, prepared the loved remains to be laid out, as the custom of the Church prescribes, in sad, solemn state before burial. Having fulfilled this duty with all reverence and tenderness, the large room (the dining room) was disposed and draped as a mortuary chapel. The dark hangings fell from ceiling to floor; altars were erected around, and tapers were lighted in every available place.

“The entrance hall and the back hall were also hung with the sable drapery of mourning, as well as the outside and inside doors. Thus the emblems of deep, deep sorrow struck the eye in his late abode as soon as one crossed the threshold.

“Outside, the slow, solemn tolling of the bells from the Cathedral towers and the Town Hall, as they were borne mournfully on the night air, gave the people the first intimation that their beloved and worshipped archbishop had just departed this life,—his long, long life of labor and solicitude in their service. Suddenly there was a rush of inquirers, — ‘Oh, is it true?’ — ‘Can it be true?’ — ‘Lord, have mercy on his soul!’ — ‘Eternal rest grant unto him, O Lord!’ — And in these, and other heartfelt prayers and ejaculations, mingled with tears as sincere as ever came from the warm and loving Irish nature,—the popular affection and gratitude vented itself. It was one continuous chorus of prayers, of praise, of benediction, and of the deepest grief, from the first hour till the venerated remains were consigned to their last resting place. This chorus went on around the entrance door and the outside gates, all through that first night, and till the morning hour, when the doors were opened and the crowd were admitted.

“From the early dawn till noon the Holy Sacrifice was offered up in the mortuary chapel. The immediate neighbors, expecting this or apprized of it, did not fail to attend, weeping and praying as they looked upon the loved and

venerable countenance of him whose voice they were to hear no more, and then joining their petitions to those of the priest at the altar. . . .

“As the morning advanced, the neighboring villagers, learning their common loss, came pouring in, begging to be allowed to express their sympathy to their venerated pastor’s relatives, and asking imploringly to look at him in death, and kneel for a moment by his side or at his feet. How could they be denied?

“In they came in perfect order,—a beautiful, edifying and consoling sight,—approaching in turn the funeral couch, kneeling in filial sorrow around all that was earthly of the Father who had so long watched over them and their parents before them, and sending up from the very depth of their hearts their supplications for him to the Throne of Mercy and the Judge of all the earth.

“Many and many, repeated over and over again, were the irrepressible outbursts of their grief, and their appreciation of all that their archbishop had been to them. What all acknowledged in this first hour of their bereavement, and what came home most keenly to the hearts of the stricken flock, was his great and inexhaustible goodness, his gentleness, his kindness, his accessibility at all times and in all places to every one who sought for advice or assistance, to the crowds of his beloved poor, whom he never permitted to be repulsed or put away.

“And what endeared him to us, here at home, were his exhortations, on each recurring Sunday morning, in our own Irish language,—sweet, clear, and intelligible,—sending the instruction conveyed direct to our hearts and understanding,—impressing the divine truths on us in our own familiar tongue. And thus we returned to our homes enlightened, strengthened, and comforted. The words of the gifted teacher continued to ring in our ears, admonishing us to embody in our daily lives the precepts so clearly and so fully imparted:—constancy in prayer; punctuality in the discharge of every daily duty; charity towards all; peace, patience, and perseverance in the fulfilment of every

good work. . . . And can we forget *him* in our prayers? or ever enter that cathedral on Sunday morning without remembering how sweetly he broke to us the Bread of Life?

“ From Tuesday, the 8th of November, to the following Sunday, crowds flowed in successively from far and near, people of every class and condition, all eager to pay a last fond tribute of respect to the revered prelate, the Light of the West, as O'Connell had called him. The Office of the Dead was recited every evening; two priests, relieved from time to time, succeeded each other in the mortuary chapel, kept prayerful watch near the dead. Every morning the Divine Oblation was offered up uninterruptedly at the temporary altars, the chapel meanwhile being filled to its utmost capacity.

“ On Wednesday, November the 9th, the crowds became so great that two persons were constantly engaged to conduct the visitors in and out,—entering by the front hall, and going out by the back hall. Thereby perfect order was secured, and everything like a crush was avoided. And thus, through the whole six days from his death, these manifestations of deep attachment and filial piety towards the illustrious departed went on without ceasing.”

While all Connaught was thus paying to its great metropolitan that disinterested and spontaneous homage ever paid to merits and services universally recognized, the public press of Ireland gave expression to the feelings of the nation. From the two journals the most opposed in political and religious opinion we quote the estimate formed of his worth both by the Nationalists and anti-Nationalists, respectively.

“ A pillar has fallen in the temple. A tower has tottered to the ground in Israel! John, Archbishop of Tuam, breathed his last at St. Jarlath's yesterday evening, in the 56th year of his episcopacy, the 67th of his priesthood, and the 91st year of his age. His Grace was the senior prelate of the Catholic Church; and in his person were most remarkably conjoined the purest attributes of priest and patriot.

"Born in the penal days, he lived to see shackle after shackle struck away; and, mightiest and most trenchant of the strikers upon the galling irons of ascendancy in religion and rule,—whether in the pulpit, the press, or on the platform,—whether in the professorial chair in Maynooth or on his episcopal throne,—was JOHN MAC HALE.

"He saw three rebellions, a decade of land agitations, more than one famine, the tithe war, the struggle for emancipation, the war against proselytism, the great repeal movement, the stand-up fight between religion and godlessness, the national demand for home rule. And, from the ripening moment of his ardent and intellectual manhood to the last moment of his life, his hands, never wearied, were uplifted to the God of battles for blessings on, and in stout aid of, the cause of country and creed.

"The anointed colleague of O'Connell; the foe of Derby, of Russell, and of Palmerston, the diary of this prince of the Church is the history of Ireland for the greater part of the century. Lasting lustre has he shed upon the ancient see of Jarlath by the purity of his life, the brilliancy of his talents, his sterling principles.

"In his learned leisure, or in the fierce arena of polemics or politics, John of Tuam was an Agamemnon, king of men, and stood towering head and shoulders over the crowd.

"We need not say that Dr. Mac Hale was to the last true to Ireland. . . . His sympathy with the tenants was native. It grew with his growth and strengthened with his strength. He saw them crushed by many a landlord-made famine and sent in the coffin-ships across the sea. America sent back to him, two years ago, thousands of pounds to feed the hungry and to clothe the naked. His splendid donation to the Mansion House Fund, at the same time, was, perhaps, its highest testimonial and most honoring tribute.

"His last public appearance in this city was as chairman on the occasion of unveiling the statue of Sir John Gray, for whom his Grace maintained a constant friendship. The veneration, amounting almost to worship, which was exhibited for him on that occasion showed how deep his name

and fame had burned into the hearts of gentle and simple.”¹

And in the brief editorial of the same date: “A link binding two eras,—those before and after Emancipation,—is broken. A man whose life was cradled in the last century, though the present century is in its winter,—has departed. A cedar of Lebanon has fallen.

“Take out O’Connell from the Irish history of the century, and who steps in by right of word, of spirit, of deed, of valor? Who but the mitred, croziered, and anointed figure of John, Archbishop of Tuam? A High-Priest among priests; peerless amongst the people, after a life bordering on patriarchal limits, his memory stands forth, Bayard-like, fearless and reproachless. In the presence, as it were, of that venerated body, our voice is mute. The words of eulogy will be spoken by tongue worthiest and most eloquent amongst his Grace’s peers, for

“Now is the stately column broke,
The beacon-light is quenched in smoke;—
The trumpet’s silver sound is still;
The warder silent on the hill.”

Here is what another journal, the organ of the party most opposed in Ireland to the Archbishop’s religion and policy, published on that same 8th of November, 1881:—

“A leading Irishman of a long past generation, who had retained his marvelous intellectual and physical vigor to the age of ninety, passed yesterday out of life. The Archbishop of the West, as he was most often styled, expired during the evening, after a brief struggle with no definite disease. . . .

“Dr. Mac Hale never lost his quick interest in affairs, and to the close was an intense Irishman. In the days of O’Connell the deceased prelate was the champion ever foremost in the popular cause. . . . Though all his life he hoisted his flag, he never drove the people into extremes by rash counsels, and confined his agitation to changes which he desired in tenure of land. The roar of *THE LION* never failed to arouse the English journals; and in all the prints, from the

¹ “Freeman’s Journal,” Tuesday, November 8th, 1881.

Times to the comic weekly, Dr. Mac Hale occupied a large space, and furnished the text for abundant comment.

"Dr. Mac Hale is a name to be added to the roll of eminent powers and unquenchable activity in the use of them for such ends as were commended to his judgment. To young men he presents an unique example of a buoyant nature and highly cultivated mind, the one conserving and inspiring the other, and carrying him on, in defiance of time, to a patriarchal longevity in unbroken health and impulse.

"Among his more purely political performances the most impassioned have been his attacks on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill; and his hostility to PEELE'S Colleges and the mixed system of education was consistent and bitter, and so formidable as for some years to require the entire force of the Government resistance to cope with it even imperfectly. . .

"His public career was sixty years of abundant strife, more strife than advance, perhaps, but at all events a period of abounding historic interest, exceeded in the development of no modern country in either consequence or the stir of mind that accompanied the struggle on all sides of it, equally that of a beaten resistance or a partial victory.

"There were many giants upon this stage, and all Irishmen can, at least, join in regarding their combats with a pride that so much intellect and enthusiasm were exhibited and expended by men born and trained on Irish soil and quickened by Irish influences.

"Those men of mark and nobleness belonged exclusively to no party or opinion; and even in the variety of their labors and the sharp contrasts of their disputation we may find a higher boast, if only we suffer the lesson of toleration to have its honest effect, at least in a retrospect of lives accomplished and deeds that remain but a memory."¹

So did these journals give voice to what the entire Irish people thought and felt about the man whose loss was universally mourned. Return we now to the house of mourning itself, to pay to the departed the last sad and solemn rites.

¹ "The Irish Times," Nov. 8, 1881.

What struck the stranger entering Tuam, from Tuesday, November 8th, to Tuesday, the 15th, the day fixed for the solemn obsequies, were the unmistakable signs of mourning, general and heartfelt. The poorest dwellings had their shutters closed, and all the citizens who could draped their doors in black. "Black flags with devices worked in white floated in the breeze. In every street one passed under mourning arches. The old town cross, erected nine hundred years ago by Archbishop O'Hessian of Tuam, was encircled with the badges of sorrow and death." ¹ High above the Town Hall floated, half-mast, a flag with the words: *Ireland's greatest Son, JOHN, is dead.*

The remains were to be borne in solemn procession to the Cathedral on Sunday afternoon, November the 13th, there to lie in state, to gratify both the devotion and the popular affection, until Tuesday, the day of the obsequies. A catafalque of imposing dimensions was erected outside the railing of the Sanctuary, in front of the High Altar. Very Rev. Dr. Mac Hale superintended every detail, thus giving some distraction to the grief which overwhelmed him.

Sunday broke raw and dismal. A lukewarm drizzle fell through the forenoon. The three Masses celebrated at the High Altar were attended by crowds who filled nave and side aisles. From early dawn the great bell of the Cathedral tolled its call to prayer and remembrance of the dead. At noon the special trains from the South and East began to pour their contingents into town, into which the people of Headford, Dunmore, and Claremorris, and the surrounding neighborhood, had already crowded.

The rendez-vous for the component parts of the procession was the College Park, overlooked by the Cathedral. Here had assembled the schools, sodalities, societies, and other bodies obtaining a place in the cortege. In admirable order they emerged thence: the children of the convent schools of the Sisters of Mercy and of the Presentation Nuns, with their banners; the boys of the Christian Broth-

¹ "The Tuam News," Nov. 18, 1881.

ers' school, wearing mourning badges; the Female Sodality of the Sacred Heart, followed by the Children of Mary.

The Tuam Literary and Commercial Guilds, the Burial Society, bearing wands, and then the Brotherhood of the Sacred Heart, a host in itself, including almost the entire adult population of the town, with the students of St. Jarlath's College, bringing up the rear, formed an imposing array. They passed in this order through the College gate to the Episcopal Residence, where the Clergy and Town Commissioners awaited them.

The venerated remains were then borne forth. Every head was uncovered, and every eye, it may well be said, was dimmed with grief, as the casket, uncovered and displaying the silent form of the common parent and pastor, was lifted on priests' shoulders, and, preceded by the Archiepiscopal Cross, moved slowly on its way to its resting place in yonder sanctuary. Immediately after the casket walked the chief mourners, Very Rev. Thomas Mac Hale and Thomas Higgins, Esquire. The carriages of Right Rev. Dr. Bernard, Protestant Bishop of Tuam, and those of the local gentry closed the cortege.

Through Bishop Street, the Market Square, Dublin Road, and the Convent of Mercy grounds the procession advanced, the nuns joining the ranks, together with the Christian Brothers, the Monks of the Third Order of St. Francis, and the boys of St. Joseph's School. They marched round the Cathedral, chanting the Psalms marked for such occasions by the Roman Ritual, and entered in this order the great western door of the beautiful temple. The casket was lifted to its place on the catafalque amid lighted tapers and floral wreaths from various parts of Ireland and even from England, offerings of the heart, fragrant with a love and piety lasting beyond the grave.

Then the solemn Vespers for the Dead were sung: the multitude dispersed as quickly as they had assembled. But people and clergy kept watch and ward around the catafalque and before the Mercy Seat that evening and

that night and all through the next day and night; they represented the unslumbering love of Ireland.

Yes, grateful Ireland, represented by the people and priests of Tuam, had unweariedly kept her eight days' vigil around the lifeless form of one on whom she had leaned so long.

On the Tuesday morning, November 15th, the Archbishop of Armagh, with the Bishop of Meath,—steadfast friends of the illustrious departed, took their places at the head of the episcopal group who had gathered to do themselves honor by honoring this great servant of Ireland and of holy Church. With them came the Bishops of Raphoe, of Kildare and Leighlin, of Ross, of Killala, of Elphin, of Achonry, of Clonfert, and the Mitred Abbot of Mount Mel-leray.

Maynooth sent men who could bear willing testimony to the worth of the Dead,—the most illustrious and devoted son the great national college had reared. One of them was destined, all unknown to himself, to imbibe by the side of that catafalque the ardent desire to serve God and Ireland as John Mac Hale had served them. From the tomb in which they presently laid the great Archbishop of the West, WILLIAM WALSH was chosen to take up the banner of Repeal and Home-Rule, and to wave it triumphantly from the Primatial Chair of St. Lawrence O'Toole. THOMAS CARR, also, on whom the Metropolitan of Con-naught would have willingly bestowed the succession of his own pastoral care, has, we have good reason to believe, taken with him to the archiepiscopal see of Melbourne, in far distant Australia, the zeal for suffering Ireland's cause which animated the labors of John of Tuam, and which to-day fires the soul of Australia's first cardinal.

No! no! the battle for God, for God's poor, for Ireland's RIGHT did not end with Daniel O'Connell or John Mac Hale.

So the Cathedral of St. Jarlath's beheld assembled within its spacious sanctuary a gathering of bishops and priests such as it had never held before. No human respect could

now restrain the spontaneous and honest homage of Irish hearts to a merit which is a priceless portion of the inheritance of our race.

As T. D. Sullivan passed through the market square of Tuam on that memorable Tuesday, what must have been his feelings at seeing on the arch which spanned that square from the clock tower his own verses in honor of JOHN MAC HALE, as if they were the panegyric of the patriot, prelate, and scholar uttered by the inspired voice of one of her most popular Bards?

“ A pastor fond and true is he,
Beloved by rich and poor ;
A patriot spirit bold and free
To do or to endure ;
No traitor’s wile, no force or guile,
With them can e’er prevail,
Whose watch and ward, whose guide and guard,
Is noble John Mac Hale.”

On Monday evening the relatives of the Archbishop, the clergymen present, and other privileged persons, were allowed to look for the last time on the dear, familiar face. “ The features were singularly unchanged ; the massive head, the large aquiline nose, the expressive mouth, about which a familiar expression seemed to play ; the venerable hair, not thinned by time,—all were there the same as when in life.”¹

The Office for the Dead was recited in the Cathedral before the Pontifical Mass. This was rendered with the impressive majesty of the Gregorian chant by the trained voices in the numerous body of clergymen present. The prelates in their purple robes, the priests in their white surplices, the numerous deputations from public bodies and remote cities, the prayerful thousands of pious people who filled to overflowing the great church edifice,—the earnestness, the solemn sadness which pervaded all,—not borrowed from the sable drapery of altar, pulpit, pillars, or walls, but sensibly felt in the atmosphere of the place and the audible pulsations of the stricken popular heart :—all

¹ “ Tuam Herald.”

this made a scene never to be forgotten and never surpassed in the pageantry of a nation's sorrow.

The lofty catafalque, with its tiers of lights and floral wreaths, the closed casket which crowned it, with a single mitre of white silver cloth standing solitary above the head and brain which had wrought so much for Ireland, and borne successively for her people so many bitter crowns of thorns,—this was what arrested the eyes of priest and layman alike, of Catholic and Protestant, of rich and poor, of old and young.

HE was there to await the resurrection and the crown which should never fade at the touch of death, or with the succession of the eternal years. He would speak to his Connaught people no more in that sweet Gælic tongue which they delighted to hear. His lifeless hand would never again wield the pen, as powerful, as trepchant as the glaive of Godfrey or the Cid Campeador,—which had so often smote the wrong-doer in high places, or the traitor to his country.

There was no funeral oration before the sublime chant of the *Libera me, Domine, a morte æterna* closed the solemn service. He needed no oration to tell his people, his entire race in both hemispheres, what he had been to them, and how they ought to cherish his name through endless time.

And so,—the last prayers chanted,—amid the tears, the murmured benedictions, and ardent supplications of his faithful flock, all that was earthly of John Mac Hale,—in a casket laden with wreaths of the rarest flowers,—was slowly lowered, within the sanctuary, to the first tomb ever built in Tuam Cathedral.

Outside the Cathedral, the beautiful marble statue of their worshipped pastor attracted the eyes and the hearts of the multitude as they came out of the holy place. The arm still raised, and the hand outstretched as if to command attention or to bless, seemed to be animated as they looked upon it. And around it they gathered, kneeling, praying, and weeping, too,—as if they could not tear themselves

away from the loved and mute presence and the long companionship of more than forty-seven years.

And yet he was not all dead to them. His deeds, his teachings, his works,—the creations of his pastoral zeal and fatherly love,—and his undying memory,—that noble IDEAL of a bishop and patriot—among a people who adore ideals—shall never pass away.



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